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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL and HUMAN SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**Public Management Reform Experience of Turkey: Effective Factors
on the Administrative Reform Process of Turkey in the Period of
1980-2010**

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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August 2014

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

As a response to the enormous pressures on the nations in last three decades about reforming their public administrations, each state has taken a different path and has had different reform experiences. As a strongly developing nation having constant economic growth and rapidly transforming society, a member of almost all important international organizations of western world and an important candidate for EU full membership, Turkey has also been subject to all these pressures and experienced a rapid administrative reform process since 1980.

Unique administrative reform experience of Turkey between 1980 and 2010 is the major concern of the research and it seeks to analyse all the factors that have affected this process. By applying the overarching public management reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) to a developing state, research also aims to understand the utility of this model on a different context and whether it has enough tools to examine such a setting.

This comprehensive research process revealed that significant factors have affected; some in positive manner by driving, facilitating and shaping, some others in a negative manner by slowing down or blocking the administrative reform processes of the country. In this way, research enlightened the experience of Turkey and while confirming most arguments of the applied model; findings put forward significant differences and additions related with the context. The developing state status and economy of Turkey has been a significant determiner in the reform process and from the unique experience of Turkey case, research also reached to some generalizable empirical and theoretical results for other developing states.

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Politics and International Relations

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**PUBLIC MANAGEMENT REFORM EXPERIENCE OF TURKEY: EFFECTIVE
FACTORS ON the ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM PROCESS of TURKEY in THE
PERIOD of 1980-2010**

Osman Varol

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Osman Varol

declare that the thesis entitled

“Public Management Reform Experience of Turkey: Effective Factors on the Administrative Reform Process of Turkey in the Period of 1980-2010”

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
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- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission, or [delete as appropriate] parts of this work have been published as: [please list references]

Signed:

Date:

Acknowledgements

It gives me great pleasure in expressing my gratitude to all those people who have supported me and had their contributions in making this thesis possible. Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Prof Gerry Stoker for the continuous support for my PhD study and research, for his patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge. This thesis would not have been possible without the help, support and patience of my principal supervisor. It has been an honour to be his Ph.D. student. The good advice, support and patience of my previous second supervisor, Prof Bernard Harris, has also been invaluable on the development of both my academic career and scientific stance, for which I am extremely grateful. Their guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor team for my PhD study. Although we have been able to work only in the last year of my study, I also acknowledge the help, support and useful comments of Dr Ingi lusmen.

I am grateful to Ministry of Interior, of which I am an honoured member, Cabinet Members and Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey for the assignment and sponsorship opportunity they gave me to come to the UK and carry out this PhD study. I appreciate the support of high-level politicians, ministers and bureaucrats of Turkey who spared their invaluable time to carry out interviews for my research. Scientific value of the research lies in their significant contributions arising from their extensive knowledge and experience in the field.

I would like to acknowledge the academic and technical support of the University of Southampton and its staff. The library facilities, office places and computer facilities of the University have been indispensable. I would also like to thank my colleagues, friends from the Ministry of Interior and other family friends for their generous support, sincere company and all lovely family meetings we had together.

Lastly, but by no means least, I would like to thank my family for all their love and encouragement. I am grateful to my parents who raised and supported me. And most of all, for my supportive, encouraging, patient and beloved wife Funda and our lovely twins Gökçen and Gökalp, who took on a challenge of living in a different country away from home just for my career, sacrificed

many good times we could have spent together and faithfully supported me during my study, are sincerely appreciated. They have been a constant source of strength and inspiration for me that consequently made it possible for me to see this project through to the end.

Definitions and Abbreviations

AFAD: Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

ASCON: Anadolu Kaplanları İşadamları Derneği (Anatolian Tigers Businessmen Association)

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

MGK: Milli Güvenlik Kurulu (National Security Council)

MUSİAD: Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği (Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association)

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

SALs: Structural Adjustment Loans (of the World Bank)

SEE: State Economic Enterprises

SIGMA: Support for Improvement in Governance and Management

SPO: State Planning Organisation (Later The Ministry of Development)

TEPAV: Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı (The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey)

TOBB: Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği (The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey)

TODAIE: Türkiye Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü (Turkey and Middle East Public Administration Institute)

TUSİAD: Türk Sanayicileri Ve İşadamları Derneği (Turkish Industry and Business Association)

TUSKON: Türkiye İşadamları ve Sanayiciler Konfederasyonu (Turkish Businessmen and Industrialists Confederation)

WTO: World Trade Organisation

YOİKK: Co-Ordination Committee for Improving Investment Environment

Chapter 1. Introduction

What has created the never-ending need for constant transformation of public sector particularly in last three decades? Why is the concept of administrative reform always on the agenda of the international institutions, think-tanks, academia and the governments? What are the factors behind these developments and what are the differences between the states regarding the implications of such dynamics? Answering these questions requires a wide ranging approach to the concept of management reform and the factors creating transformative or preservative impacts on the reform processes.

Since the end of 1970s, there have been constant rapid global transformations which have generated some political, economic, cultural and administrative consequences. The world is now highly competitive and demanding, society is better informed and expectations are higher from both the public and private sector perspectives. This has created new challenges across the globe, from developed to undeveloped nations by raising people's expectations from governments, institutions and organisations.

NGOs have been more active and demanding, societies have called for more investment in education, health, and social security but at the same time, they are reluctant to pay more taxes. Furthermore, for political reasons, governments wish to avoid raising taxes. In such a transformative atmosphere, traditional public administrative models are no longer seen as effective enough to satisfy people's expectations. The need for reforming these systems has always been on the agenda. In addition, the interdependencies due to the impacts of globalisation, political and economic crises created a domino effect resulting in a contagion across boundaries. For this reason, some international organizations such as IMF, World Bank and EU have started exerting pressure on nations to transform themselves. As a response to these developments, substantial transformations and changes have been occurring in the public administration systems and structures of most countries since early 1980s. These are not considered as simple technical changes to improve the administration; on the contrary, they have an approach that questions the state structure and tries to re-design it in line with changing world order. As a consequence of these developments, Toonen states "the overall situation of the administrative reform has been; similar external and internal economic, social

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and politic pressures, in certain periods and places, shaped by institutional characteristics, administrative traditions and general constitutional constraints, turned into diverse reform processes” (Toonen 2003, p.474). Each state has shown a different reaction to the pressures of administrative change and has had different experiences of administrative reforms because of their unique conditions.

If we shift our attention to the reform history of Turkey, we see that, since the stagnation era of the Ottoman Empire, the country has poor economic, social and political conditions record that generated incentives to grow and develop based on the developed western world model. In this regard, we can see a clear and constant development started in the stagnation era of the Ottoman Empire. This continued through 1800s in written legal documents, took a completely revolutionary shape after the establishment of the republic, continued in the planned economy era and then gained a different momentum after 1980 with the adoption of neo-liberal market based policies. The period of the research’s interest commences from 1980, because the critical economic decisions taken on 24th of January generated a fresh period of Neo-liberal policies for Turkey, in parallel with global developments. The Turkish experience of the administrative reforms supports the approach mentioned above: Rather than being solely a narrow scoped technical problem involving changes in organizational plans and instructions, administrative reform has embraced a wider concept which required changes in norms, social relations, and political power configurations (Berkman and Heper 2002, p.159).

1.1 Question and the Purpose of the Study

Following the discussion above, transformation in the administrative system of Turkey and the reform efforts are affected by a wide range of factors which are partly similar to other countries and partly diversify from them due to the unique conditions. As a country with strong incentives to develop in line with western models and with strong links to the international economic and political system, Turkey wants to transform the country in line with the needs of the day and the demands of its society and institutions. However, the country also has great political, social and cultural factors inherited from the Ottoman Empire and early years of Republic, which, at some points, generate great resistance to transformation. In this framework, factors creating these

unique conditions, affecting reform process and generating the differences of Turkish experience, are major concerns of the research. Examining such a broad topic required a multi-dimensional approach and an inclusive framework or model. Within the wide literature, comprehensive management reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert is chosen and adopted for the execution of the study.

Expressing precisely, the research tries to answer the questions of,

- “What are the effective factors on the process of administrative change and Public Management Reforms of Turkey as a Developing State?”
- “What are the core similarities and differences between the elements of the management reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert established on the Developed States and the factors at play in Turkey as a Developing State?”
- “Is the model of Pollitt and Bouckaert capable of explaining the factors at play in the management reform process of a Developing State?”

While answering these question, the research tries to derive some lessons and generalizable results for the other developing states as well. We can define the basic objectives of the research in two levels. Major objectives are;

- “To explore the factors which have affected administrative reform process of Turkey as a developing nation and to analyse their interactions within the given period of time.”
- “By exploring these factors, to grasp the differences with the management reform process of a developed state through the application of the management reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert.”
- “To examine the applicability of the model of Pollitt and Bouckaert to the contextual specifics of Turkey, and if it doesn’t have enough tools and features to examine such a setting, to carry out necessary modifications.”

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Secondary objectives related with the research question and the major objectives are;

- “To assess the reasons behind the diverse experiences of other nations with administrative reforms”,
- “To assess, what lessons, impacts and results can be drawn for future experiences of Turkey and other developing nations with similar backgrounds?”.

Looking in detail, the principal aims of the research entails in-depth analysis of all the factors affecting management reforms, causal relationships between these factors in the process, similarities and dissimilarities with the features of the applied model and the applicability of the model to a developing state context. Factors, complete with all impacts, whether they are positive or negative, triggering or impeding, slowing down or accelerating, are within the scope of the research.

Considering the secondary aims, and although the major aim of this study is to understand the situation in Turkey, the results of the research and study on this topic will lead to some generalizations about the topic and point to possible lessons for those countries with similar characteristics and development levels as with Turkey but will be treated with caution and confined to a limited range of contexts.

1.2 Significance of the Study and Contribution to the Field

This Research seeks to analyse the effective factors on the reform process of Turkey and employs a comprehensive and holistic approach by elaborating on the all types of factors with their diverse impacts on the process and their interactions in-between, rather than any other study carried out hitherto. Within this challenging atmosphere, firstly, concepts of public administration

and administrative reform are defined and one of the most inclusive definitions is employed in order to overcome the lack of consistency in the literature on the definitions of basic concepts. The study also required a robust framework that provides a solution to the lack of a proper and comprehensive theoretical approach in the literature examining Turkey. For this reason, a broad and inclusive management reform model from Pollitt and Bouckaert is chosen for the theoretical debate, and used for the data collection and analysis, applied to a developing state setting for the first time and where it doesn't have enough tools for a developing state, adjusted in line with the needs of the context to reach some conclusions. Rather than focusing on one dimension of the problem and ignoring other aspects, the research considers all aspects of the administrative reform process and tries to present all the features affecting administrative reforms with their relationships and interactions. A significant contribution of this holistic approach has been overcoming the problem of fragmented analyses in the literature on Turkey. The lack of a critical approach and clear evidence for the arguments in the general literature about Turkey are overcome by the adoption of relevant methods and collection of original data from the primary data sources. The study applied an appropriate design and methodological approach, particularly the semi-structured elite interviews, which provided a deep understanding, insight and, with the causal relations of the features, a critical approach to the discussion.

In the light of these arguments, the study is anticipated to make three major contributions to the field.

- First contribution is to the literature on management reform process of Turkey, by presenting a comprehensive and holistic research enabling a deep understanding on the reform experience of Turkey and factors affecting this reform process in the period of 1980-2010.
- Examining all factors of administrative reforms with their interactions in Turkey and reaching to some lessons and implications for other developing countries constitute the contribution to the literature on the management reforms and developing states.
- Lastly, applying a well-known model on a different level of country (a developing state) for the first time, identifying its deficiencies for examining this different setting and, although moderate, making some

necessary amendments in compliance with the needs of the new context is the expected contribution to the theoretical debate.

1.3 Definitions and Terms

The concepts of public administration, public sector, public service, public administration reform or management reform are all central to the research. Review of existing literature reflects that, public administration and reform are subjects that are challenging to define precisely. Theorists and researchers are aware what they mean by the idea, however, it is problematic to frame a clear subject area. Greenwood and Wilson argue any simple definition of public administration is doomed to failure (Greenwood and Wilson 1989, p.1). Definitions in literature have been created by using different points of views and approaches. Identifying it as an academic subject, Chandler (2002, p.1) argues “public administration is the study of the development and maintenance of policy by members of governments, public agencies and public sector employees and the practice of implementing the authoritative decisions they have made”. Chandler also considers public administration as a branch of political analysis, however, he accepts its relation with other academic disciplines such as economics or management theory.

Quoting from Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Institutions, Peters and Pierre (2003) distinguishes public administration between, in the lower case (p.a.) institutional arrangements for the provision of public services; in the upper case (P.A.), the study of those arrangements. Concerning public sector, Lane (2000) defines it as “a set of institutions that co-ordinate the interests of different groups that ask in various ways for public activities of different kinds”. Fundamental factors in this broad definition are institutions and co-ordination. Lastly, approach of the UN is quite broad in scope and as it is in line with the comprehensive aims of the study, this approach would help understanding the issue from a wide point of view. According to the UN approach (UNDP 2004, p. 1-2), public administration refers to:

- The aggregate machinery (policies, rules, procedures, systems, organizational structures, personnel, etc.) funded by the state budget and in charge of the management and direction of the affairs of the

executive government, and its interaction with other stakeholders in the state, society and external environment.

- The management and implementation of the whole set of government activities dealing with the implementation of laws, regulations and decisions of the government and the management related to the provision of public services.

When we turn to the concept of reform, Peters and Pierre (2003) claims it is related with change and performing change. They also argue it is about the promise of bringing innovation and improvement by removal of faults. Reform is therefore about values and quality according to the authors. Thus, administrative reform is considered as concerning the administrative quality, constituted by administrative values of public sector institutions, of public policy decision-making processes and of public organization and management.

Farazmand is another author who refers to the confusion over the meaning of the term reform and makes useful in-depth arguments on the concept. Administrative reform means different things to different nations with different political systems. While in developed states it means a change process in administration originating from expectations of the social and political environment, it refers to 'modernization and change in society to effect social and economic transformation' in developing states. Lack of consensus may even be within the same country. The Author suggests that this concept can mean different things to politicians, administrators and academic scholars. Confusion also develops over the use of such interchangeable terms as change, modernization, development, and evolution with reform. Any attempt to affect administrative reform must also take into account the relationship between local and central administrations; the social, political, and economic forces of society; and the interaction between ideas or concepts and practical necessities developed over time (Farazmand 2001, p.2).

A major question would be then; which policy initiatives are considered as public administration reforms? In their well-known consecutive studies, Pollitt and Bouckaert (2004, pp. 16-17; 2011, p. 2) label it as public management reform and make a compact but comprehensive and powerful definition of "Deliberate changes to the structures and processes of public sector organizations with the objective of getting them to run better". As another

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reference point, the UN has a wide viewpoint on the concept of administrative reform and makes a detailed definition, in which, reform is related with capacity development in the public administration and needs to be addressed at three levels: the individual level, the institutional level, and the societal level. Based on these needs, Public Administration Reform can be divided into four main areas in the approach of UNDP (2004, p. 6):

- Civil service reform, which is concerned with human resources in the public sector such as capacity, wages and conditions.
- Increasing the efficiency and responsiveness of the policy-making system.
- Reforming the machinery of government, which is concerned with the rules, institutions, and structure of the administration necessary to carry out government policy, including new tools for public administration, notably e-governance and e-government.
- Reforming the public sector revenue and expenditure management system.

Among all the definitions in the literature, approach of the UN is presumably the most comprehensive one and its classification is compatible with the theoretical informant Pollitt and Bouckaert model's setting of main reform components (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, pp. 76-77) as well. Such a rich and comprehensive meaning of administrative reform is employed in the research which includes process changes in areas such as organisational structures, decentralisation, personnel management, public finance, results-based management, regulatory reforms and etc. Administrative reforms of Turkey in the period between 1980 and 2010 are evaluated in accordance with this broad definition. As will be seen in relevant sections, some reforms about fundamental democratic rights are also evaluated as administrative reforms because they are significant pre-conditions which can change the administrative culture, traditions and practices. In this way, they can make further reforms easier to launch and implement by facilitating the use of basic rights, creating mechanisms to participate and promoting the more active roles for citizens and NGOs.

Lastly the concept of impact or effect, their meanings in the context of the research and what types of impacts or effects the research is focused on

deserves an explanation. Principally, these concepts are used in their broadest possible meanings. Any types of effects generated by various factors on the process, whether in a positive or negative manner, are subject to the examination of the study.

1.4 Literature

A wide and comprehensive literature about the administrative reform process of Turkey (See The Administrative Reform Process of Turkey;) exists and the common argument of the literature is that, the country has lived through substantial administrative reforms in last three decades under the impact of diverse significant factors. What are these factors? Most studies make important points on the reform process which help an understanding of the factors involved. Diverse approaches are seen in the literature, varying from the classification of internal and external factors to identifying the driving and obstructing ones in which the degrees of their interests varies as well. Many factors including global economic forces, pressures of international organizations as the external factors and structural features, problems of public sector, administrative and political culture as the internal factors are identified and examined in the studies. A strong reference to the New Public Management model or philosophy is another significant point to mention about the contents of the relevant literature.

Literature on administrative reforms of Turkey contains shortcomings and omissions which constitute the departure point of the study. Theoretically, there is no consistency on the aims of the studies and definitions of basic concepts. This creates a need for a clear theoretical approach which would work in the context of Turkey. Focus of the studies on some particular aspects of the problem and under-emphasis of other dimensions is another problem associated with the literature. Interactions between the diverse factors on the reform process are ignored and the problem is usually examined in a fragmented manner which prevents a holistic discussion. For these reasons, in such a multi-dimensional field with a large number of variables and their interactions, a comprehensive and holistic approach to the subject involving all relevant dimensions is required. The lack of a critical approach and clear evidence for the arguments are other problematic points in much of the literature. Methodologically, there are only a limited number of studies which

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used elite interviews to provide a deep understanding of the problem. Depth of the problems in discussion requires a well prepared plan to use all essential scientific methods indeed, and principally the elite interviews to provide deep insight and a critical approach in all phases of the research.

1.5 Theoretical Perspective

The relevant discussions and significant theoretical aspects of the field affect theoretical perspective of the study. As detailed further in the theoretical framework chapter, discussions on the administrative reforms of post-1980 evolved from the claims of convergence around some particular administrative models and philosophies, to the divergence of the country contexts in line with unique experiences. The major common point of the theoretical discussions is, there has been an intensive process of administrative reform between 1980 and 2010. Three important themes in discussions were;

- (1) The important impacts of international political and economic developments such as globalisation and neo-liberal new right ideas on administrative reforms,
- (2) The importance of the contents and models of administrative reforms
- (3) Significant influence of unique institutional features of country contexts.

In first two decades of the post 1980 period, New Public Management, an administrative reform model designed as a replacement for the traditional bureaucracy with an approach of neo-liberal market based philosophy, had been the major subject of the discussions and practices about administrative reforms. With the impacts of globalization and these developments, a perception of convergence on the administrative models, particularly through NPM, emerged and the spread of such models were being supported by leading countries, international political and economic organisations, international think-tanks and academia. The concept of policy transfer was added to the agenda at this point when the administrative ideas and the models had been mobilised. After a period of domination on the thinking and practices, model had been subjected to a sceptical and critical approach from various circles because of the diverse outcomes it created in different country contexts. In the third decade of the period, although emphasis on the models remained the

same; the focus of the discussion shifted to other models and their contents such as Neo-Weberian State, Governance and Network governance, which were proposed by various authors.

After the scientific studies had presented the unique experiences of diverse countries in terms of the pace, nature and the extent of administrative reforms, perception of convergence diminished. The importance of national institutional contexts and unique social, political, economic and cultural conditions came to the agenda. Historical Institutionalism is the key for understanding such unique experiences as it emphasizes the importance of the institutions whether as formal rules and structures or cultural norms. Institutions and their historical paths determine the preparation, launch and implementation of administrative reforms. Although it has problems in explaining the change, historical institutionalism might help in examining the interactions of diverse factors and contribute to the comprehensiveness of this study. Particularly, due to the immense impact of the historical institutions, political and administrative tradition on the management reform process, this theory is substantial for the research framework. Some fundamental features of this theoretical aspect are considered by the owners of the model as well, and presented as the reasons for the diverse management reform experiences of the countries (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, pp. 47-48). Authors consider the existing political and administrative systems and cultural factors embedded in historically as substantial features and link particularly the countervailing forces and resistance points of management reforms with these features (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, pp.41-42).

On the other hand, having an institutional perspective shouldn't mean agency is completely ignored. As will be seen in related sections, agents generated great influences on the administrative reform process by using their authorities and powers on institutions. Considering the developing nation status of Turkey, there is also a need for including the arguments about the differences of developing nations to the theoretical discussions. The capacity of state mechanism, degree of international pressures, patronage relations in the community, intensive social, political and economic developments might be mentioned as major differences of developing nations from the developed ones.

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Similar to the situation on the reform process of Turkey, general literature on the administrative reform distinguish the factors affecting the process. Three major groups can be easily identified; first group gives priority to external factors, second does the contrary and the last has more comprehensive approaches. External factors are mainly international economic conditions and economic or political international organizations. Internal factors are domestic economy-politics, politico-administrative traditions and politico-administrative system itself. Last group, owners of comprehensive approaches include most of these factors in their studies. Neither the convergence or divergence claim related discussions about the administrative reforms, nor the individual internal and external factor explanations have been enough in explaining such a multi-dimensional process with all its aspects. Historical institutionalism approach, on the other hand, while being successful in explaining the resistance points, has serious problems in explaining the change and ignores the powerful role of agents and other factors in the process. Only limited numbers of some comprehensive studies have enough scope to find the answers to the questions of administrative reform process.

Pollitt and Bouckaert's (2011) model is among these comprehensive and detailed studies on administrative reforms. Considering the focus of the research, the model of Pollitt and Bouckaert, among all the theoretical approaches, seemed the most appropriate one for the purposes of the study and is employed as the major framework. However, the model was developed with the experiences of a number of developed nations and, as a developing state; Turkey is expected to have differences that would threaten the utility of the model on this setting and lead to the need for a modification of the model. For this reason, in line with the development of the research and initial findings of the study, the model was modified to fit the context of Turkey. However, the outcome of this modification has not departed substantially from the original model of the informants. Historical institutionalism is another theoretical informant of the study. It has been particularly useful in explaining the impact of the historical political and administrative developments and administrative tradition on the pace and extent of administrative reform by enlightening the institutional blocking and resisting factors of the administrative reforms process.

1.6 Methodological Perspective

Considering the comprehensive topic, the research questions and broad aims of the study, a sufficient data repository, an appropriate research design and an applicable methodological approach was necessary. The Research strategy to employ should support the exploration of economic, political and social developments, administrative reform process including all related factors in the period of interest and an effort to reach some generalizable results for other developing nations. Complexity and comprehensiveness of the topic and the necessity of thorough examination with a secondary aim of developing some results for similar developing nations means a case study is the most appropriate design. The exploratory nature of case study design, priority of internal validity, deep causal relations between the factors and concentrated nature of relevant data are the main strengths of the case study design within this research.

With respect to the data sources, multiple preferences, including semi-structured elite interviews with high-level civil servants and executive politicians, primary official and unofficial documentary data and secondary official and unofficial documentary data, are made. The major source of data has been the semi-structured elite interviews with high-level Turkish Civil servants and Politicians carefully chosen among the ones having knowledge and experience in the field. Other sources of data have been the primary and secondary documentary data in the shape of legislations, official documents, official publications, international organization documents, literature pieces, media materials and other academic and organizational researches. Results of interviews are used for the exploration of the research question and core analysis of features of the reform process, while documentary sources are used for providing background information, supporting interview results and completing blank points left by the interview results. Triangulation of these data sources gave opportunity to validate the findings and complete the missing parts and gaps in the data repository. In some very limited cases, there were conflicts between information from diverse data sources and in such cases semi-structured elite interviews are mostly given priority.

1.7 Outline of the Study

Study is organised under eight chapters and four appendices. Leaving the first and last chapters aside as introduction and conclusion of the study, the other six chapters subsequently present the relevant literature, theoretical and methodological approach and the core analysis of research findings. Two appendixes help the examination of the question by giving background information on the structural, cultural and functional features of the setting of Turkey and explaining the chosen administrative reforms in the period. Third appendix presents the list of the interview respondents with a brief of their careers and fourth appendix presents the codes used to analyse the findings.

After the introduction, literature on the administrative reform process of Turkey is elaborated in the second chapter and some omissions that led to the justification of the study are identified. As well as occupying the agenda of politics and policy making, administrative reform occupies a major place in academic world and literature. The number of studies on the topic is extensive, particularly in Turkish literature and only those examples, which examine the issue in a more organised and comprehensive way with reference to the effective factors, are chosen for the review. The chapter is organized under the major themes remarked by the authors of these studies. External and internal factors affecting administrative reforms have been the major separation under which further divisions are made and discussed. The chapter is concluded with the rationale of the research originated from the weaknesses and the omissions in the literature.

The third chapter presents the theoretical debates and the framework of the study arising from them. Extensive public administrative reform debates of post 1980 is briefly presented with the fundamental themes of New Public Management, policy convergence, policy transfer, diverse country experiences and factors creating these experiences. Historical institutionalism is another significant approach that is elaborated because it would help understanding the diverse experiences of different environments and particularly the institutional resistance points. After theoretical debates on administrative reforms, focus has moved to the reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert, which is the framework of the research. Diverging aspects of developing nations and debates on their administrative reform experiences are not ignored in

theoretical discussion. Lastly, before concluding the chapter, the process of Pollitt and Bouckaert model's adoption, modification in line with the needs of the research and development of new framework is explained.

The general design of the study, multiple data collection and analysis activity and methods are discussed in the fourth chapter. The purpose of the chapter is to illustrate how and with which methods the research is executed. The broad aims of the study required the exploration of a wide range of factors, a large data repository, an appropriate research design and an applicable methodological approach. All these facts led to the adoption of a case study design and triangulation of diverse data sources. The chapter also elaborates and justifies the process of the research, data collection methods, analysis of data and the choice and use of mentioned approaches and methods. Methodological problems and limitations encountered in the process of research are other significant points presented in the chapter.

The following three chapters constitute the core analysis and discussion of the findings under three major themes which are structured under the approach of model and the general nature of the findings on the management reform process of Turkey. Evidence about the impacts of all these features, their interactions and diverse natures of their impacts are presented and discussed in these chapters. Relevance of the model with the research findings has been discussed in the each chapter and their concluding sections. In further detail, the fifth chapter looks at the first significant set of factors that have affected the management reform process in the period: Socio-Economic Forces. National and international economic conditions and economic crises are the first significant themes to explore. Considering the developing state status of the country and the relevant economic vulnerabilities, this has been a significant factor for Turkey. Strongly related with the first one, impacts of international organisations such as IMF, World Bank, OECD and the European Union are elaborated as the second important factor of the chapter. Having a rapidly developing economy, Turkey has been experiencing the emergence of new economic interest groups and the implications of this process and the impacts of new economic forces on the process has been another important section of the chapter. Lastly, socio-demographic dynamics and their impacts on the management reform processes are elaborated in the chapter before concluding.

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The sixth chapter involves the structural and functional factors effective on the management reform process, which mostly constitutes the significant resisting points of the reform process. The constitutional framework and its impacts are examined in the first section of chapter under the sub-headings of fundamental institutions and state structure. While the fundamental institutions section deals with the most effective institutional structures on the management reform process, which are the Presidency, Prime Ministry, Judiciary and the Military, state structure section briefly discusses the less important unitary and centralized nature of the state along with the horizontal coordination at central level. The second theme of the chapter is the nature of executive government and its implications on the management reform process. This aspect is strongly linked with the political stability. Understanding the nature of executive government and its impact on the process required a short examination of the elections and the representation system because of their implications on the distribution of parliament seats, establishment of diverse types of governments and the stability of the political atmosphere. After doing this, the nature of governments and its implications are discussed. Civil service and related subjects have been the following theme of the chapter. Relations between the politicians and high-level civil servants and the impacts of civil service on the management reform process are the subtitles of the discussion. Lastly, the political and administrative culture, a feature that permeates all the others, is examined with relation to its probable impacts on the management reform process, before the conclusion of the chapter.

The subject of chapter seven, the last empirical chapter, is the impacts of the political and administrative system of Turkey, elite decision-making and the chance events on the management reform process which constitute the planning, decision-making, introduction and implementation phases of the reform process. New management ideas circulating globally through international organizations, policy think tanks, academic institutions and inter-governmental relations and their implications on the public management policies of Turkey is the first theme of the chapter. Although they have only limited impacts on the process, pressures from the citizens and NGOs, impacts they have created in the process and the party political ideas couldn't be left out of the framework and they are briefly discussed in two following sections. The substantial impacts of the political will and determinations of politicians

on the planning, introduction and implementation of reform programs come next. The contents of reform packages and their compatibility with the national context are considered as another substantial factor of the process and examined under the following section. Discussion then moved to implementation process with its limited impacts, and it is examined along with the related aspects of monitoring mechanisms, results achieved and the feedback provided. Elite decision-making, the core of the policy-making process where the impacts of many other factors meet, and its impacts on the management reforms constitute the subjects of following section of the chapter. The last theme, before concluding the chapter, is the chance events that may generate great pressures on the policy makers and led to some important reform programmes.

Regarding the appendices, the first one is organised with an aim to present the institutional aspect and elaborates the structural, cultural and functional features of the Turkish state and politics related with the administrative reform process. The country's strong state tradition and institutional features rooted in the Ottoman Empire co-exist with the western style parliamentary democracy institutional features. Major subjects of the detailed evaluations can be summarised as; constitutional principles particularly including the unitary and centralized state structure, central organization of state machinery including the significantly powerful executive structures, civil service including its fundamental principles, senior positions and their relations with politicians, the Judicial structure including administrative jurisdiction, constitutional court and electoral system as a part of the Judiciary, military administration including its organizational structure, general role and impacts of the state machinery and policy making. Important distinctive features concluded in the chapter is strong reference to the unitary and centralized structure of the state, prevalent executive and extraordinary powers and impacts of some institutions such as the Presidency, the Judiciary and the Military.

Second appendix consists of the explanations and a detailed table of administrative reforms in Turkey between 1980 and 2010, in order to demonstrate the contents of administrative reform process and enlighten the experience of Turkey. Following some scholars of the field, the period is divided in line with the stages and the nature of the reforms. The first and second stages were mainly about the neo-liberal economic approach and

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regression of state from the control of the economy through privatization. The third stage was mainly about the implementation of NPM and Governance concepts such as transparency, accountability, participation and decentralization.

Chapter 2. The Administrative Reform Process of Turkey; Review of Literature

As many other States around globe, Turkey has been subject to fast and far-reaching administrative reform processes since the end of 1970s. As a notion, which affects all aspects of community life, (beyond being one of the most important agendas of States' and international organizations), administrative reform has occupied a major place in academic world and literature. Studies generally focused on the context, content and outcomes of these reforms. Large numbers of the studies examined administrative reforms of Turkey with various dimensions and aspects in general terms; however, these studies reflect diverse approaches as they perceived public administration reforms and reasons for these reforms in different contexts which resulted in different meanings. Examples which explore the topic in a more organized and comprehensive way are selected and elaborated here in detail. Moreover, since the focus of this research is on the factors affecting reforms, only relevant literature is reviewed in detail and the others referred to as appropriate.

In the reviewed literature pieces, there is a clear tendency to examine only the factors which are driving and triggering the reforms and these factors are distinguished between internal and external factors, giving priority to external ones. The organization of the chapter followed a parallel path and distinction is made between the external and internal factors as the major forces behind or against the reform process. After reading the literature in line with the research aims and identifying the most referenced factors under internal and external headings, sections are structured in accordance with further themes and factors remarked by the authors. Under these two major aspects, the arguments of the authors are presented and discussed in relation with their interactions, common points, weaknesses and strengths. Following this distinction, literature pieces with more comprehensive approaches are revisited in an effort to determine any gaps in the literature. Application of a thematic structure in line with the general framework of the research has been another useful aspect of such an outline.

2.1 The External Factors of Management Reform

A significant number of authors consider the external factors and their driving impacts as the major elements of the reform process over and above the other elements of the process. For the detail of the external factors, authors have concentrated on global economic forces, international organisations, loan agreements, grants and accession negotiations.

2.1.1 Global Economic Forces and International Organizations

A substantial part of the literature from a number of authors in the field considers international economic developments and pressures as important forces behind the reform process of Turkey (Güler 1996, 2003, 2005, 2010; Yayman 2008; Genç 2007). Three authors give major importance to these aspects and subsequent pressures as major factors on administrative reforms. According to the one of the most noted authors of the field, Güler, new-right policies and globalization process which began at the end of 1970s created great pressures on Turkey in order to connect it to the global capital and trade mechanisms. She leaves all other factors out of the table and links all administrative reforms to the international economic and political pressures which limits the argument and does not fit with the comprehensive nature of the topic.

Yayman, with a similar approach, links administrative reforms of post-1980 directly to global economic developments and argues administrative re-organization is the second phase of structural adjustment policies which started with the 24 January decisions and is designed to liberalize political and administrative systems. Both authors mention the importance of policy transfer in a coercive manner and particularly focus on the pressures from General Agreement On Trade In Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Güler 2005, p.16), OECD (Güler 2005, p.36, 165, 167), IMF (Güler 2005, p.165-6), World Bank (Güler 2005, p. 17, 165, 167) and EU (Güler 2005, p.168-9). The major argument is these factors limit the sovereignty of States and force them to make substantial changes in their political, fiscal and administrative structures (Yayman 2008, p. 297).

When we focus more on Güler, we can see she has a political point of view and she considers ‘the new right world’ order as a new form of imperialism and capitalism which undermines the notions of the nation-state and class. She argues in its global project, the ‘new right’ strengthened itself by appropriating leftist and social-democratic concepts (Güler 2010, p. 16) therefore administrative reforms in Turkey since 1980 have been part of these globally emerging ‘new right’ policies (Güler 2000, p. 16). The 1980 – 2000 period was “the dissolution of the state with a set of financial and economic decisions” (Güler 2000, p. 3). This processed along with structural adjustment loan agreements signed with The World Bank. Policy was mainly concerned with the economic intervention level of the state and implemented mostly on the SEEs, claims the author. She argues “In the 2000s, public administration has been chosen as the main domain for intervention” (Güler 2000, p.3). After the closure or elimination of SEEs, it required a redefinition of functions within the main administrative bodies. This was in line with the ‘new right’ restructuring movement and its plans. The main characteristics were:

- Pushing back administrative law.
- Giving autonomy to public institutions.
- Fragmentation of public administration.
- Council type organizations instead of ministries.
- Dominance of governance principles and decentralization policies at any cost (Güler 2000, p. 7 – 15).

These arguments clearly reflect that, although the factors they focus on have considerable influence on the administrative reform process, they exaggerate the importance of international pressures, and ignore all others, in particular, the internal driving and blocking factors and dynamics effective on reform processes. Some authors, such as Güler, even have a certain political and philosophical point of view which influences their judgements on the problem leading them to disregard other probable, mostly internal, implications of Turkey’s economy, politics and civil society over the administrative reform process. A common theme of these reviews focused on the global economic forces coupled with international organisations and their arguments are closely linked with the coercive mechanisms referred to which exaggerate the impact on the national context.

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2.1.2 Accession Negotiations, Loans and Grants: Conditions for Reforms

A number of authors link the impacts of global economic forces and international organisations to the conditional relations between international organisations and States. In this discussion, The European Union is the most referenced among the international organizations which has had a significant effect on the public administration of Turkey. Tutum (1995, p.475-6) is an early example of authors mentioning the role of EU on the administrative reform process of Turkey. Sözen and Shaw (2003), Yaşamış (2003) Balcı (2005) and İnat (2007) are additional names that consider the EU as the most influential reform agent and argue that the EU's political, economic, social conditions and demands regarding accession negotiations had a great effect on these reforms. According to authors, there are substantial differences between the administrative principles of the EU and the current administration of Turkey; however, they argue, closing the gap and becoming a full member of the EU represents the realisation of Turkey's modernization project and it is a potent motivation for the reforms.

Sözen and Shaw (2002), Sözen (2005), Avcıoğlu (2001) agree with other authors on the impacts of the EU and in addition, they focus on the need for loans, general economic conditions and related international pressures among the impetus for the administrative reforms. The authors claim the World Bank and IMF placed conditions on credits and loans whereas the EU insisted full membership will be linked to the re-organization of the State structure. Turkey's long term dependency on foreign loans and strong commitment to become an EU member is linked to these arguments and accepted as additional reasons for being open to these conditional relations with such organizations (Sözen and Shaw 2002, p.478; Sözen 2005, p.201; Avcıoğlu 2001).

Having a similar external effect focused approach; some authors take different perspective and point out another effect of international organizations via new public administration concepts and models. The authors argue that re-organization of public administration in Turkey is affected by participation and governance concepts (Zabcı 2002; Güzelsarı 2003; Kesim & Petek 2005; Özaslan 2005) or as a general point of view by 'new right' ideas and a new public management model (Gül and Memişoğlu 2007, p. 58). The common

point of their arguments is Turkey's public administration reform is clearly supported by international organizations such as the UN, OECD, EU, IMF and the World Bank within the framework of Governance and NPM. Aykaç et al. add policy transfer as a factor to the discussion and mention reform policies are created with the pressures of external dynamics rather than internal ones and implementations have mostly been a reproduction of the system of the country from which it was transferred (Aykaç et al. 2003, p.167).

The review of the literature giving priority to the external factors shows global economic forces and pressures of international organizations are regarded by these authors as quite significant, even as the fundamental elements of the reform process of Turkey. This is a common and strong argument in the recent history of Turkey and most of these studies contribute to the literature by validating this argument scientifically. One problem of this section could be that, part of these authors considers these factors as the sole driving forces of administrative reforms but ignore internal elements which interact with external factors and consequently have a positive or negative effect on the process at the same time. This is one of the major weaknesses of the literature about the administrative reform process of Turkey. Conversely the authors, while putting external factors at the centre of the debate, consider internal elements which would affect the reform process. However, it does not represent an organized and interactive approach.

2.2 The Internal Factors of Management Reforms

Review of the literature reveals a considerable number of authors in the field give as much importance to the internal factors as the external ones. They focus on both the driving and blocking natures of the factors listed below. However, this focus of authors on the various factors isn't sufficient to solve the problem of integrity and the lack of interactive examination of various factors.

2.2.1 The Political and Administrative Culture

Long lasting and deep rooted cultural factors are among the most referenced factors on the administrative reform process. The perception of its impacts on the process is mostly of a blocking and impeding nature. While some authors

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such as Tutum (1995) and Berkman and Heper (2001) state the high importance of values, norms, social relations and political power configurations, others mention cultural factors as important reasons for failure of the reform policies (Aykaç et al. 2003). The common point is the fact reforms are not only procedural or legislative processes, but they involve social, ideological and cultural dimensions of the organizational structures which have a substantial impact on the administrative reform process and change.

The heritage of a strong State tradition stemming from the Ottoman Empire and related cultural aspects of administration and politics are the themes visited by some significant authors (Sözen and Shaw 2003, Sözen 2005, Kutlu 2004, Sezen 2011 and Sözen 2012), and identified as obstructing factors on the administrative reform process. The inherited notion of the State had important implications for institutional regulations and arrangements which are exemplified with the creation of autonomous State institutions such as the military, constitutional court, civil service and related institutions. Commenting on the difficulties of implementing new reform policies, Sözen argues “the prevalent state-centred administrative culture might pose great difficulties in implementing reforms because of incompatibility between traditional administrative structure and recent reforms which reflect good governance and managerialist approach” (Sözen 2012, p.172).

Some pieces of the literature, particularly from Heper and Keyman (1998), Sözen and Shaw (2002, 2003) and Sözen (2005) consider clientelism and patronage relations as important aspects of political and administrative cultural effect on the administrative reform process. The authors generally specify clientelism and party patronage as two factors which “severely limited” the introduction of reforms. In their two articles, Sözen and Shaw (2002, 2003) identify the nature of party patronage as the transfer of state resources to party supporters through clientelistic relations and network politics. Authors argue within such a structure, it would be naive to expect the policy-makers (politicians and senior bureaucrats) to initiate reform programmes and create a legal-rational public administration that will threaten their well-entrenched interests (Sözen and Shaw 2002, p. 481; 2003, p.114).

2.2.2 The Structural Features and Problems of Public Sector

General structural features, problems and shortcomings of existing public administration have been regarded by an important part of the literature as another significant factor affecting the reform process, particularly as a driving force for administrative change. Public sector inefficiency, ineffectiveness, responsiveness, increasing corruption and incapability of the general system and civil service on meeting increasing expectations are problematic areas proposed by leading authors such as Al (2002), Yaşamış 2003, Dinçer and Yılmaz (2003), Eryılmaz (2004, 2007), Sözen (2005), Genç (2010) and Sezen (2011).

The arguments of Dinçer and Yılmaz (2003) in their guiding study are significant for the reason they have held important roles in the executive in the rigorous reform period of post-2002. They mention four critical gaps of public administration which affect the process of change as:

- The Strategic gap: Lack of a strategic approach, deriving from the incorrect and inadequate evaluation of the local, regional and global trends leads to the short term, unresponsive policies and failures (Dinçer and Yılmaz 2003, pp. 66 – 67).
- The Performance gap: Gap between the expectations of the citizens, policy aims and the real performance of the public sector increased by the time (Dinçer and Yılmaz 2003, pp. 67-70).
- The Financial gap: Irrational distribution and ineffective use of the financial sources by the political executives and public administration generated this problem (Dinçer and Yılmaz 2003, pp. 70-72).
- The Confidence gap: Deep economic and political crises, ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the public sector created a problem of lack of confidence to the public administration (Dinçer and Yılmaz 2003, pp. 72 – 74).

Furthermore they add the reasons for the need for the change in public administration as:

- Inadequacy of administrative philosophy and structure,
- Acute expansion of the administrative structure,
- The crisis of public finance and debt management,

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- The crisis of public personnel policy,
- The inadequacy of public auditing structures,
- Lastly, the waste of public resources and corruption (Dinçer and Yılmaz 2003, pp. 81 - 112).

Similar to Sezen (2011, pp. 337 - 338), they particularly focus on the shortcomings of legalist and rationalist Weberian bureaucratic structure as a factor triggering the need for change. While mentioning its contributions on the development of welfare and democracy, they claim that Weberian bureaucracy is now inefficient and ineffective in changing general conditions.

Looking from a different perspective; in addition to the role of the bureaucracy and more importantly, Sezen (2011) puts the legal status of reform policies as the primary cause of impeding factors that prevent implementation of administrative reforms in Turkey. This aspect reflects the embedded constitutional structure and judicial system. The author mentions the military and the legalistic tradition, especially the judiciary as institutional factors which have had ability to impede reforms.

2.2.3 Socio-Demographic Factors and Pressures from Citizens and NGOs

Regarding the socio-demographic factors, Sözen (2005) is the only one who strongly refers socio-demographic factors as an important driver of administrative reforms. He argues socio-demographic trends impose on Turkish Governments the immense task of providing sufficient public services such as health, education and social security which creates intense pressures for administrative reforms (Sözen 2005, p.198). On the other side of the discussion, there is not a consensus in the literature on the role of Citizen and NGO pressures on the administrative reform process. A group of authors (Al 2002; Parlak 2003; Dinçer and Yılmaz 2003; Eryılmaz 2004, 2007; Şaylan 2007 and Genç 2010); consider the increasing demands of civil society and NGOs for higher quality public services as driving factors of the management reform process. Demands of citizens and NGOs, according to the authors, have intensified demand for high quality public services and participation in the decision-making processes. Public services and political structures which fail to provide effective public services have been subject to criticism and pressures.

Sezen (2011), Uğur and Yankaya (2008) and Sözen (2009), put forward the increasing impacts of the business world and related NGOs and propose the TUSİAD as an example which supports reforms because their demands overlap with the policies of international organizations.

Some other authors (Sözen and Shaw 2002, Sözen 2005) on the other hand, argue the pressures faced by Turkish state and administration is far from the ones experienced by western developed states due to the particular nature of the relationship between state and civil society. Apart from being a driving factor, authors argue lack of such pressures is among the barriers to the administrative reforms. Consequently, Sözen (2005, pp. 208 – 209) argues it is quite difficult to view Turkish civil society as one of the major agents of change and considers “absence or weakness” of civil society in terms of administrative reform pressures as an important challenge of reform process.

2.2.4 Political Stability and Majority Governments

Political stability is considered among the important factors of reform processes by authors such as Dinçer and Yılmaz (2003), Aykaç et al. (2003) Kutlu (2004) and Sözen (2005). The majority governments of post-2002 are mentioned by authors as important internal factors which create positive impacts on administrative reforms. Dinçer and Yılmaz argue the general performance of public administration and realization of necessary re-organizations on the structure have failed because of political instability (2003, pp. 77 – 78). As a different approach, Aykaç et al. argue that, as a subject of political debate, reform has been deliberately made an ideological concept and has been a subject of struggle between those for and against reform and is an obstacle for the reform process (Aykaç et al. 2003, p.139). The authors also claim the inconsistent political arena, military interventions and weak coalition governments made long term reform policies difficult to implement (Aykaç et al. 2003, p.139). These authors highlight an important background factor of the reform process. However, the existence of a majority government or a politically stable period on its own is not sufficient without other driving factors such as dedicated politicians and civil servants.

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2.2.5 The Public Finance Crisis

Crises and shortcomings of public finance is another important driver of the need for administrative reform outlined in early examples of Turkish literature. Among the literature reviewed here, Sözen and Shaw (2002), Yaşamış (2003), Güler (1996, 2003 and 2005) and Eryılmaz (2004, 2007) mention the shortage of public resources among the major reasons for State reform. Yaşamış (2003, pp. 94-102) goes one step further and considers this as the main reason behind reforms while locating other factors around this major theme. Through 1980s and 1990s, Turkish Governments were under increasing spending demands particularly for schools, housing and health services while the Turkish economy endured persistently high rates of inflation and an extremely high public spending deficit. In order to satisfy the needs, the State had to cut or minimise current spending and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of its public administration. This situation triggered the administrative reforms according to a number of authors. Apart from detailed explanations, this factor is mentioned by nearly all authors but due to its links with the global economic order and international organisations, this is usually evaluated as a part or result of external factors.

2.2.6 The Political Will

Political will and commitment of executives to the administrative reforms is claimed by some authors as an important effective factor of the process. Tutum (1995), Şaylan (2001), Mihçioğlu (2003), Kutlu (2004), Akdoğan (2004) and Sözen (2012) agree on the fact political will is one of the most important factors necessary for the launch and implementation of administrative reforms. Some authors even consider political will and dedication as the most important initial components of a comprehensive reform program (Şaylan 2001, p.34). This group argue with the examples they provide that, lack of this factor is a significant reason for failure of the reform processes.

2.3 The Comprehensive Approaches

A review of major themes in the literature from leading authors of administrative reforms revealed some studies such as Tutum (1995), Al (2002), Dinçer and Yılmaz (2003), Eryılmaz (2004, 2007), Akdoğan (2004), Genç

(2010), Sezen (2011) and Sözen (2012) which are relatively more comprehensive and examined more factors on the process of administrative reforms.

In 2012 re-publication of an earlier article, Tutum (1995), regarding Europe, proposes four major forces which drive public administrations to change after 1980. First is Globalization of financial and industrial markets and ideological and political pressures; which can be summarized as the rise of neo-liberalism and related economic and political policies (Tutum 1995, p. 475-476). Looking at Turkey, the author proposes similar forces which are effective but also adds some country specific factors which create pressure for change such as debate in economic circles concerning increasing efficiency and effectiveness of the state machinery and minimising the state's role in business by privatization of State economic enterprises (Tutum 1995, p. 484-485).

Eryilmaz agrees with Güler and the others on the effects of economic conditions and international organisations. However, he distinguishes between internal and external factors and while defining EU candidacy process, IMF and World Bank policy pressures, globalization and related competition as external factors, he proposes public finance crises, public sector inefficiency, ineffectiveness and responsiveness, increasing corruption and lastly increasing demands from society for participation, accountability, transparency and decentralization as internal factors. The Approach of Eryilmaz is relatively more comprehensive than other studies and covers more elements of the process. Moreover, similar to Güler, Eryilmaz distinguishes the post 1980 reform process of Turkey between three stages, which clearly reflects the aims and contents of the administrative reforms;

- First Stage; Legal-Structural Liberalization in Public Sector, Abolishment of Subsidies and austerity measures (1980-1985) (Neo-Liberal Approach and New Public Management model)
- Second Stage; Privatization of SEEs (State Owned Enterprises), Public Services Efficiency and Effectiveness Policies and Regulatory Boards (Further NPM style reforms)
- Third Stage; Citizen Centred Public Services, Accountability of Public sector, good Governance, Decentralization, transparency in administration, performance management (post 2002).

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Another comprehensive examination comes from Akdoğan (2004, p. 20), who has similar ideas about international economic conditions and organizations but also proposes some pre-conditions which includes some internal factors. According to the author, Public Administration reform is a new pillar of structural adjustment policies which have been implemented since 1980s with the support of international organizations such as IMF, World Bank, OECD and the EU. After elaborating the case of Turkey in his study, in addition to the proposed four specific pre-conditions for administrative reforms, (a change in political leadership, transformation of community and public attitudes, intellectual changes about administrative theories and urgent need for change after failure of previous policies) (Akdoğan 2004,p. 17-20), the author adds the approach and effects of international organizations such as IMF and World Bank, originating from the developing state status of Turkey (Akdoğan 2004, p. 20), as another reference of the influence of external financial sources and impacts of international organisations.

In their study, which is an official publication regarding re-organization of public administration, Dinçer and Yılmaz (2003) examine administrative reform experiences of nine developed countries and try to elaborate on the conditions and needs of Turkey. This study has a very broad approach regarding the process of administrative reforms and examines a number of diverse factors affecting reform processes. Included in this study, general economic conditions, related economic crises, elements of political and administrative culture, structural problems, inefficiency of public administration and EU accession processes are mentioned as important factors affecting the administration and creating the dynamics for administrative reforms amongst many other factors elaborated below in other sections (Dinçer and Yılmaz 2003, pp. 74 – 80).

Genç (2010, p.147) and Al (2002, p.79-131) also have a broader approach and list a substantial number of factors affecting the transformation of public management. Among these, they mention:

- The oil crisis of 1970s.
- The perception of welfare state.
- Keynesian state policies and large public sectors as being responsible for the economic crisis of late 1970s.

- Active policies of OECD, World Bank and IMF in the circulation of 'new right' ideas and relevant administrative models and globalization as an overarching factor.

Although their approach is more comprehensive and inclusive, they still focus mostly on the external factors and driving forces of administrative reforms.

In his latest and more updated article regarding the administrative reforms of last decade, Sözen distinguishes between internal and external factors. While he mentions internal factors such as political and administrative culture, structural problems and political will he lists international organizations (IMF, World Bank, EU and the OECD) as key factors behind administrative reforms (Sözen 2012, p.173). He argues the EU accession process has contributed much to the administrative reforms. The author also mentions the loan agreements signed by Turkey with international organizations such as IMF and the World Bank and the conditions attached to them as other external factors affecting public administration reforms (Sözen 2012, p.168).

Similar to Sözen, Sezen (2011) also distinguishes between international and domestic explanations of reform processes in his article examining administrative reforms in Turkey. The internal factors proposed by the author are structural features and problems of administration, citizen and NGO pressures. The main argument of the article is, administrative reforms in Turkey are proper examples of policy transfer because reform policies are mainly encouraged by external actors such as the EU, the IMF, and the World Bank (Sezen 2011, p.322). The author argues the situation of Turkey, regarding the policy transfer through international and supranational organizations, is very similar in most other developing countries (Sezen 2011, p. 335). Conditions accompanying loan agreements with the World Bank and letters of intent presented to the IMF, contain not only the macro-economic and financial policies of the country but also the administrative reform ideas which will facilitate the former ones (Sezen 2011, p. 336). The focus and credit is still on the external factors in the approach of the author.

Owners of the more comprehensive approaches presented above still have serious limitations in explaining the process of administrative reforms. Most importantly, external driving factors are still perceived as more important than the internal ones. Moreover, interactions between internal and external factors

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and between the factors within each cluster aren't given enough attention. Lack of such a holistic and interactive approach prevents a healthy examination of the process with all dimensions.

2.4 Beyond the Existing Literature

The literature suggests Turkey has undergone substantial legal and structural reforms in last three decades and there have been significant factors affecting these reforms. Most of these studies made important points regarding the problem of the reform process with diverse approaches and helped clarifying the effective factors of the process. The general tendency among the authors is to distinguish effective factors on administrative reforms between the internal and external. Some limited number of authors on the other hand, chose a different path in classification of factors and distinguished effective factors between driving and obstructing ones. The authors vary on the degree of their focus on both aspects of these distinctions as well.

As a general trend, global economic forces, pressures of international organizations are cited as external factors and structural features, problems of public sector, administrative and political culture are cited as internal factors, having the highest influence on the process. Among these factors, studies usually focus on the driving forces of administrative reforms and underrate the institutional dimensions which shape, block and obstruct the reform efforts. As a specific point, despite the higher focus on driving factors, some important internal driving factors such as socio-demographic dynamics are underrated in the literature and proposed by only a small number of authors. A limited number of authors with more comprehensive approaches argue factors involved in the reform process are simultaneously driving, enhancing and obstructing components of administrative reform, but their examinations and arguments are not sufficient in illuminating the causal relations and interactions between all these factors. One last point to emphasize would be that, most of the factors which drive the administrative change and reforms are related with the New Public Management philosophy, which aims to create more efficient and effective public organizations.

After the grounding evaluations, it is fair to summarize major weak points of the literature under some major themes.

- First of all, theoretically, there is no consistency about the aims of studies and definition of fundamental concepts. Each author perceives public administration, reforms and reasons for these reforms in different contexts resulting in different meanings.
- Second, and most important is, although the authors identified and analysed almost all effective factors on the process, it is fair to argue the studies and their analysis are mostly focused on particular individual aspects as determinants of the administrative reform process with particular viewpoints and underemphasize other elements which would be effective on the process and generate diverse nature of impacts at the same time.
- Moreover, a large part of the literature ignores the interactions and causal relationships between these diverse effective factors and evaluates the process in a fragmented way lacking a holistic approach and integrity.
- There is only limited number of studies in the field which comprehensively explores the effective factors on administrative reform process and presents these factors with a relatively holistic approach and a systematic logical framework. But such studies still focus on some particular dimensions and miss the important interactions and inter-relations.
- While addressing typical factors affecting administrative reforms, it is obvious most authors had difficulty in demonstrating how these factors affected the process and providing clear evidence for their arguments.
- Regarding the approach of the studies, a critical stance is rare, particularly regarding other pieces of literature, ideas and findings of their authors.
- Lastly, with regards to the methodological standpoint of the studies, it is fair to say there is few field studies in the reviewed literature involving interviews with the political and administrative elites in particular that would give depth to the analysis and can be referenced as scientific evidence derived from primary data sources. Most of these studies use secondary documentary data and their analyses.

After discussing the weak points in the literature, some substantial elements missing in this large body can be identified.

- Firstly, clear definitions of study aims and related concepts are absent.
- A clear theoretical approach that would suit to the context of the country is missing.

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- Lack of a comprehensive and holistic approach in terms of examination and presentation of all effective factors and their interactions is another significant point.
- Lastly, considering the depth of the matters in discussion, a clear plan to use all relevant scientific methods, particularly the usage of elite interviews to provide evidence for deep discussions and a critical approach in all phases of the research study, is necessary but missing in the literature.

In the light of these discussions, this research seeks to fill the gap in the literature by analysing all effective factors on the reform process of Turkey with a more comprehensive and holistic approach involving the interactions. The primary research aim is to understand which factors have affected administrative reforms in Turkey in the period of 1980-2000 and their interactions during this process. Taking into account the missing points in the literature mentioned above, firstly, concepts of public administration and reform are clearly defined in line with worldwide academic and organizational literature. As it is detailed in the following chapter related with the theoretical debates and framework of the research, a comprehensive and inclusive administrative reform model is chosen from the theoretical debate, applied to Turkey and, with a critical approach, modified in line with the needs of context to be used as a theoretical framework. Finally, relevant research design and methods are identified and implemented, as detailed in the chapter on design and methods, to provide scientifically valid evidence for the arguments. In conclusion, filling the gaps of the omissions, the study is anticipated to make a threefold contribution.

- First, a contribution to the Turkish literature is anticipated by presenting a comprehensive research which enables a deep understanding about the reform experience of Turkey and factors affecting this reform process in the period of 1980-2010.
- Second, a contribution to the general literature on management reform is anticipated by exploring the factors affecting administrative reforms of Turkey and reaching to some conclusions which would have some implications for other developing countries.
- Third, a contribution to the theoretical debate is anticipated by applying a well-known model as a framework on a different level of the country (a developing state) for the first time, testing the utility of the model on this

setting and making some necessary modifications in compliance with the needs of the new context.

Chapter 3. The Theoretical Debates and Framework of the Study

The theoretical framework of the study is developed from substantial concepts and related studies of the field, which take place in this chapter. Taking into account the conclusions of the previous chapter highlighting the lack of a comprehensive and holistic approach in the literature on the administrative reform process of Turkey, it requires a broad review of the global perspective to establish a framework for the research. The literature on public administration and administrative reform is extensive and concentrates on different aspects of the topic. In line with the period of the research interest, the initial focus is on the reform debates of the last three decades. This period witnessed fundamental reform efforts around the globe and this has been of the major interest to relevant academic circles. In the early studies, claims were made of global convergence on reform packages. The spread of administrative reform models globally introduced the concept of policy transfer. However, as a reaction to convergence claims, studies turned their focus on the different reform experiences of other countries. The distinctive conditions of each country resulted in diverse reform implementations under similar pressures. In order to understand this, the focus moved to distinctive conditions and diverse factors affecting reform processes of the different countries.

Historical institutionalism should be seen as a major theoretical tool to examine and explain the different experiences originating from the institutional backgrounds in the different countries. The study is influenced by this theory because it has utility in explaining some important dimensions of the topic. For this reason, the fundamental aspects of the theory, along with the problems associated with explaining change, and its possible implications for the research procedures are elaborated. The main literature and discussions on administrative reforms in developing countries is discussed in the following section in an effort to examine some ideas regarding the major differences of the study context. In the second main section, the establishment of the study framework is presented and justified. The administrative reform model, which is chosen as a framework for the research is elaborated in this section, with reference to its comprehensive and inclusive nature. Before

concluding the chapter, procedures for the adoption of the model is discussed in an effort to build the framework for the study.

3.1 The Reform Debates of the last three decades

The relevant literature on the existence of the global trend of administrative reforms in last three decades is not in question. Kettl (2000, 2005) argues since the 1980s, administrative reform is a global trend. Many governments have commenced reforming their public administrations. Peters and Pierre (2001, p.1) make a parallel but stronger claim “Except perhaps during major wars there never has been the extent of administrative reform and reorganization that has been occurring during the period from approximately 1975 onward”. Toonen (2003, p.474) looks from the window of the States and mentions involvement of countries in the reform processes over the past decades is their main common point. Kickert and Van der Meer (2011, p.476) even named the past decades as an “age of reform” throughout the Western world.

Early research on public administration reforms concentrates mostly on two aspects which are strongly related. The first is a mixture of economic-political pressure emanating from general economic conditions, Neo-liberal ideas and the impacts of rapid globalisation. Some authors mark the post-1980 period of rapid globalization, capital and expansion of markets at the expense of the public sector for example (Farazmand 2001, p.7). The second is the ingredients and models of reform programmes being implemented globally. The starting point is the ‘New Public Management’ which stems from a broad neo-liberal ideology and a particular set of economic theories and normative values with the main focus on increasing efficiency. As Farazmand (2001, p.7) states, “the 1980s marked the beginning of an era of administrative reform with an opposite direction: privatization, commercialization, marketization, government retrenchment and de-bureaucratization now replaced the earlier trends of nationalization and public sector development”. With these major themes, by the end of 1980s, a new model of public administration had emerged in most of the developed countries and many of the developing ones. Several names have been used for the new model such as; ‘managerialism’ (Pollitt, 1993); ‘new public management’ (Hood, 1991) or ‘entrepreneurial government’ (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). Despite the different labelling, as

Hughes (2003, p.4) argued, the described model was the same. This was the replacement of traditional bureaucracy with a completely different model based on markets. Debate on the labelling concluded with the term 'New Public Management'. The concept of New Public Management, its emergence in Anglo-Saxon nations then spread to the globe with the help of international organizations, policy consultants and the academic world has since been the major focus of the studies.

This concept was built on the strong criticism of the traditional public sector. Authors such as Hood (1991), Aucoin (1995), Pollitt and Summa (1997), Pollitt and Bouckaert (2000, 2004, 2011) and Barzelay (2001) have defined and characterized the overall contents of the New Public Management reform initiatives as:

- Downsizing, decentralisation & corporatisation.
- Delegation of managerial authorities, contracting out.
- Competition & accountability.
- Performance management & the introduction of output control.
- Clarification of responsibilities, personnel management.
- Empowerment of citizens as customers, one-stop service delivery.
- Separation of politics from administration and increased use of information technology.

Dunleavy (2006a) summarized the model as “disaggregation, competition and incentivization”. At first, discussion was positive in the 1980s and early 1990s, when some authors hailed it as a new paradigm (Osborne and Gaebler 1992). Then scepticism emerged in the late 1990s (Schick, 1998) and in 2000s, authors such as Dunleavy (et al. 2006b) and Drechsler (2005a) claimed NPM was in decline and even dead. In the whole period, NPM dominated discussions of practitioners and academics on the subject of public sector reform.

Although such normative reform models and their natures had changed by the time, concentration of authors on these models and their contents continued. NPM style reforms have been replaced by other reform models with different approaches and contents according to a large part of literature. This is observed on the theories of the Neo Weberian State (Pollitt 2004, 2011; Drechsler 2005a-b, 2009), theories on “governance” (Lijphart 1999, Kettl 2002, Bevir 2010, Pierre and Peters 2000) and/or “network governance” (Milward and

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Provan 2000, Klijn 2005, 2008, Bourgon 2007, Koliba et al. 2010, Castells 2010) (*note in a large part of the literature, governance and network governance are considered as strongly related*).

3.1.1 Convergence Claims and Policy Transfer

Following the rapid implementations of NPM policies globally, there are several studies which highlight a remarkable degree of policy convergence. The argument of Kickert and Van der Meer is that, all the developed world allegedly was converging upon one single type of administrative reform. They state, “At least, that is what protagonists of public management reform, such as the OECD and the World Bank, wanted us to believe.” (Kickert & Van der Meer 2011, p.476). Farazmand (2001, p. Preface) took it further and claimed under the direct influence of globally dominant superpowers, the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organization have forced almost all less developed nations to structurally adjust their governments and administrative systems to these new global trends. Some influential voices (Kettl 2005, Hughes 2003 and Gualmini 2008) agreed on the convergence claims and argued this convergence has been towards the NPM model.

Policy transfer is an important part of theoretical discussions on policy convergence (Knill 2005, pp. 765-766) and is considered as the most important tool of the convergence process that has been very effective spreading administrative reform. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p. 5) define policy transfer as “processes by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political system (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political system”. Apart from this, there is a considerable amount of literature proposing different approaches and definitions for the concept (Common 1998, Radaelli, 2000; Newmark, 2002; James and Lodge 2003; Evans 2009). Regarding the nature of transfers, while Rose (1993) focuses on the voluntary lesson, Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) comprehensively cover voluntary and coercive transfer and locate them on two ends of a continuum. They identify coercive policy transfer as ‘[...] involves one government or supranational institution pushing, or even forcing, another government to adopt a particular programme’ (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, p.

344) and this concept constitutes an important dynamic of the external pressures of reform process.

If we look at the agents of transfers, Stone (2004, pp.552-7) classifies the major ones as International organizations (the OECD, UN, EU, WTO, IMF and the World Bank), non-state actors (NGOs, think-tanks, consultancy firms and research institutes), transnational think-tanks (Freedom House, the Open Society Institutes and the Evian Group) and international foundations. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p.11) claim 'these organizations influence national policy-makers directly, through their policies and loan conditions, and indirectly, through the information and policies spread at their conferences and reports'. 'In addition, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are also increasing their influence over global public policy through their ability to spread ideas and information on an international level'. After all the narratives, however, it can be argued that, as stated in the definition of Dolowitz and Marsh, policy transfer is about processes rather than results. It creates some impacts which may not lead to policy convergence at all. These concepts and related processes have relatively more impact on the developing countries due to the relations with the international organisations and from this dimension, it is strongly linked to the particular effective factors of the study framework.

3.1.2 The Diverse Patterns of Administrative Reforms

If we return to discussions on convergence, Kickert and Van der Meer (2011, p.476) argue, in reaction to this worldwide convergence hypothesis, scholars of administrative reform have engaged in international comparative studies and found that public management reforms varied across countries. Evidence from international comparisons demonstrated substantial differences in the pace, nature and the extent of NPM-type reforms (Walsh 1995; Ridley 1996; Ferlie et al. 1996, Pollitt and Summa 1997). Ridley (1996) claim economic concerns and the aim of more efficiency caused by economic problems has led European States to follow a similar path, however none have been as determined as the UK in implementing sweeping NPM style reforms. The reasons for these diverse attitudes and implementations, according to the Ridley, are the cultural and political factors such as constitutional and legislative structures and the system of government. In their study comparing NPM reform progressions in four countries (Finland, New Zealand, Sweden and the UK), Pollitt and Summa

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(1997) similarly point to the political and cultural factors as the source of the differing rates of progress.

Knill (2005) already confirms the different degrees of convergence and argues there are potential factors generating these differences. First is the institutional similarity of countries and relevance of the transferred policies to the existing institutional arrangements. The second factor is cultural similarity. Strang and Meyer (1993) claim decision-makers are expected to look to the practices of countries with similar cultural characteristics in their search for relevant policy models. Finally similar socio-economic structures and development levels are important factors which would facilitate the transfer of policies across countries. Similarly Ferlie, Lynn and Pollitt (2005, p. 721) and Toonen (2003, p.474) argue there are obvious differences in the various countries regarding the process of administrative reforms and each country makes its own translation or adaptation. This is also seen in recent research on administrative developments in Central and Eastern Europe (Bouckaert et al. 2009). Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004) exemplify the situation as; apart from the sample “success stories” of public management reform in the Anglo-Saxon world, especially Britain and New Zealand, in many countries such reform appeared to be far less successful. Administrative reform in actual reality usually appeared to be a slow, incremental and gradual process involving small changes.

More specifically, in the study evaluating a group of States, Kickert (2007) argues States with Napoleonic traditions followed the NPM in a limited and selective way. Similar examples can be given from another study on Germany and Belgium (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011). As a conclusion, national histories and characteristics of national institutions have always had a substantial influence on reform policies. Esping-Andersen emphasises the impact of such institutions by stating that “There is a continued dominance of national institutional traditions” (Esping-Andersen 1996, p.6) and mentions the resistance aspect of institutions by adding “Resistance to change is to be expected: long-established policies become institutionalized, and cultivate vested interests in their perpetuation; [...]” (Esping-Andersen 1996, p.24). Apart from these examples and their explanations, many additional studies challenged the idea of cross-national policy convergence by identifying

fundamental differences in national contexts, their institutions and other notable factors.

3.1.3 Historical Institutionalism

Reviewing the literature regarding administrative change and reform proved the dominance of institutional theory literature. It is claimed by some authors, historical institutionalism constitutes the most extensive body of empirical work to date (Lowndes 2002, p. 96). This theory, according to Kuipers et al. (2012, p.30), enables rich analysis of the context of change along with the actors and their power also receives considerable attention. Institutional theory or approach includes institutional and cultural factors to the study of administrative reforms. In this approach, organizational change and reform takes place not only as a response to environmental pressures and the decisions of leaders in line with global reform models, but also through changes and modifications of internal collective values, culture and structure of the relevant organization. Parallel to Kuipers et al., Sanders looks from the point of pragmatic research needs and identifies the central assumption of historical institutionalism as its effectiveness to the study of administrative and political interactions of people: (a) In the context of rule structures that are themselves people creations, (b) Chronologically, instead of taking a snapshot of those interactions at only one point in time, and in isolation from the real life conditions in which they take place (Sanders 2006, p.39).

Lowndes adds to the argument by proposing the new institutionalists' concerns on the informal conventions of political life in addition to the formal constitutions and organizational structures. "New attention is paid to the way in which institutions embody values and power relationships, and to the obstacles as well as opportunities that confront institutional design" (Lowndes 2002, p. 91). In this broad understanding, political institutions are no longer equated with political organizations; 'institution' is understood more broadly to refer to a 'stable, recurring pattern of behaviour' (Goodin 1996, 22).

Among the institutional theories 'historical institutionalism' (Thelen 1999, Pierson 2004, Sanders 2006) teaches us that "history matters". This is the core message of the theoretical framework of 'historical institutionalism' (Thelen 1999, 2003; Pierson 2004; Peters 2005, Streeck and Thelen 2005). This theory

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asserts administrative reforms depend on the historical path that led to the current position of State and administration. Proposing the importance of institutional paths, Pierson puts it as, historical institutionalism stress many of the contemporary implications of the temporal processes are embedded in institutions whether these are formal rules, policy structures, or norms (Pierson 1996, p.126). The fundamental consequence of this approach is the difficulty in changing long lasting institutional patterns (Mahoney 2000). The question of whether these institutional patterns have obstructive or facilitator effects on the reform process is a fundamental point of the argument. Hall (in Steinmo, Thelen and Longstreth 1992, p. 107) confronts a widespread biased approach regarding the conservative and therefore obstructive role of institutions while studying their interrelations in Great Britain. Exploring the problem, he points out some institutional structures may facilitate change and encourage innovation. He suggests “[...] some kinds of institutional configurations may be systematically biased in favour of change. The combination of responsible government and a two party political system that we find in Britain may be precisely such a configuration.” (Hall 1992, p.107).

Concerning the nature of change, Historical Institutionalism explains the change with evolutionary models. Elaborating on this, long periods of institutional equilibrium are briefly interrupted by an external shock (critical juncture) that interrupts the equilibrium and enables a sudden radical change and then next equilibrium starts. This is named “punctuated equilibrium.” In the long periods between such brief “critical junctures” reforms are piecemeal, gradual, and incremental (Pierson 2004, Pierson and Skocpol 2002, Thelen 1999). As an empirical contribution to the theory, while evaluating the research on southern European countries, Kickert (2011, p.802) states one of the major conclusions of the country experiences as; “administrative reform is a slow process of incremental small changes, with radical changes occurring only occasionally”. Kickert and Van der Meer similarly put this as, “In actual reality many things do “really” change. Small and slow changes do “really” matter” (Kickert and Van der Meer 2011, p.484).

Still, it is fair to argue based on the large part of discussion that, the theory has some problems in explaining the change and leads to the difficulty in changing historical institutional patterns. The Historical Institutionalism approach leads us to the perception that long-standing institutional patterns

are not easily changed and institutional patterns possess a large degree of stability. In this atmosphere, real substantial changes are generally only possible when an external shock occurs such as an economic crisis, a disaster, or some kind of revolution. As Mahoney (2000) puts it, institutional stability and immobilism are often the result of this 'path-dependency'.

3.1.4 The Administrative Reforms and Developing Countries

Due to the developing State status of Turkey, it seems necessary to visit the discussions on administrative reforms in developing nations and the differences this creates on the process. The concept of 'developing' world represents a substantial group of countries which have fundamental differences between them. What is meant by the developing world is also known as 'the third world', 'the south' and less developed countries (Burnell and Randall 2008, p.3). Polidano and Hulme (1999, p.122) make a similar argument as "Generalizations about 'the developing world' must be made with extreme caution given the vastness and diversity of the geographical area covered by the term". In the comparative public administration book, Heady (1991, p.270) argues that "despite their differences, all of these countries can be called developing because of what they do have in common". Although they are not completely valid for the situation in Turkey which is detailed in appendixes, it would be useful to present the five common features of developing State administrations from Heady (1991, pp.298 - 301);

- The basic pattern of public administration is imitative.
- The bureaucracies are deficient in skilled manpower necessary for development programmes.
- Orientations of bureaucracies are towards goal realization and personal expediency rather than program objectives and public principled interest (Heady 1991, p.299).
- The widespread discrepancy between form and reality, which can also be called as formalism.
- The final feature is generous operational autonomy of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy has a near monopoly on technical expertise, and benefits from the prestige that originates from the professional expertise. Some parts of bureaucracy such as military have also access to weaponry for coercion.

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On the administrative reforms in developing countries, a substantial part of the literature seems focused on the application of NPM type reforms in the developing States. In their article examining key issues in public management reform in developing countries, Polidano and Hulme (1999) ask the question “how does public management reform in developing countries differ from that in industrialized countries?” and concentrates on NPM reforms. One of the major issues the authors argue is the dominant effect of international donor agencies which design the reforms and dictate to the countries with the power of funding (Polidano and Hulme 1999, p.128). They add other factors: inadequacies in the content of reforms, design stage of reforms, and complexity of the problems of public management in developing countries (Polidano and Hulme 1999, p.129). Having a broader approach, Larbi and Batley (2006) raise the question of the appropriateness of the radical and comprehensive application of new public management reform models to low income countries and identifies the four major reasons for the low performance of administrative reforms:

- First is to nature of the reforms, which would take a quite long time to show effects.
- Second is the nature of the service sector which includes weakly organized citizens to make demands.
- Third is the weak organisational capacity to undertake and sustain reforms.
- Fourth is the institutional context which includes political and macro-economic instability, uncertainty of legal and judicial frameworks that would ensure a rule-based environment for providers of services, centralized control of operational resources, blurred boundaries between political and administrative responsibility, weak civil society demands and weak traditions of accountability for performance (Larbi and Batley 2006, p.123-4).

In the concluding article of the same publication, Larbi and Bangura (2006) summarise factors driving public sector reforms as a combination of fiscal and economic crises, the influence of international financial institutions and donor agencies and domestic pressures (Larbi and Bangura 2006, p.277). Along with these, the authors mention some obstructing factors such as diverse paths and the importance of institutional contexts because reforms have been sensible to local contexts and conditions (Larbi and Bangura 2006, p.279). The lack of

attention to political and management issues in the design, introduction, implementation and management of reforms is another factor for failures of reform according to authors (Larbi and Bangura 2006, p.280). Capacity, particularly the capacity to implement reforms, is a major factor which is used by nearly all the authors in the publication (Larbi and Bangura 2006, p.284). And lastly, the authors mention the crucial importance of getting support of key stakeholders and the public (Larbi and Bangura 2006, p.285).

In the book he edited, Farazmand (2001, p.6) approaches the question from a similar point but has a more comprehensive understanding. He argues reform and reorganization in developing countries involves a number of structural and process changes and improvements. They may include institutional capacity building, adaptability of reform plans or policies and genuine support of the political leadership. According to the author, in the reform process and implementation, resistance may develop because of “inadequate resources, conflict of interests, lack of adequate skills and training programmes, the fear of the unknown, the threat of possible loss of job or privileges and popular perception of corruption within elite power structures” (Farazmand 2001, pp.6-7). These look as different codifications of capacity problems, economic restraints and patronage relations mentioned by other authors.

If we revisit the policy transfer issue from the developing States’ window, we see the argument international organizations are more influential on the developing States due to economic and politic reasons. Influence of the international institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and WTO “has been particularly pronounced in developing countries, transition States and States emerging from conflict, which all depend heavily on external aids, loans and investment” (Evans 2004, p. 30). Consequently, the credit conditions which include radical changes in their economic policies, or GATT/WTO, which represents ‘an international regime for member States to trade away their tariffs’ (Stone, 2003: 11), are clear examples of coercive policy transfer to the developing States via international organizations.

The literature suggests, apart from some fundamental differences, factors affecting administrative reforms in developing States are quite similar to the effective factors mentioned for developed ones. However the level of their impacts and the way they affect the process seem different in developing

nations. An effort to identify the factors distinguishing developing States from the developed ones would reveal factors such as; capacity, particularly to plan and implement reforms, economic crises, intensive economic problems, restraints and related international pressures, and the patronage relations in community particularly in civil service are the common ones agreed by the authors.

3.2 A Framework for Turkey

Development of the theoretical debates on the administrative reform process presented above has had constructive impacts on the framework of the study. Discussions on the convergence of the management reform experiences, domination of some particular reform models and transfer of particular policies through international organisations reflect the determinant role and importance of external factors on the process. On the other hand, studies and ideas on diverse experiences of countries and the historical institutionalism theory gives great importance to the role of historical paths of institutions and their traditional aspects on change and transformations. While some scholars gave priority to the external factors such as economic globalisation, international organisation pressures, management idea circulation and transfer of new policies, others focus on the internal factors such as internal economic conditions, political and administrative culture, state traditions, characteristics of administrative system, pressures from citizens and NGOs, political will and leadership. Most studies built their arguments on the examination of particular effective factor/s in relation to their research field or topic. However apart from some exceptions, neither of these approaches has enough scope to explain this comprehensive and multi-faceted process with all its dimensions.

In this extensive literature, there are several studies (Toonen 2003, Christensen and Lægreid 2007 and Pollitt and Bouckaert 2000, 2004 and 2011) which offer comprehensive proposals for the reform process and factors effective on administrative reforms. These approaches or models usually consist of a mixture of internal and external factors on reform processes involving the roles of institutions and the agents of the political and administrative system. Among these references, it is fair to mention the management reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) as the most comprehensive model explaining the process. It was chosen as the framework

model of the research due to its all-inclusive approach. It covers the diverse factors explaining the reform experiences, impacts of historical roles of institutions on the process and, additionally, it gives reference to the agents and their decisions in some cases. Although this model was a starting point, the process of research and the findings required some modifications and reformulations on this model.

Related with the arguments above, another significant approach to impinge the research was the historical institutionalism. Concept of 'path dependency' is the key in understanding the powerful link between the historical institutionalism theory and the politico-administrative context of Turkey. Considering the great influence of the historical political and administrative developments, institutional structures and administrative tradition on the pace and the extent of administrative reforms, theory provides great utility in understanding the management reform experience of Turkey. On the other hand, theory has links with the model of Pollitt and Bouckaert as well, and, as detailed above, related concepts are elaborated in a separate chapter in their study (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.49-67). It is clear this theory and related arguments demonstrate the factors particularly resisting to the change and blocking the efforts of all reforms including the administrative ones (See Chapter 6. for detailed analysis). However, we have to keep in mind that, this approach has some problems in explaining the various factors of change and comprehensive process of administrative reforms as a whole.

3.2.1 The Pollitt and Bouckaert Public Management Reform Model

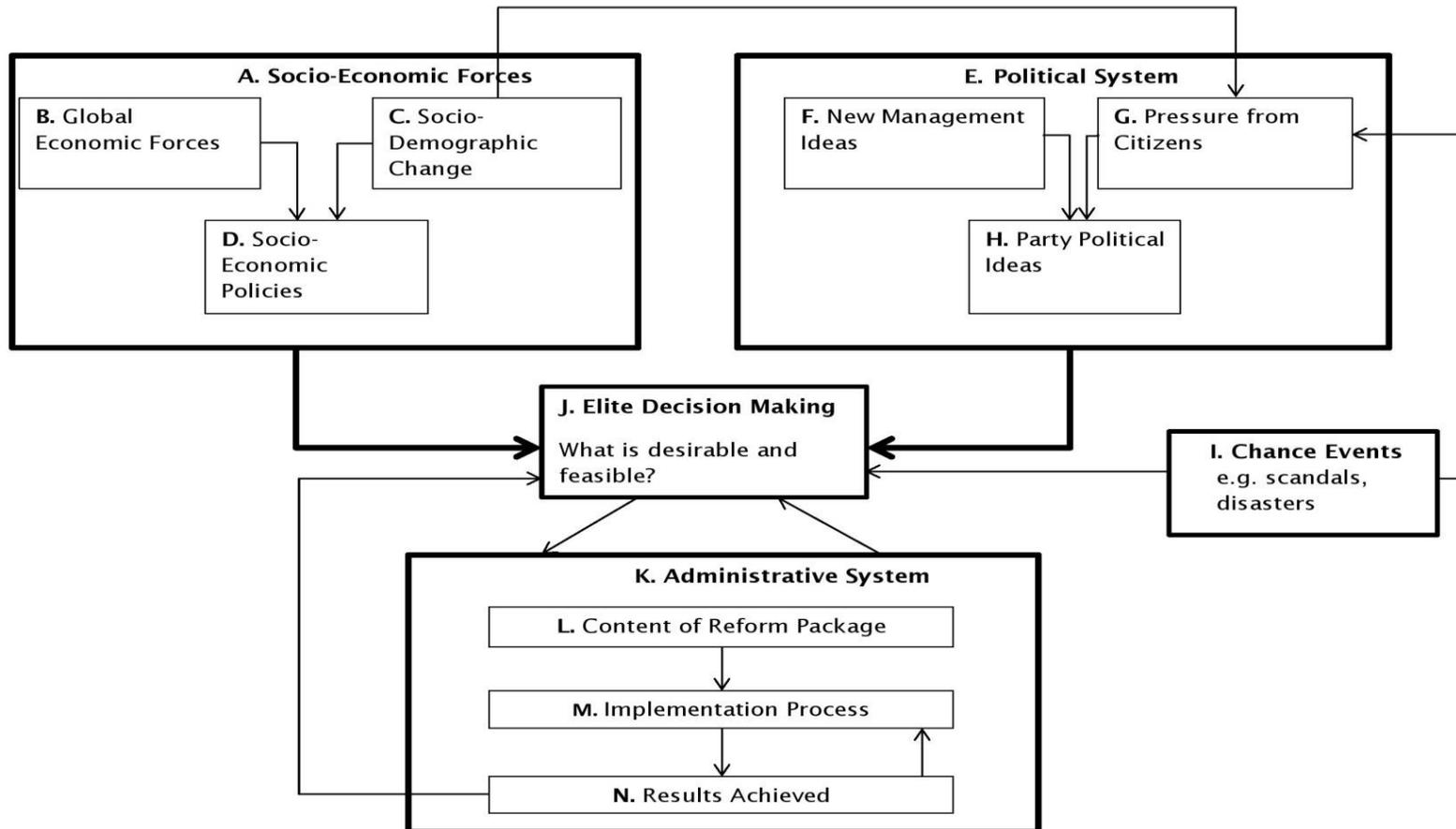
Pollitt (2004) argues there is no single best theory that can explain reform processes and relevant effects in all situations at all times and in all instances. Not adhering to single-factor explanations of reforms, Pollitt and Bouckaert (2000, 2004 and 2011) have developed a combined structural, cultural and environmental model approach. In their comparative study, they have created room for many factors in an analytical framework enabling a genuine deep analysis. In the 3rd edition of the series, they offered the most integrated contribution by comparing the reform trajectories of 12 developed countries and assessing the key factors influencing the scope, speed and depth of public sector 'transformations'.

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Elaborating on this, firstly Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011, p.32) clearly state: “It is a general model of how and why public management reform takes place”. They explain the purpose of this framework as providing a subsequent discussion by describing the broad forces which have been at work in both ‘driving and restraining’ change (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011, p.32). The model is presented as an inductive synthesis of what authors learned about the process of reform in many countries. They consider it as a theoretical tool from which more detailed sets of typologies and more specific theories about different patterns and trends of both individual countries and groups of countries can be developed. This seems a good point of action made by the creators of the model to use it as a theoretical pillar for the research.

Regarding the structure of the model, first of all it takes a single country as its framework. They mention the important impacts of international organizations such as OECD, World Bank and IMF and argue in the book they play fundamental roles on administrative reforms. However they leave it out of this single country model because major reform decisions are usually taken by national governments. Figure below is directly borrowed from the study of the authors and it illustrates their dynamic management reform model (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p. 33).

Figure 1: A Model of Public Management Reform by Pollitt and Bouckaert



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Looking at the details of the model, we see they place the process of Elite-Decision-making at the centre of the figure. This they claim because administrative reform is a process that usually begins in the upper rather than the lower reaches of government (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.33). They also distinguish between elite perceptions of 'desirable' and 'feasible' (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.34).

They then distinguish between three major clusters of effective factors surrounding elite-decision-making:

- The first group is socio-economic forces which include 'Global economic forces', 'Socio-demographic change' and 'Socio-economic policies'.
- The second group is the Political system which includes 'new management ideas', 'Pressures from citizens' and 'Party political ideas'.
- The third is the administrative system which consists of 'Content of reform package', 'implementation processes and 'results achieved' (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.33).

All these factors have interrelations and interconnections which affect the reform process as a whole. These interactions in specific cases create the major differences in reform processes of countries (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.34).

Regarding the first group, the authors argue while some of these factors are 'structural', some are 'ephemeral' such as economic cycles but a certain number of them have a 'definite and 'discernible' impact on administrative reforms (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.35). The influence of global economic forces is part of the first group. This is a factor which already draws attention from a large group of relevant researchers. This basically is the direct and indirect effects of the globalization of capital markets, growth of multinational corporations and international trade on the reform processes (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.35). The authors do not want to exaggerate their power. They claim these pressures translate to the particular types of reforms with the help of ideas only. Socio-demographic changes in the first cluster can be considered as structural, because they are 'deep-rooted' and 'long-lasting' (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.34). The third content of this cluster is the socio-

economic policies which are claimed by authors as the 'foreground' reflection of two other pressures (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.34). With regards to these pressures, States propose diverse policies.

The second cluster of the model is concerned with the political system. Before detailing the cluster, the authors highlight the importance of the general structural features of the system. They argue these features might make management reform "more or less straightforward" (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.37). The first factor is the new management ideas. Along with the constraints and restraints which have deep-roots within the structures of political systems, there are also dynamic elements such as "a rich flux of management ideas" which affect reform process. The authors argue "there has been considerable inter-country borrowing, facilitated by international bodies such as Public Management Service of the OECD (PUMA) and the World Bank" (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.38). This argument brings about another very important factor, the impact of international organisations, which is fundamental for developing States but not evaluated as an individual factor in the model. The second factor in this cluster represents the pressures from citizens. The authors argue it is not possible to wait for detailed proposals or demands from citizens. Increasing living standards and services obtained from the private sector might create demand for better public services and citizens transform this to pressure through political representatives, media or elites who contacted them (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.39). The last factor on administrative reforms regarding this cluster is the party-political ideas. There are two main sources for this according to the authors. One of these is internal. Ideas are internally generated and derived from the political agenda by party activists. The second source is external. Some ideas emerge from popular movements among the electorate while some may come from the world of business, commerce or academia (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.40).

The last cluster, administrative system, consists of the items which are difficult to change in 'more-than-incremental' ways. The authors argue cultural, structural and disciplinary differences cannot be eliminated overnight. These differences are determinant by the responses of people as well as systems to the administrative reform policies (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.42). This means, despite the cluster itself representing the obstructive nature of administrative aspects such as structure and culture, the contents of the

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cluster represent a more dynamic aspect of the administrative system. The first aspect of this cluster is the content of the reform packages. The authors define this as “the product of interaction between the desirable and the feasible” (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.44). The process of implementation is another aspect of the cluster and is a very important stage of the reform process. The implementation process is a critical stage of the reform process as it can directly feedback to the elite decision-makers’ ideas about what to do next and the effectiveness of the implementation progress. Consequently it has a significant impact on the outcomes or results of the process. The last aspect of the cluster is the results achieved from the reform processes. Like the implementation phase, these results are likely to feed back into earlier stages of the process and the ideas of the decision makers (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.45).

A significant point to mention before moving on is the importance of the second and third clusters, political and administrative systems of the States, which is elaborated further in another chapter of the book (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.47). They argue the politico-administrative system of a particular country has shaping influences over the process of administrative change. They choose and present five significant features in this regard which are;

- *The State structure*, including the constitutional features, dispersion of state authority, major institutions and their powers and etc.,
- *The nature of executive government at the central level*, which includes the nature of political system-in particular whether it operates according to majoritarian or a consensus oriented principles, structures of governments and related factors.
- *Relationships between political executives and high-level civil servants*, which includes the general structural and cultural features of bureaucratic system as well,
- *The dominant administrative culture*, which shapes the expectations and relations of citizens, politicians and civil servants and,
- *Source of Policy advice*, from which public management reform ideas come (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.49-67).

The impacts of these factors, argue the authors, shows the importance of the diverse context with respect to the administrative reform processes. They clearly claim “reforms develop differently in one national context as compared with other” and propose the factors above among the major reasons (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, pp. 47-48). Only drawback at this point is the fact that they considered these points out of their model and presented as the specifics of political and administrative system.

The authors classify one factor outside the three clusters of their model. This is the influence of chance events on the administrative reform process. Chance events are exemplified in the study as scandals, natural or man-made disasters, accidents, and unpredictable tragedies such as shootings or epidemics. The authors claim the effects of these kinds of events may not be very obvious but they are occasionally significant (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, pp.40-41).

From another perspective of driving and obstructing forces, they argue among a number of factors, the major driving forces behind increasing administrative reforms in the last twenty years are global economic forces, socio-economic change and the supply of new management ideas in particular. However they add the point that they have discovered countervailing forces which means these pressures are not without resistance. They associate these resistance points with existing political and administrative systems and cultural factors embedded in historically (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, pp.41-42). The concept of ‘path dependency’ to show how certain laws, rules and institutions can create heavy disincentives for change and intensive use of this approach in relevant research is another point referenced by authors (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, pp.41-42). This might be evaluated as the point where the historical institutionalism theory and the Pollitt and Bouckaert model meet.

Lastly, if we visit the strengths and the weaknesses of the model from the viewpoint of its creators, they conclude the strengths of their model with its comprehensiveness and claim as; “it embodies interactions between background socio-economic influences, political pressures, specific ideas that are in current circulation, and features of the administrative system itself. It identifies both pressures for change and sources of resistance against it”. They argue “It reserves a role for the unintentional and the accidental” (Pollitt and

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Bouckaert 2011, p.46). Regarding the limitations in contrast, they propose a danger it could be interpreted in a static manner and remind that each factor already represents sets of processes that ensue between the factors (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.46). Furthermore, as the authors already state (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.32), although they consider the global economic forces, they underrate the considerable effects of international and supranational organizations on reform processes. These organizations have substantial influences on the reform processes of States, particularly the developing ones.

3.2.2 The Modification of the Pollitt and Bouckaert Model

Following the argument of Pollitt and Bouckaert that there is no single best theory which can explain reform processes and effects, it seems fair to build a framework for Turkey by using their model as a guide and maybe reach some implications for other developing States. As was anticipated at the outset, data collection activities revealed substantial differences between the contexts, which were mainly originating from the socio-economic development level of Turkey, and this dissimilarity required making some modifications on the original model of Pollitt and Bouckaert. This is parallel with the authors' view regarding their model because they consider it as a theoretical tool which can be modified and developed. In conclusion, their model is used as a starting point but due to the conditions of the contexts, some factors are excluded and some are added to the model while some are re-labelled and merged. Interactions between the factors however, mostly stayed the same.

Referring to the research procedures, the model was the point of departure. Model is modified with initial information and then the data collection and analysis phases related with research questions generated a need for further modification. To be more precise, some factors of the original model, which are not supported by the evidence from the field, are removed; while some new ones which are distinctive to Turkey and supported by evidence are added in. In the process, some of the clusters are merged in the same chapter and evaluated sequentially due to their close relationships and interactions. Relations between the research findings and the original model are discussed in the conclusions of each empirical chapter and a general evaluation took place in the concluding remarks of the research.

3.3 The State Tradition and Administrative Culture of Turkey

Before concluding the theoretical arguments and moving on, it is necessary to present the discussions on the state traditions and the administrative culture of the context of Turkey. Turkish society was a predominantly agricultural society with little industry and high illiteracy rates when the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of World War I. However, it transformed into a largely urban and industrialised society by the mid-1990s. In this process, new classes and interest groups emerged particularly in large cities where various political parties advocated demands of business and workers. Many governments during this period aimed at bringing socio-economic change but they always had to grapple with the ruling civilian and military elites. These elites were used to implementing policies without consulting those who might be affected and used force whenever widespread resistance was encountered. The main reason for the existence and influence of the elite was the structure and political culture inherited from the Ottoman Empire. This culture is based on the perception of the need for a central and patrimonial State and obedience to its authority. This is a strong State tradition which evolved during the era of the Ottoman – Turkish polity. The relationship between the state and citizens is similar to a father and sons. This relationship means protection and care in return for obedience. The authority monopoly of the State and the patrimonial relationship add two important factors to the political culture: 1) sublimation to State authority and 2) extreme respect and fear of this authority. In this kind of political culture, authority and rules are obeyed without question (Sayın and Çınar 2007, p. 446).

The consequence of this dichotomy and long political, social and economic process following the establishment of the republic has been the gradual creation of two distinct cultures;

- A secular and westernized elite culture defining what is modern and progressive.
- A mass culture based on traditional religious values either in modern, radical or mystical interpretations.

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In this dualist structure, there is “collectivist” culture with characteristics of “loyalty” to his/her own community, “solidarity” and “harmony” with the other members of the community (Güvenç, 1993). As an important implication, Heper and Keyman claim (1998, p.259), when the State elite perceived a serious threat to traditional philosophy and republican values, they suspended democracy for a limited period.

The strong and unquestioned State tradition, which developed historically from Ottoman – Turkish polity, has always been a fundamental characteristic of the Turkish politico-administrative system (Heper and Keyman, 1998). The tradition has its roots in the Rechtsstaat model which is argued by a number of writers as one of two particularly strong models guiding public administrations of countries (Pierre, 1995). Evaluating Turkey in line with classifications and characteristics of administrative traditions (i.e. Loughlin & Peters 1997), it is argued Turkey is very close to the Napoleonic tradition that is a sub-family of the Rechtsstaat model. This complies historically with the Ottoman Empire used France as example for administrative reform policies in the 19th century and its successor the modern republic was established on the heritage of the same public administration principles.

In this administrative tradition, a liberal constitution introduced legalistic thinking regarding the State and administration, where parliament became the highest sovereign authority and legislation the basis of State and administration. The constitution, laws and regulations became the main source of administrative action and administration was based on the supremacy of law. Key duties of State and administration were restrained by legislation and the implementation of laws and regulations. Administrative law then gained a monopoly as the only relevant expertise for the effective functioning of the State (Kickert, 2011). Formalism and legalism are the main reasons for the rigidity and relative inefficiency of the bureaucracy. In a formalistic and legalistic State tradition as this, any reform effort, even managerial and economic reforms of the New Public Management, is formulated by new legislation. This factor usually leads reform activities generating abrupt changes by abolishing existing institutions and replacing them with brand new ones. The weakness of individualistic elements affecting the State, the existence of a centralised administrative structure, establishment of self-governing State institutions such as the Military, Constitutional Court, National

Security Council, Civil Service and their authority over society are other important consequences of a strong state tradition.

Clientelistic relationship between the State and society is another aspect of the culture. As Özbudun (1981, p. 252) states, "Turkey provides a fertile ground for the formation and maintenance of a wide variety of clientelistic relationships". The lack of political influence over socio-economic conditions since the 1950s meant political patronage became the basic strategy of obtaining votes. In their study, Adaman et al. (2005, p. 11) identify the perceived level of patronage in central and local government services is high for both levels of government. When the authors inquired into the patronage relationships, they discovered, despite a substantial decline observed from previous studies, a majority of people still believe personal favour prevails merit in the recruitment processes of the municipalities and the State-owned enterprises as well as the private sector (Adaman et al. 2005, p. 11).

In terms of public administration, such as any Napoleonic modelled State, administrative culture is formalistic, strongly hierarchical, authoritarian and highly centralised. The prevalent values are obedience and control, an asset as they guarantee a certain degree of efficiency. In contrast, State administration appears to be fragmented, unproductive and has significant difficulties adapting to the new needs of a rapidly evolving and dynamic Turkish society. Consequently, it is not responsive to the fundamental requirements of people. Two important field studies published in 2000 and 2005 revealed the low satisfaction levels from public services. The general satisfaction level with central government services was 2.8 out of 10 in 2000 and 5.8 in 2005 (Adaman et al. 2000, 2005). The scores for satisfaction at both levels are quite mediocre today and even the latter is not at satisfactory levels. Finally, respondents who became involved with an institution's services tend to declare lower satisfaction levels (Adaman et al. 2005, p. 33).

Moreover, the administrative culture has a secretive nature that obstructs the transparency and accountability of the government. There are high interests of the State and in this traditional philosophy these interests are regarded more important than the interests of individuals or community. The bureaucrats see themselves as the representatives of the State rather than the servants of citizens. In this type of atmosphere and tradition "Protecting the interests of

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the State” is seen as one of the official duties of bureaucrats and every kind of activity is seen as morally right even if it is against the law (Gönüleşen and Yıldız 2009, pp. 118-119). Furthermore, bureaucrats have significant legal protection in performing their duties. This is identified by the SIGMA experts and mentioned in their reports. “[...] abolishing the immunity of civil servants and the permission system for being prosecuted; emphasising impartiality as a fundamental civil service value” are proposed as necessary steps to be taken (Sigma 2012, p.9-10). Within this framework, the military and civil bureaucracy acquired a predominant position in the State structure and their overall attitude has led to tensions with the political executive on important policy decisions and implementations that they believe to be wrong.

3.4 Conclusions

Theoretical debates based on past research and a conceptual framework building process is presented in the chapter. Major theoretical debates are important because of their contribution in understanding the development of administrative reform processes and the factors surrounding them. The common point of the theoretical debate is the argument that there had been intensive administrative reform efforts in the last three decades. Discussions on the administrative reform of post-1980 evolved from the claims of convergence around some particular administrative models and philosophies, to the divergence of the country contexts in line with their unique experiences.

In the details of the discussions, there are two important themes which are strongly interrelated. The first is the argument that political and economic developments such as globalization and neo-liberal new right ideas had great impacts on the administrative reform processes. The second important theme of the debates is the importance of the ingredients and models of administrative reforms. In this regard, particularly in first two decades of the period, New Public Management, which is inspired by neo-liberal market based ideas, preoccupied the discussions and the practices of the administrative reforms. Despite the different headings and identifications, this model was clearly the replacement of traditional bureaucracy with a completely different model based on markets. In the period between 1980 and early 2000s, it dominated the thinking about public sector reform by practitioners and academics, firstly in positive way and then with sceptic and critical approaches.

Throughout the third decade of the period, concentration on particular models remained the same; however models and their ingredients started changing. There had been strong criticisms against the NPM due to the diverse outcomes in different countries and contexts. As an alternative to the dominance of NPM ideas, some other models such as Neo-Weberian State, Governance and Network governance were proposed by various authors. The existence of such models and their impacts on the numerous countries created a perception of global convergence on the administrative reform efforts. Leading countries, international political and economic organisations, international think tanks and the academic world played a significant role in the spread of particular administrative ideas and the creation of the perception of convergence. Many significant authors claimed there had been a certain degree of convergence and this convergence had been particularly towards NPM. Concepts of policy diffusion or policy transfer came to the agenda concurrently with the debates on convergence. Policy transfer had been the subject of the discussion particularly after the rapid globalization and increasing impacts of international organisations and developed nations on the administrative policies of other countries, due to its role in transferring administrative reform ideas and models.

However, international comparative studies of administrative reform carried out by scholars discovered public management reforms and their outcomes varied across countries, in terms of pace, nature and extent. Although they have quite similar driving and triggering forces, each country had different reform experiences which are strongly related with their national institutional contexts and unique political, economic, social and cultural conditions. Such differences are related with and can be explained by historical institutionalism which stresses the importance of institutions whether as formal rules, structures or cultural norms. Institutions and their historical paths are determinant on the preparation, launch and implementation of administrative reforms. The theory and its approach emphasises the importance of institutions and their historical roots in addition to the economic explanations of the policy debates which contribute to the comprehensiveness of the studies in the field. In this approach, institutions are identified in a broad sense and include constitutions, budget rules, planning and personnel systems, cultural features and organisational standard operating procedures.

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On the factors affecting administrative reforms, three approaches are seen in the literature; the first group gives priority to external factors, the second does the contrary and the last has a more comprehensive and holistic approach. The first group of arguments focuses on the convergence of the management reform experiences, domination of some particular reform models and transfer of particular policies through international organisations and they emphasise the significance of external factors on the process. The second group of arguments focuses on the diverse management reform experiences of countries and their background reasons and emphasize the significance of the internal factors. The Historical institutionalism theory, which puts the historical paths of institutions and their traditional aspects on change and transformations to the centre, also reflects the significant blocking, retarding and shaping role of internal factors. The last approach represents a limited number of more comprehensive and inclusive studies. However, apart from some exceptions, all these approaches lack having enough scope and capacity to explain this comprehensive and multi-faceted process with all its dimensions. Most studies give priority to the particular aspects of the problem and focused only on some individual effective factors. Similarly, historical institutionalism theory has problems in explaining change and ignores the influential role of agents in the process.

Among all these arguments, approaches and theories, the study of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) is chosen as the major framework of the study due to its comprehensive and detailed nature. It considers almost all factors affecting administrative the reform process of a particular country under the headings of Socio-Economic Forces, Political and administrative system. However, the model was shaped by the consecutive studies of authors on developed nations and required slight modifications on the context of a developing State. Additionally, despite its problems in explaining the transformations and not being capable to explain the process completely, the study used the historical institutionalism theory as well, in order to complete a comprehensive examination of factors affecting the administrative reform process by focusing on the extensive resisting and shaping impacts of historical and cultural institutional factors in Turkey. Elements of this theory take place in the study of Pollitt and Bouckaert as well, but they are partially included in their model.

The arguments about the differences of developing States and the administrative reforms are added to theoretical discussion in order to enlighten the experiences of Turkey as the research context and to help building the framework. The authors in the field mention some fundamentally different points of developing countries which can be explained as the capacity of State mechanism, the degree of international pressures, patronage relations in the community, intensive social, political and economic developments.

Before concluding the chapter, fundamental traditional and cultural aspects of the Turkish state, administration and polity are discussed. The legalistic State tradition requires new legislation for any reform. This reduces the flexibility of the government by involving several institutions in the process. A strong and centralised state tradition, unquestionable obedience to rule of state, clientelistic relations between state and society and dependence on the powerful leader characters are additional important aspects of the tradition and culture. Historical traditional and cultural features of state and administration have potential to generate many impacts on the process, as discussed further in the empirical chapters.

In the light of all discussions, before moving on to the procedural and methodological explanations of the research process, it should be noted with respect to the theoretical stance, this is an exploratory research which is at the same time trying to assess the utility of a well-established management reform model on a setting which is quite different than it was produced in.

Considering the major interest of the research as factors affecting administrative reforms of Turkey and creating the different reform experience of the country, the model of Pollitt and Bouckaert is applied as the most comprehensive and appropriate one for the aims and procedures of the research. In addition to the model, despite its problems about explaining the change, broad approach of Historical Institutionalism theory, with its strong reference to the historical developments of institutions and related patterns, influenced the framework of the study as well. However, the developing State status of Turkey, its differences from developed nations and development of the research proved the need for a modification of the original model. For this reason, in line with the findings of the study, the model was modified in compliance with the specific characteristics of the context in the light of data collected. In the final form, a framework emerged from this process and

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enabled the final analysis of research findings. Apart from presenting the theoretical approaches and discussions on the administrative reforms, justification of this process and the emergence of the framework have been the major subjects of the chapter.

Chapter 4. The Design of the Research and Applied Methodology

Following the theoretical discussions and the effort of establishing the framework, that proved the comprehensiveness of the topic and the challenging nature of the research aims, this chapter discusses the general study design and the multiple data collection and analysis activities used to generate the evidence to provide the answer to the research question. In addition, the research aims to derive some lessons and general results for other developing States require a holistic and critical approach applied using the necessary relevant methodological tools. Explanation and justification of the applied methodological tools, methodological issues, problems and limitations the researcher encountered during the research process are other relevant topics presented in the chapter.

In order to explain the methodological approaches, design and procedures of the study, the chapter is structured under five major themes. Firstly, the choice of the case study design is explained and justified along with triangulation by adding some significant references from related literature. Then data sources and data collection activities are described and the use of elite interviews and documentary sources are justified. In the following section, the analysis process of elite interviews and documentary sources are explained with reference to the applied models. Answers to the quality and reliability concerns of the research are presented in another section. The last section before concluding the chapter refers to the challenges and limitations of the research.

4.1 The Case Study

Considering the research questions and aims, the research strategy needed to support the exploration of economic, political and social developments, administrative reform process, all relevant factors affecting the reform process of the country in the 1980 – 2010 period and include the development of some generalizable patterns for other developing States. Examining this comprehensive topic in depth required a sufficient data repository to address the needs of the research, and an appropriate methodological approach to

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handle the research questions and aims. In this situation, the best methodological approach to employ for the research was the Case Study.

To achieve the first aim, the study concentrates on a single unit and tries to explore the administrative reform process and its environment in Turkey. In this regard, the case study approach is appropriate. As the simplest definition, a case study is “an intensive study of a single unit with an aim to generalise across a larger set of units” according to Gerring (2004, p. 342; 2007, p. 20). Many other authors also claim the case study approach provides a fertile ground for an in-depth examination of a phenomenon. Yin (1989, p.14) claims the “distinctive need for case study research arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena”, then characterises the case study’s scope as an empirical inquiry which; “Investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (1989, p.23; 2009, p.19). The exploratory nature of the research is also supported by the case study method. As Gerring (2004, p.349) argues, “case studies enjoy a natural advantage in research of an exploratory nature”. The first aim of the study also incorporates the examination of the environment and factors which have been affecting administrative reforms by involving some causal mechanisms and patterns in their relationships. According to Gerring (2004, p. 349) “investigation of such causal mechanisms is associated with the case study research design.” In-depth analysis of a single unit, according to the author, is quite useful in clarifying such causal mechanisms because the “style of evidence gathering – over-time and within-unit variation – is likely to provide clues into what connects a purported X to a particular Y” (Gerring 2004, p. 349).

Secondly, related to the other aims, studying on this topic and exploring the effective factors of administrative reforms in Turkey inevitably leads to reaching some probable conclusions on the differences between developing and developed state contexts, generalisations about the topic and probable lessons for the countries which have similar characteristics and development level with Turkey. What distinguishes the case study method from all other methods according to the Gerring is its reliance on evidence drawn from a single case and its attempt, at the same time, to illuminate features of a broader set of cases (Gerring 2007, p. 29). The author also states (p. 345 –

346) “It has been demonstrated the difference between a case study and a study is rarely clear-cut. Indeed, the case study is probably best understood as an ideal-type rather than a method with hard-and-fast rules”. More clearly, the author argues it is quite difficult to study on a single unit which wouldn't function as a case study because in such research, the researcher wishes to know both the particular and the general facts about the unit. “Case studies usually perform a double function; they are studies (of the unit itself) as well as case studies (of a broader class of units)” (Gerring 2004, p.352).

Gerring also proposes some characteristic strengths and weaknesses of the case study method relative to the cross-case studies, which must be considered by the researchers while deciding the research design (Gerring 2004, p. 352; 2007a, p.38) and others applicable to this research is evaluated below with related references:

- Case study design is exploratory, rather than confirmatory. In this regard, case studies enjoy a natural advantage in research of an exploratory nature according to Gerring (2007a, p. 39). From this viewpoint, this is an exploratory research but, at the same time, it adopts a well-known model to use as the framework for the investigation of the case of Turkey and tests its utility to examine a fairly different setting. Although Gerring states (2007a, p. 42), “theory testing is not the case study’s strong suit”, because the owners of the model already present their model as an open ended conceptual map and subject to development (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p. 32), testing and then amending this model didn’t create a contrast with the case study design.
- Internal validity is prioritised over external validity. Representativeness of the population is one of the major problems of the case study research. For this reason, it is generally weaker with respect to external validity and an important virtue of the case study design is mainly the internal validity. Although Turkey might be considered an example of developing States and deriving some results for other developing States is one of the secondary objectives of the study, all the causal relationships evidenced by Turkey may not be assumed to be true for all developing state settings.
- The scope of the causal inference is deep rather than broad. This is because of the concentration on a particular case. “One of the primary virtues of the case study method is the depth of the analysis it offers” argues Gerring

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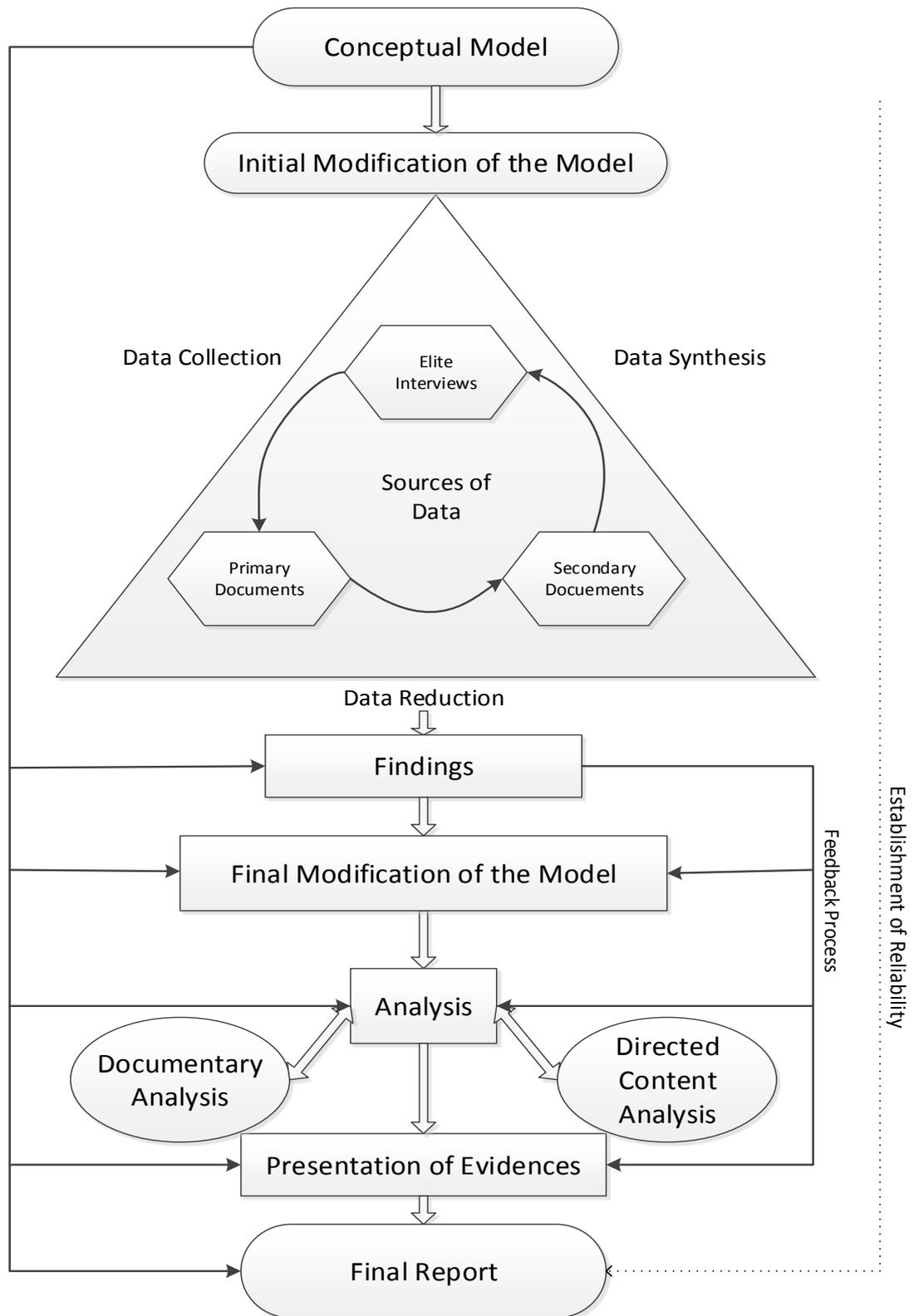
(2007a, p. 49). This depth can be referred to detail, richness, completeness, wholeness or the degree of variance. In our case, research explores the administrative reforms process of Turkey with all its dimensions and variables, including its environment in detail and depth, with rich sources of diverse data.

- Available data is concentrated rather than dispersed. In the case study approach, data and evidence sources are usually concentrated on a single case, which means it is possible to reach the evidence by investigating it. Regarding this research, there is a rich data repository on the reform process of Turkey consisting of documentary sources and interview transcriptions.

When we turn our attention to the data collection and analysis, Yin argues case study inquiry “copes with a technically distinctive situation in which there will be many variables of interest; relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis” (Yin 2009, p. 18). Lastly, Yin (2009, p. 19) states the case study is a form of neither exclusively qualitative nor exclusively quantitative research. Gerring (Gerring 2007a, p. 29) similarly argues “the number of observations employed by a case study may be either small or large, and consequently may be evaluated in a qualitative or quantitative fashion.”

Through these arguments, it is fair to argue case study design is the most appropriate option for the aims and rationale of the research which has many variables, relies on multiple data sources, has a need for triangulation of the data and has an initial theoretical model to guide the collection and analysis of the data. In terms of methods to use, case study design enables the use of various methods and triangulation for data collection and analysis which are explained below. Figure 1 presents the research design and reflects the rational flow from the early activities that initiated the study and the development of the theoretical model through data collection. Data analysis, modification of conceptual model, final analysis and presentation of evidence in final report will follow. The figure also explicitly presents the data sources, methods for collection and clearly proposes data collection, synthesis, reduction and analysis are major activities of research.

Figure 2: Research Design



Triangulation

In social science, triangulation is defined as the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic (Olsen 2004, p.3). Rothbauer (2008, p. 892) defines triangulation as a multi-method approach to data collection and data analysis. The basic idea underpinning the concept of triangulation according to the author is that, the phenomena under study can be understood best when approached with a variety or a combination of research methods. Bryman (2003, p. 1142) argues triangulation refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings. Because much social research is founded on the use of a single research method, and as such may suffer from limitations related with that method or from the specific application of it, triangulation offers the prospect of improved assurance. With a parallel approach, Denzin (1989, p. 307) states “by combining multiple observations, theories, methods and data sources, [researchers] can hope to overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-methods, single-observer and single-theory studies”. Another major point made in the literature on triangulation is the fact it is recognised as an important method of ensuring quality and validity of the research (Yin 2001; Bryman 2003; Patton 1990, 2002). Additionally, the term is usually referred to multi-method studies by researchers. Having a multi-method approach and three sources to gather data and three methods for analysing them, it is therefore appropriate to employ triangulation approach to the research.

Denzin (1978, 1989) extended the idea of triangulation beyond its conventional association with research methods and designs by distinguishing four forms of triangulation. The research adopts the methodological triangulation of this classification, which involves using more than one method to gather data, such as interviews, observations, questionnaires or documents and is proposed as the most common of the meanings of the term by relevant literature.

Triangulation is adopted by taking information from multiple sources, which includes interviews with high-level civil servants and executive politicians, primary official and unofficial documentary sources and secondary documentary sources. Other benefits of the triangulation for the study was the

validation of interview data with documentary sources, closing the gaps in the interview data and balancing the data sources temporally as interviews contain more data about later periods while documentary sources involve earlier periods. On occasions, there were conflicts between the interview results and primary sources, or between the statements of different interview respondents. In such rare cases, interview results are given priority over the documentary sources due to their role as the major data source of the study. At the same time, research tried to present as much different views and opinions on a particular factor as possible.

4.2 The Data Sources and Data Collection Activities

4.2.1 Semi-Structured Elite Interviews

Semi-structured elite interviews have been the major source of data for the study. Yin (2009, p. 102) proposes the interview as one of the most important sources of evidence in case studies. With a similar idea, the research employs semi-structured elite interviews as the major method for data collection. Patton (2002, p.342) characterizes such interviews as “general interview guide approach” in contrast with the “informal conversational interview” and “standardized open-ended interview”. Pierce (2008, p. 118) argues that “in politics research, the most widely-used type of interview – especially in elite interviews – is the semi-structured interview”. Regarding the positive impact of this method, Burnham et al. (2008, p. 231) emphasise effectively conducted elite interviews can make a significant “contribution to the understanding of political phenomena”. However, this is a method which requires the ability to draw interesting and meaningful results. Obtaining useful results depends on the ability to read and interpret the interviews (Piore, p. 145). Lastly, Yin (2009, p. 102) proposes the strength of interviews as being targeted and insightful; while proposing weaknesses as bias of questions and responses, inaccuracies and reflexivity, which causes participant to give what interviewer wants. There are some advantages and disadvantages identified by the researcher in the research process as well. It is fair to mention the focus on one person, flexibility of conversation, a long time period spent with the participant who is aware and active as major advantages. Conversely, exhaustion, the requirement for high-level concentration, risk of losing control of direction and

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scope of the conversation, difficulty to reach some people and co-ordinating calendars are major disadvantages. After conducting the interviews, the researcher was struck by the variety of answers, examples used and experiences narrated by the participants. Since the interviews provided access to perceptions and opinions, they were very effective for gaining insight into problems which were not noticeable at the outset.

Regarding the number of respondents, literature on semi-structured elite interviews is not clear on how many interviews would be sufficient. In a review paper of National Centre for Research Methodologies elaborating on the required number of qualitative interviews, many of the contributing scholars agreed on the fact the number of interviews depends on the diverse characteristics of the research. In the concluding section of the paper, Baker and Edwards (2012, p. 42) give a clear answer to the question of 'how many?' and they state 'it depends'. Burnham et al. (2008, p. 233) also emphasise there is no single certain answer for such a question and it should be determined by the "objectives and purposes" of the studies. Concerning the number of interviews in this research, although 25 to 30 participants were planned initially, 20 have been enough due to the intensity and length of conversations and consecutive similar arguments causing saturation. Moreover, evaluations from participants provided a rich source of information. With regards to the questions or themes of semi-structured interviews, there is a common argument that the researcher doesn't need exact questions to use, instead a "mental framework of study questions" (Yin 2011, p. 134) or an "interview guide" (Patton 2002, p. 343) is required. In the research, an interview guide is prepared in line with the initial theoretical model and used in the interviews.

On the choice of the sample group, the major factor was their close involvement in the administrative reform planning, legislation and implementation phases. Therefore, participants were selected among high-level executive politicians and high-level civil servants of public departments which were closely related to the administrative reform activities and held significant roles in the process over the last decades. Pierce (2008, p. 119) claims "The whole process of arranging and conducting the interview is bound by institutions (traditions, customs and rules) that vary significantly between States and cultures". From this point of view, the previous role of researcher in Turkish bureaucracy helped defining the participants, convincing them to

participate in the research, establishing trust and a constructive communication with them during interviews. The first group of participants are selected from politicians, comprising two previous ministers, one former Member of Parliament and one Province Mayor. They are considered to be influential, prominent, and well informed in the field of administrative reform due to their current and previous roles in central and local governments and their experience of parliamentary mechanisms. The second group was selected from high-level civil servants working in State departments closely related with administrative reform such as Prime Ministry, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Health, Ministry of National Education and Regional Development Agencies. They were selected for interviews on the basis of their expertise and experience in the field. Table in Appendix 3 contains a detailed list of interviewees with a reference to their current and previous roles and duties.

4.2.2 The Primary and Secondary Documentary Data

Many political scientists, according to Vromen (2010, p. 261), study existing documents or text in their research and most of these are “primary sources which are original documents produced by political actors ranging from executive, parliamentary or judicial arms of governments, policy-making agencies or non-governmental organisations”. Although they mostly reflect a position of an actor rather than analyses of that, there are some exceptions such as newspaper articles and organizational research reports (OECD, IMF and etc.) which contain analyses (Vromen 2010, p. 262). Burnham et al. (2008, p. 208) emphasise the importance of documentary and archival sources and propose they “offer great opportunities for political scientists to develop novel accounts and interpretations of significant events”. However, the authors state at the same time “documents do not speak for themselves but only acquire significant meaning when situated within a context set by vigorous analytical and methodological assumptions” (2008, p. 212). Yin (2009, p. 102) argues “documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topics” and lists strengths and weaknesses of documentation and archival records:

Strengths;

- Stable, can be reviewed repeatedly,
- Unobtrusive, not created as a result of the case study,

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- Exact, contains exact names, references and details of an event,
- Broad coverage, long span of time, many events and many settings,
- Precise and usually quantitative.

Weaknesses;

- Retrieval, can be difficult to find,
- Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete,
- Reporting bias, reflects (unknown) bias of author,
- Access, maybe deliberately withheld,
- Accessibility restrictions, due to the confidentiality reasons.

With respect to the adoption of documentary data sources for the research, it is possible to argue they had a secondary role in the research process. Although in some parts, they have been used to support and validate the evidence provided by other interview transcriptions, the role of documentary sources have mostly been kept in the background which helped understanding the context of the research and facilitating the analysis of the interviews results. If we distinguish between the two types of documentary sources, Primary documentary data sources used in the research were obtained from mentioned organisations and/or their websites and they consist of textual data in the form of;

- Official Records, Constitutions, Legislations, Regulations from Grand National Assembly of Turkey or other state departments.
- Official publications and statistical datasets from Turkish state organizations and departments. The OECD, World Bank, IMF and European Union.

Secondary documentary data sources, in the form of media records were obtained from major newspapers' hard or soft archives, organizational publications obtained from related organizations and previous research activities and other literature pieces were obtained from major libraries both in the UK and Turkey. These documentary sources consist of textual data in the form of;

- Research produced and published by business NGOs such as TUSİAD and TOBB,

- Research produced and published by, influential think-tanks such as TESEV and TEPAV,
- Research produced and published by, scientific institutions such as TODAİE, Material from Media Sources,
- Material from the other studies and literature pieces on relevant research questions and topic.

4.2.3 Summary of Data Collection

Although the interviews have been the major source and had dominance in the data repository and analysis of the research, three data collection methods offered a complementary perspective on the development of the arguments on administrative reforms and the effective factors. Each method contributed to the collection of different types of information, which had special value for the process. Multi data collection methods maximised the amount and scope of information available to the researcher and improved the reliability of the data by providing a base for triangulation between data sources.

Table 1: Type, Utility and Aims of Data Sources

Data Source	Type of Data	Utility of Data	Aims to Use
Semi-Structured Elite Interviews	Tape records of interviews with participants, their transcriptions and translations.	Provided in participants' experiences, knowledge and interpretation with their own words, provided evidence about the factors effective on the reform process of the country.	Assisted in exploring activities, entities, processes, forces and contexts that influenced administrative reform process of country. Reasons for, scope and actors of administrative reforms.
Primary Data Source Material and Documentary Evidence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Official Records (Constitutions, Legislations, Regulations from Grand National Assembly of Turkey or other state departments, ➤ Publications and statistics from Turkish state organizations and departments, OECD, World Bank and European Union. 	Provided official and semi-official accounts about the context and the research questions. Facilitated the analysis of interview transcriptions.	Assisted in discovering contextual background of the period, understanding and analysing factors affecting administrative reforms in Turkey. Partly supported and validated some of the data from interview transcriptions.
Secondary Data Source Material and Documentary Evidence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Research produced and published by business NGOs and influential think-tanks, ➤ Research produced and published by scientific institutions, ➤ Material from Media Sources, ➤ Material from other literature in the field. 	Provided background information and scientific research results which facilitated the analysis of the interview results.	Assisted in discovering contextual background of the period and analysing some factors affecting reform process of country. Partly supported and validated some data from interview transcriptions

4.3 Analysis of Data

Data collection activities provided a large amount of data to analyse and use in the study. Having an initial model for the research made the general strategy for managing and analysing this data straightforward. The initial conceptual model not only helped in organizing and orienting the study and data collection but also supported the development and application of the coding categories in data. As an exploratory study in which research design is developed over the course of the research, there was no clear boundary between data collection, analysis and preliminary writing phases. The first stage of the analysis was primary and secondary documentary analysis, which provided both the contextual information and a great deal of evidence for the factors affecting reforms in Turkey in the given period. Analysis of documentary data was made with a holistic approach by using historiography (Vromen 2010, p. 262). Interview data was analysed with content analysis in order to reduce the transcriptions from its text to summarized expressions. Interview transcriptions were coded in line with the theoretical model and the results were interpreted accordingly.

4.3.1 Analysis of the Elite Interviews

Content analysis is used as the major method for the analysis of the interview data. Babbie (2010, p. 530) defines content analysis as "the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws".

Burnham et al. (2008, p. 259) claim that "when somebody reads or listens to the content of a body of communication and then summarizes and interprets what is there, then content analysis can be said to have taken place".

The authors distinguish between two main methods by which this analysis technique can be used: Qualitative and quantitative methods of content analysis. Furthermore, qualitative content analysis is distinguished between the "conventional, directed, and summative" approaches by Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1277). Among the qualitative content analysis, the directed approach, in which "analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, p. 1277) is the most

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appropriate one for the design of this research. The authors argue “the goal of a directed approach to content analysis is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory”. “Existing theory or research can help focus the research question. It can provide predictions about the variables of interest or about the relationships among variables thus help to determine the initial coding scheme or relationships between codes” (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, p. 1281). In line with these arguments, the research adopted a qualitative content analysis method with a ‘directed approach’ for analysing the elite interview transcriptions in the light of the preliminary model. Below is a brief summary of the process in analysing data from semi-structured elite interviews:

- Recorded interview data is transcribed and re-read. In the listening and re-read process, major themes emerging from the data are identified and written down.
- Transcriptions are translated from Turkish to English as all participants were from Turkey and interviews were in Turkish.
- Gathered information is categorised and coded using the predetermined themes prepared in line with the initial theoretical model of the study. Data which stayed out of these themes are identified and analysed later to determine if they represent a new category or a subcategory of an existing theme. Such new category of data proved to be valuable in modification of initial theoretical model (See Appendix 4 for the detailed code book).
- Interview data was aggregated with the other evidence to use in a larger analysis.

4.3.1.1 Transcribing and Translating

Transcribing and translating text is a very significant issue in the discourse on scientific research. Wengraf (2001, p. 7) argues neither of these is merely a technical task; both entail judgment and interpretation. In some way, when data has been translated and/or transcribed, it is no longer raw data —it is processed data. Even if the researcher verbally records interviews it must be kept in mind the spoken word may interpreted quite differently from the written word.

Regarding translations, translating from one language into another is clearly more complex than transcribing because they are related with more controversial issues such as connotation and meaning. As mentioned above,

methodological literature includes essays discussing the issues with translating (Esposito, 2001; Temple & Young, 2004). Rossman and Rallis (2003, p. 260) identify three major issues with this:

- If you have translated from one language to another, which language constitutes the direct quotes?
- Can you use translated words as a direct quote?
- How do you signal a translation is accurate and captures the subtle meanings of the original language?

Although there are no simple policies or proposals for addressing all these concerns related with translation, in order to overcome these concerns, the researcher took an ethical stance on translation, improved his knowledge of the technical vocabulary of the field and made this clear in the analysis how he achieved this.

4.3.1.2 Classification and Coding

This phase of the study is conducted with the utilization of NVivo software by coding major themes. The purpose of coding the data is to “facilitate the search for patterns and themes” in the data (Patton 1990, p. 384). Burnham et al. (2008, p. 245) put it as, “the point of this task [coding] is to make a judgement about the data in the light of the theoretical framework. Seidel and Kelle (1995) distinguish codes in two basic ways; they can act as “objective, transparent representations of facts” or they are “experimental tools to enable further inquiry and discovery.”

A frequent criticism of coding is it seeks to transform qualitative data into “quasi-quantitative” data, thereby denying the data its variety, richness, and individual character. Regarding the use of software for data management and analysis, Patton (2002, p.442) argues “computers and software are tools that assist analysis. Software doesn't really analyse qualitative data”. These concerns, however, are not related to the research because the objective of the coding in this study is only a technical classification of transcriptions in line with the model that facilitates the use and the analysis of the data. As mentioned above, data outside of the theoretically informed ready codes were coded under the codes derived from the findings and these were used in

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modification of the initial theoretical model (See Appendix 4 for the details of the codes).

4.3.2 Analysis of Primary and Secondary Documentary Data

Documentary sources in this research were analysed with a historiography approach (Vromen 2010, p. 262) to obtain meaning by using them to “tell the story” and present the historical sequencing of the events. Thies (2002, p. 351) claims the historiography approach can be understood as “writing of history based on a selective, critical reading of sources that synthesizes particular bits of information into a narrative description or analysis of a subject.” Vromen (2010, p. 263) argues much of leading political science using historiography is found in historical institutionalism, which is a significant theoretical approach for this study. Explanation of political events, issues and processes related with administrative reforms are placed into the context through the use of a historiography approach on documentary analysis. Steinmo (2008, p. 134) argues researchers of this approach are also committed to positivist concerns with process tracing and causality. The research has considerable evidence of examples of temporal boundaries, period effects and specific causal relations of successive events around the administrative reform process of Turkey.

4.4 Quality and Reliability of Research

Establishment of quality and reliability for the study has been an on-going process which is explained below, under two headings.

4.4.1 Quality of Documentary Data Sources

Regarding the judgement of the quality of documentary sources, Scott's (1990) book is cited as the authoritative source in several texts (See Burnham et al. 2004, 2008; May 2001). He highlights some criteria in approaching and using the documents which were utilized for this research as well:

a) Authenticity concerns the genuineness of a document. The question is, “Whether it is actually what it purports to be?” (Scott 1990, p. 19). Primary documents consisting of the official reports, statistics and official archival documents unlikely to have such a problem. Regarding secondary documentary data sources, publications or studies of institutional structures, these also are

unlikely to have an issue of authenticity. Other literature, on the other hand, mostly consists of scientific studies created within the academic system.

b) Credibility is closely related with authenticity and concerns the accuracy and sincerity of the author of the project (Scott 1990, p. 22). The researcher needs to pay attention to the conditions under which the document was produced and the interests which may have affected the author according to Burnham et al. (2008, p. 210). With regards to credibility, secondary documentary sources produced by some institutions may reflect their point of view. In order to overcome this issue, a triangulation approach is used and this provided diverse data from numerous data sources to validate each other.

c) Representativeness and meaning are seen as the most serious challenge for the researchers using documentary sources by Burnham et al. (2008, p. 211). The researcher must be sure the documents used as source are “representative of the totality of relevant documents” (Scott 1990, p. 24). Regarding the meaning, Burnham et al. (2008, p.211) and Scott (1990, p. 31) claim researchers face the problem of interpretation because of the different social, economic, cultural and political context and conditions in which the author of the document had experienced. This also affects the understanding of the concepts used by the author. Considering these issues in the research, primary documentary sources in the form of official records, constitutions, legislations, regulations from Grand National Assembly of Turkey or other State departments, official publications and statistics from Turkish State organizations and departments, OECD, World Bank, IMF and EU, are already directly involved in the reform process of the country and more than being representative they are all relevant documents. Regarding secondary documentary, a careful and selective approach is used to determine the sources to be used in order to overcome this difficulty. With regards to the problem of meaning and interpretation, the researcher tried to discover as much as possible regarding the context and conditions under which these documentary sources were produced. The previous role and experience of researcher as a high-level civil servant in Turkish bureaucracy has been a positive factor in overcoming the issue of meaning and interpretation of documentary sources.

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4.4.2 Systematic Collection and Analysis of Data

Systematic data collection and analysis activities were implemented by the researcher after identification of the potential of high quality sources of data. Several major actions were taken by researcher to assist quality and reliability of the study;

- Intensive long-term involvement – the researcher spent a considerable amount of time, particularly on the documentation to produce a complete understanding of issues related to the administrative reform process of the country,
- “Rich” data – primary and secondary documentary data and elite interviews provided a substantial quantity of data to be used in the study.
- The recording and transcription of interviews – the choice of a digital recording machine for the majority of interviews guaranteed dependable data compared to the use of written notes of interviews.
- Collection of primary documentary material- the majority of documentary sources consisted of official documents, particularly legal arrangements and official statistical datasets which are directly related with the reform process of the country.
- The collection of detailed descriptive data about the context – economic, social and political in which administrative reforms were taking place was given high importance for the framework of the research. In order to elaborate on the context, very detailed data was collected and analysed.
- Triangulation – as a methodological approach, triangulation is used to collect converging evidence from diverse sources.
- The management of the collected data – various data management procedures are implemented by the researcher to ensure preservation of, effective use and systematic access to, collected data. Usage of storage databases, building a database for transcribed interviews with the help of NVivo software and preparing inventories are some examples of these procedures.

4.5 The Challenges and Limitations

4.5.1 The Qualitative Approach

It is worth mentioning at the outset, as with all approaches where qualitative measurement prevails, data collection, analysis and interpretation phases of the research suffer from certain weaknesses and challenges originating from the qualitative approach of the study. Most significant is the subjective nature of the judgements and assessments made by the researcher on both the documentary data and interview transcriptions, despite the fact they are mostly based on official sources. The previous role of the researcher in Turkish high-level bureaucracy makes the situation more interesting and this has been very useful in overcoming this issue. Being a part of all these developments at one time and having insights to the administrative reform process, subjective judgements and assessments of the researcher helped understanding the causal relations and analysing the findings of the research.

4.5.2 The Scope of the Research

The research aimed to explore, understand and present all factors affecting the administrative reform process of Turkey, a comprehensive task, and limited the period of the research interest to three decades from 1980 to 2010. At the outset, this looked an easy task to accomplish. There was an initial conceptual model to serve as a framework. Appropriate methods and techniques were planned to carry out the research activities. However, as the researcher went deeper into data collection and analysis, the more complex and detailed picture of the administrative reform process appeared. Wide-ranging factors affecting administrative reforms, interrelations between these factors and a large amount of data made the tasks of managing the research and presenting convincing evidence in the writing limits of a PhD thesis challenging. The researcher tried to overcome the challenge of scope and comprehensiveness of the study by a selective reduction of data and evidence to present in research. Although the researcher tried to be as objective as possible on the choice and reduction process, this reflected a subjective view and might be evaluated as an important limitation of the study.

4.5.3 The Selection and the Reach of Interview Respondents

The length of the research interest period dating from 1980, created a major challenge in locating appropriate interview respondents. It would appear to be difficult to find respondents who will be able to comment on the administrative reforms from the 1980s. However, this problem was overcome by identifying and using interviewees with long tenures and careers in the public sector particularly those with knowledge and exposure to reform related fields. This enabled them to make comments or present opinions and experiences fluently regarding period of the research interest. The usual difficulty of identifying and access to high-level bureaucrats and politicians on the other hand, was overcome by the advantage of the researcher's previous role in Turkish bureaucracy as already mentioned.

4.5.4 The Quality and Selection of Documentary Sources

One limitation of the study was the choice of documentary source materials. The quality of data provided by primary documentary sources created some problems leading to methodological challenges. First the comprehensive topic and the context of the study created a large amount of data and required a continuous process of selection. In such a situation, selective reduction of presentable material and the focused presentation of the evidence was a great challenge for the researcher. Interpretation and presentation of the evidence provided by documentary source material is challenging since meaning of some parts of the evidence is not always clear. The numerous information and statistical datasets do not present such a concern. However, some parts of the data provided by documentary sources were ambiguous and open to interpretation.

4.6 The Conclusions

The chapter discusses and summarises how and with what methods the study is executed by the researcher. The principal aim of the research requires a deep understanding of all factors affecting administrative reforms and the causal relationships between these factors in the process. The complexity and comprehensiveness of the topic and a need for an in-depth examination make a case study the most feasible design option for the research. The choice of a

case study enabled a logical progress of the research with its many variables, reliance on multiple data sources, a need for triangulation of the data coupled with an initial theoretical model to adopt for the collection and analysis of the data. The difference between a case study and a study is not clear and it is quite difficult to study on a single unit which wouldn't function as a case study. Following this argument, making generalisations, one of the secondary aims of the study, will also be possible but always treated with caution and related to a limited range of contexts. With respect to the methodological options, the case study design enabled the use of multiple data sources and data collection techniques creating an extensive data accumulation. Triangulation is also employed in the research to provide validation of the findings and completion of any omissions and gaps.

In examining the data sources, information is taken from multiple sources including interviews with high-level civil servants and executive politicians, primary and secondary official and unofficial documents. Major source of data is the semi-structured elite interviews with high-level Turkish Civil servants and Politicians. In order to provide deep, causal and insightful information of the administrative reform process and related factors, participants were carefully selected from the ones who worked in the administrative reform field in their career and had great knowledge and experience on the issue. Other sources of data have been the primary and secondary documents in the shape of legislations, official documents, official publications, international organisation documents, literature pieces, media materials and other academic and organizational research. While elite interview transcriptions have been mainly used for the exploration of the research question and core analysis of discussion, documentary sources have been used for providing background information, facilitating the analysis of interview results and filling some blanks left by the interviews. Analysis of documentary data is made with a historiography approach to understand the historical development and interactions of factors, characters and institutions. Elite interviews, on the other hand, are transcribed, translated to English, coded in line with the initial model and analysed with qualitative directed content analysis because there was an applied model as a framework of the research.

In order to achieve the original goals of the study, chosen and applied research strategy, design and methodological approaches are quite appropriate,

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however the proved to be challenging. The first major limitation was the general qualitative approach and its weaknesses related to the subjective nature of the judgements and assessments made, in particular with reference to the analysis and interpretation of interviews and documentary data, despite the fact they are based on official sources. The second major challenge was the wide scope of the research topic and question. The amount of data required for a comprehensive understanding went well beyond the researcher's anticipation. The researcher tried to overcome this by objective selection and reduction of the material. The selection and reach of interview respondents was among the significant challenges and overcome by the researcher's previous role in the Turkish bureaucracy. This enabled the researcher to establish connections and mutual trust relatively easily. Another significant challenge, the quality and selection of documentary sources, is overcome by ensuring the authenticity, credibility and representativeness of the documentary sources. Choosing official documents, legislations, international organization documents and researches, academically reliable research, articles and books assisted greatly in this. Finally, organising the conceptual and methodological foundation for a holistic examination of such a multi-dimensional political, cultural, economic and social process of administrative reform was a significant task.

Chapter 5. The Socio-Economic Forces Effective on Administrative Reforms

General socio-economic forces and the related dynamics are among the factors affecting administrative reform processes of many countries. Although it is an important part of the original model, in the developing State context of Turkey, data collection and analysis revealed a more detailed and different situation concerning these factors and their relative impact on the reform process. In line with these arguments, almost all factors under this cluster have had significant impact on the process mostly in a positive manner by driving, facilitating or shaping the administrative reforms and have been the major driving forces of administrative reform efforts. For this reason, apart from the OECD, which had only limited impacts; they are all focused on and elaborated separately in detail.

The first section examines the national and international economic conditions and economic crises. The vulnerabilities of Turkey's economy as a developing State resulted in considerably challenging economic conditions and deep economic crises during the period of interest, with significant implications for administrative reforms. The impacts of international organisations on the reform programmes, mostly linked with the economic conditions and crises, constitute the second section of the chapter and are organised under headings to reflect the impact of four important international organizations. The economy related impact of the IMF and its reflections on the administrative field is the first sub-section. Then the World Bank and the impact of their development projects and programmes on the reform process of Turkey are elaborated. Another significant factor, a supranational organisation having the greatest impact on the social, political and economic transformation of Turkey in last two decades is the EU. The impact of relations with the EU on the reform process is discussed in detail. The last international organisation evaluated in a relatively short section due to its limited impacts on the process of administrative reform, is the OECD.

The following section deals with the emerging economic forces and their impact on the reform process. As a result of being a developing nation with a rapidly developing economy, Turkey has experienced the emergence of

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economic forces who want to participate in decision-making processes and affect those decisions in line with their own interests. The interactions of such groups with the State mechanisms created impacts on the administrative reform efforts both directly and indirectly. Before concluding the chapter, one section is devoted to the socio-demographic factors, considered as another major driving force of administrative reform globally.

Elaborating on these factors provides us further insights on the relationship with the model of Pollitt and Bouckaert and implications of the model on the setting of a developing state whether the elements of the model are validated by the findings or they required modifications. In the process of research, before and after data collection phases, some elements of the original model, such as socio-demographic forces are directly applied, one of them, socio-economic policies, is proven to be ineffective so left out of consideration and some additional factors, such as international organisations and emerging economic forces are included into the framework due to the unique conditions of the context.

5.1 The Impact of National and International Economic Conditions and Crises

General economic conditions and economic crises are considered fundamentally important factors on the administrative reform processes of countries. Particularly in 1970s and 1980s, as a primary economic factor, fiscal crises forced governments to take measures to manage their budget deficits and reform their public sector structures in particular and to transform the role of their governments in general. As a developing State, it is not possible for Turkey being immune from the effects of general economic conditions and economic crises on administrative structures. Even in the Ottoman Empire era, of the reforms started with the Tanzimat Imperial Decree, major objective was to find a solution for poor economic performance (Ortaylı 1979, p. 16). As a general point of the discussion, almost all respondents claim economic conditions and economic crises have significant driving influences on administrative reforms. There is an argument that around poor economic performance and economic crises, the public sector is one of the first sectors targeted for severe measures to address this.

Turkey experienced poor economic conditions and significant economic crises in the period covered by the research. When examining the relationship between the poor economic conditions or economic crises and major administrative reforms in Turkey, a link is easily established. Poor economic performance and economic crises were followed by rapid administrative reform periods (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.** and Appendix Appendix 2). Turkey experienced a severe economic crisis at the end of the 1970s and the new decade presented enormous economic, social and political problems. The government had given priority to the economic problems which brought about 24th January Economic Stabilization Programme. This had fundamental impacts not only on the economy but also on the administration of the country (For details see Appendix Appendix 2, p 237). As the crisis deepened, it was followed firstly by a military coup to minimize the social opposition and then speedy structural reforms in the both military government and civil governments' periods. Later, the 1994 crisis was followed by some structural changes and particularly the establishment of some regulatory authorities, despite the unstable political atmosphere, political crises and short term coalition governments. Eventually the 2000 -2002 crises, triggered by disastrous earthquakes in 1999 (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.**, page **Error! Bookmark not defined.**) and continuous economic and financial problems (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.**, page **Error! Bookmark not defined.**) were followed by the most vigorous reform period of the republic with adoption of a managerial philosophy along with many governance elements. The comprehensiveness and effectiveness of the post 2002 reform program is put quite well by one of the respondents:

"We can see public administration debates are gaining speed after these crises. Thus, after the 2001 crisis, this moved beyond discussion and some important measures were taken. Economic decisions and choices were taken in line with participation principles, to what extent the administration is accountable, are the taxes returning the citizens a public service and etc. are questioned in the times of crises?" (Yaman 2013)

There are diverse ways respondents evaluated the nature of the effects economic conditions and crises have created on the administrative reform

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processes. A small number mention the economic model applied by a particular country is strongly related to the administrative developments and reforms. These respondents give great importance to the transformation of economic policies and argue these policies generate significant impacts on the administrative reform process. Economic transformation of the post 1980 period marked the collapse of the Keynesian economic system in Turkey. The dynamic behind this development was the retreat of the State from the economic field. The foundation of this transformation was laid with the 24 January economic stabilization programme (For details see Appendix 2.1.1, page 246). Amendment of the applied economic model would bring the development of the compatible administrative model. In the 1980s Turkey, a new administrative philosophy and model, compatible with the economic philosophy, was the new public management resulting in the adoption of managerial principles to public administration. Cangir argues:

“The post 1980 period is one of the three major reform periods of the Turkish Republic. If we particularly look at the economic transformation, post 1980 is more significant. [...] In this regard, after the 1980 military coup and in the Özal period, we observed new economic approaches and their effects on public administration.”
(Cangir 2013)

A significant point made by some respondents is the interaction between the general economic conditions and administrative reforms. In many cases, administrative reforms are made in an atmosphere of economic problems and crises in which the State had to use its limited budget more carefully. The Aim was to create a more efficient, effective and productive public administration and reduce the costs of the public services while improving quality. This requires a better administrative organisation which is possible to achieve via reforms. If this is achieved, it would make a substantial contribution to the general economic conditions. One leading member of the post-2000 reform team successfully summarizes the situation;

“[...] economic difficulties force you to reform your system, and when you carry out reforms, improve your public administration system; it makes your country and economy more productive and efficient.”
(Çetin 2013)

When we move to a further theme of the discussion, there is an argument economic crises expose the structural and functional weaknesses of administrations. The OECD report examining regulatory reform in Turkey discusses the importance of the 2001/2002 crises from this point of view; “The crises of 2000/2001 brought to light a number of important regulatory and institutional weaknesses which had not been addressed, and increased general awareness of the urgency of regulatory reform” (OECD 2002, p. 9). In another article, Yaşamış (2003, p. 93) similarly argues the State structure in Turkey at both the national and local levels has proven to be “ineffective, even irrelevant, to the ingrained demographic, social, economic and political requirements of the country” and claims this was one of the major reasons of the public finance crisis. This opinion is shared by a leading respondent as well;

“Economic changes and developments will anyway create a need for the change. The 2001 financial crises left Turkey in a position which the country wasn't able to create even the necessary daily resources. Ending that crisis had been possible with the precautions taken in line with the global procedures.” (Dinçer 2013)

An additional argument, the evaluation of the causal link and the interaction between economy and administrative reforms from the opposite view is the claim if administrations were organised appropriately and functioned well the economic condition not have descended into crises. In other words, malfunctions of the administrative bodies such as rigid organisational structures, incompetent human resources and poor decisions inevitably lead to poor economic performance and economic crises. As one respondent states “if administrative structures cannot anticipate the developments and adjust the system accordingly, change comes late and painfully with economic and social explosions” (Can 2013). Another major member of post-2002 reform team presents his experiences on the issue;

“There is an important point we, as the reform team of 2002, have always mentioned: The major reason behind the economic crises in Turkey is the administrative crisis. If we had managed to establish a healthy public administration and develop it through the time, we wouldn't have lived these economic crises.” (Zararsız 2013)

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In addition to the direct influences, the factors (economic conditions, crises) have indirect effects by triggering other relevant mechanisms. In such cases, the effective factor seems different; however, the underlying reasons are the economic situation and economic crises. During these periods there arises an urgent need for extra funds which leads States approach international financial agencies for conditional loans (see Section 5.2, page 92). Another indirect effect of poor economic performance and crises is the effect on the community and creates additional significant pressures on governments to provide increased living standards and better public services (see Section 7.2, page 168). Such comments were not universal, however. Only some respondents, having a wider perspective of the issue expressed such indirect effects.

Evidence from the documentary sources and the interview transcriptions partially validates the original model and suggest that rather than global economic forces such as globalisation, international trade, multinational corporations and etc., general economic conditions and economic crises influenced by these factors have had significant impacts on the administrative reform process of Turkey. The original model used a general label for these factors as global economic forces and argued that their impacts are important but meaningful only with the help of ideas. In the setting of a developing country with vulnerable economic conditions and repeating economic crises, it seems as if the economic conditions and crises influenced by these factors might be quite effective and determinant on the process of administrative reforms.

5.2 The Impacts of International Organizations

As a developing State linked to the regional and global international system, Turkey has close relations with and memberships to many noted international organisations. These relations have important implications on public policies and public administration reforms. As argued by Sözen and Shaw (2002, 2003), Güler (1996, 2003, 2005 and 2010), Eryılmaz (2004, 2007), Yayman (2008) and many other scholars, the influence of external factors is an important aspect of Turkish politics and policy making. Turkey even experienced the appointment of a World Bank technocrat, Kemal Derviş, as Minister of Economic Affairs after the crisis in March 2001 to implement a new stabilisation and economic reform programme. This appointment itself can be

considered a significant indicator of the role international organisations play on the executive of a country.

Almost all respondents mention the importance of the external factors and argue international organisations such as the IMF, World Bank, EU and partly OECD had a significant influence on the administrative reform process of the country to some degree. However, there is an interesting diversion on the nature and the degree of this effect and the influence of these organisations on the process. Firstly participants agreed on the absolute effect of the EU on administrative reforms without exception. Regarding the effects of the other three organisations, there is a diversion. The general opinion and experience of more than half the respondents confirmed the significant effect of particularly the IMF and the World Bank, on the condition of the need for funds;

“Particularly in developing countries such as Turkey, economic difficulties and external pressures are leading to a re-examination of the role of the state in the economy. Turkey was virtually under external debt and thus faced direct external pressure to adopt the reforms. Turkey has been dependent on foreign loans since the end of the Second World War. Thus international financial organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank have always had influence on Turkey’s economic and political policies.” (Kaldırım 2013)

Some participants though (mostly the members of post 2002 reform team who were personally involved in the processes), and others who have been close to decision-making mechanisms argue they are not as effective as they appear and their recommendations were only partially used as useful contributions. As a bonded team who later worked together for many years as Minister and undersecretary, a major figure of the post 2002 reforms and his deputy summarise the effects of the international organisations:

“[...] we made use of international organisations such as IMF. OECD had experience and knowledge on administrative reforms around the globe and they had publications we used. I even invited their experts working in the field and listened to them. Not only had I, our team on public administration reform also listened to these experts. We listened to the World Bank, they offered to carry out the reforms with them as a project and to make financial support in return, but we didn't accept.

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Similarly, IMF wanted to establish a close relationship but we didn't accept. We observed the world. We made use of other organisations' experiences, and what they could give us, ultimately we prepared our public administration project ourselves. The project was completely intrinsic to us, me and my colleagues who worked and specialized in Turkish bureaucracy." (Dinçer 2013)

"We always told them (IMF, World Bank, OECD and EU) administrative reform is a need of this country, we are aware of this fact and we have to achieve this with our own dynamics. But we also told them we were open to their knowledge and expertise which they earned from operating globally. We were also in touch with SIGMA because of the accession negotiations and we made use of their expertise as well. However, I can fairly argue that, we have never been subject to any pressure about any policy from any of these organizations. Their biggest contribution has been their expertise and experiences of public administration reform they gained from the other parts of the world." (Zararsız 2013)

As a supporting argument, after the 1994 financial crises, once the economy had recovered, Kavalsky (2006, p. 3) claims "the government lost interest in taking politically sensitive measures and did not proceed with either an IMF programme or a World Bank adjustment loan." This mean the impact of international organisations, especially the financial ones, strongly depends on the condition of debt requirements. This could be interpreted if there is not a need for debt, the country wouldn't listen to their advice. After these general arguments, important international organisations and their impacts are detailed below.

5.2.1 The IMF

The IMF is among the international financial organisations which claim the right to comment on economic, political, and social policies of the lender countries particularly developing ones in need of urgent funds. The need for foreign debt since the end of the Second World War created a close link between Turkey and the international lender organisations. Although the stand-by agreements with the IMF appear to be only interested in economic

measures they do include administrative measures as conditions under the headings of other factors. In her article, Sezen (2011, p. 336) successfully summarises the situation as; “The conditions accompanying loan agreements with the WB and letters of intent presented to the IMF, modify not only the macro-economic and financial policies of the country but also include the necessity for administrative reforms to facilitate the implementation of these policies. [...] Even the rules of parliament were amended to accelerate discussion and deliberation processes”. Such administrative reform demands come in the shape of structural reforms, governance, privatisation, adjustment of personnel salaries, dismissal of some personnel and limiting recruitment. (Undersecretariat of Treasury 2001, articles 28-29; IMF 2001, p. 58 – 62; IMF 2004, p. 6, p.32; IMF 2007, p. 23-24). As another important example, the IMF clearly designates some fields and urges Turkey to reform some areas; “Despite this, further reforms were needed to improve the business environment, [...] Progress in privatization has been disappointing, [...] Greater emphasis needs to be placed on judicial reform.” (IMF 2004, p. 32)

Table 2: Turkey – IMF Financial Agreements

Agreement Date	Agreement Period (months)	Agreement Type	Total Amount (Million SDR ¹)	Real Amount (Million SDR)
19/07/1979	12	Stand-by	250	230
18/06/1980	36	Extended Fund Facility (EFF)	1,250	1,250
24/06/1983	12	Stand-by	225	56.20
04/04/1984	12	Stand-by	225	168.70
08/07/1994	14	Stand-by (Including EFF)	610.50	460.50
22/12/1999	36	Stand-by	15,038.40	11,738.96
21/12/2000	12	Extra Reserve	5,784	5,784
04/02/2002	36	Stand-by	12,821.20	11,914.00
11/05/2005	36	Stand-by	6,662.04	1,665.51

Source: IMF, Data and Statistics, IMF Lending Arrangements, Available at:

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/fin/tad/extarr1.aspx>, Accessed on 13 January 2013

¹SDR (Special Drawing Rights): Special drawing rights are supplementary foreign exchange reserve assets defined and maintained by the International Monetary Fund (1 SDR = 0.65 US\$ on 6th December 2013),

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/sdr.htm> (Retrieved on 24 March 2013)

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The table (above) explicitly presents the largest amounts of lending occurred just after the severe economic and financial crises (apart from the 1999 agreement after another type of crisis caused by a series of disastrous earthquakes). Cross referencing the stand-by agreements with the IMF and the major administrative reforms (see Appendix Appendix 2, page 237) will help establish a link between the stand-by agreements and the rapid administrative reform periods similar to the link with economic crises elaborated in previous section. These crises were usually followed by the IMF loans and then the economic and administrative reforms. The late 1970s crises, then the 1980 stand-by agreement brought about sweeping administrative reforms and even a new constitution after the military coup. The 2000-2001 economic crises were followed by 2002 stand-by agreement and then the post 2002 extensive administrative reforms (for the details of the reforms see Appendix Appendix 2, page 237). The conditional loan agreements and their effects on the administrative reform processes are clearly mentioned by many respondents:

“Of course at some point, particularly when needed for international funds, Turkey took these organisations very seriously and followed their advice. With stand by agreements, intention letters, Turkey was obliged to do this because of the urgent need for funds.” (Yaman 2013)

“Lately, after the 2001 crisis, the IMF gave some fundamental advice in line with the global administrative trends and, sadly sent an international organization technician, Kemal Derviş to be appointed as a minister.” (Kızılıcık 2013)

Similar to the argument about all international organisations presented above in the introductory section, some participants, while approving the economic condition of the country as an important determinant of the relation, argue the effect of the IMF is limited to a degree;

“Concerning the IMF, because we obtain loans from the IMF, we feel obliged to realise most of their recommendations. But the IMF interferes in your political decision mechanisms rather than your administration. [...] Recommendations of these organizations are taken into account, if not 100%. Political ones usually are thrown away but technical ones, for instance some measures about finance, are used.

We are not comfortable taking political advice and thank god we are very relaxed because our debt to the IMF is over.” (Kontoğlu 2013)

Although there are some exceptional arguments about the degree of IMF influence on administrative reforms, one point is common and certain: The IMF has been effective on the administrative reform process of Turkey from the pressures generated by the economic developments and conditional loan agreements. Apparent impact has strongly related to the turbulent economic conditions and economic vulnerabilities of Turkey as a developing state and constant need for extra funds from this organisation.

5.2.2 The World Bank

Relations with the World Bank and Turkey commenced in 1950, when it granted its first loan to the then-new member. Unlike the IMF, the World Bank works directly on any sector within the State organisation and during 1980s the loan relations covered almost all economic sectors. An independent report examining The World Bank and relations with Turkey claims there had been a sharp increase in the level of lending as a response to Özal’s reforms of the 1980s. One of the first Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs) was given to Turkey in 1981 and was followed by four more (Kavalsky 2006, p. 7). Three major incidents determined relations after the 1980s: They were the 1994 crises, 1999 earthquake and the 2000-2001 financial crises. With respect to the 1994 economic crises, the Bank prepared a long list of conditions for an adjustment loan intended to test the government’s commitment. Another important point in the relationship came after the Marmara earthquake in 1999 when the Bank responded quickly to provide emergency relief and proposed help on the measures for handling future disasters. Regarding the 2000-2001 economic crises, the Bank worked closely with the IMF, both by helping with the structural programme and providing an economic reform loan (Kavalsky 2006, p. 7-8). An additional important demonstration of the relationship during this period, two Country Assistance Strategies were prepared in the 1990s, followed by two others in 2000 and 2003 including a CAS progress report in 2001. All these measures and the subsequent relationships involved administrative re-structuring to some degree.

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To elaborate on the issue further, it is important to remember that a significant feature of The World Bank's activities is improving public administration of especially developing States and most of loans provided by the Bank are already connected to such projects rather than being extra conditions for the economic based financial support. For this reason, the agreements and programmes create more detailed and direct influence on the administrative reforms. One leading member of the post-2002 reform team explained the conditionality with an example;

"The World Bank usually supports infrastructure investments in under-developed or developing countries. As an example, The World Bank raised funds for Turkey after the 1999 earthquake. But this fund was provided on the condition of changing the organisational structure, disaster response and recovery." (Çetin 2013)

Table 3: Chosen Loan Agreements with the World Bank

Agreement	Implementation Period	Amount (Million\$)	Objectives of the Program
PFPSAL (Programmatic Financial and Public Sector Adjustment Loan)	July 12, 2001 - December 31, 2001	1,100	Major objective of the loan is to address the immediate financial and public sector reform priorities in the aftermath of the 2000-2001 financial crises. Key priorities of the programme on the public sector include: (a) structural fiscal policies, (b) public expenditure management, (c) financial accountability, (d) public liability management, and (e) public sector governance.
PFPSAL II (Second Programmatic Financial and Public Sector Adjustment)	April 16, 2002 - June 30, 2003	1,350	The major objective of the loan is to support the next phase of the Government's financial and public sector reform priorities in response to the February 2001 financial crisis. Key priorities of the programme on

Loan)			the public sector include: (a) a further deepening of structural fiscal policies in support of sustainable fiscal adjustment, (b) a broadening of the Government's public expenditure management reform program including the implementation of concrete improvements to the framework for budget planning and execution, financial accountability, and public liability.
PFPSAL III (Third Programmatic Financial and Public Sector Adjustment Loan)	June 17, 2004 - June 30, 2006	1,000	The major objective of the loan is to support implementation of the Government's financial and public sector reform priorities Key reform priorities on the public sector include: (a) deepening of structural fiscal policies in support of sustainable fiscal adjustment, (b)implementing public expenditure management (PEM) reforms covering budget planning and execution, financial accountability, and public liability management, and (c) strengthening public sector governance including implementation of the national anti-corruption strategy and preparation of civil service reform strategy.
Programmatic Public Sector Development Policy Loan (PPDPL)	May 5, 2006 - May 12, 2006	500	The loan supports a sustained medium-term process of legal, institutional, and structural development that promotes growth and improves social conditions. There are four components and three of them are directly related to the administration: (a) reforming substantially the country's

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			<p>social protection system, which covers social security, Universal Health Insurance and social assistance;</p> <p>(b) continuing the on-going process of upgrading the financial controls and expenditure management of public resources; and</p> <p>(c) Improving the administration and governance of the public sector.</p>
Restoring Equitable Growth and Employment Programmatic Development Policy Loan (REGE-DPL)	Mar 23, 2010 – Nov 1, 2010	1,300	The programme supported by the loan focuses on the transition from managing the impact of the global crisis to fiscal consolidation and aims to contribute to the following major objectives related to administration: (1) Public Financial Management; (2) affordable universal healthcare and improved educational access; (3) increased financial intermediation, especially to SOEs.

Source: World Bank Reports (2001, 2003, 2004, 2006 and 2010), World Bank Documents and Reports (Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/home>, Accessed on 17/07/2013). Table created by author.

The table provides detailed information on the impact of the Bank on public administration and the objectives of the loans clearly present that programmes are directly related to administrative reforms. There are particular policy fields which are expected to be re-organized and loans are provided for these objectives. A cross reference to the reform chapter and reform table would clearly present almost all objectives on administration has been subject to reform programs. (Some examples: Right to Information Law (Governance), see Appendix Appendix 2, page 257; Public Financial Management and Control Law, see Appendix Appendix 2, page 257; Social Security Reform, see Appendix Appendix 2, page 265 etc.). One important respondent from the

SPO, who has always worked very close with The World Bank, supports this argument by detailing the effects of The World Bank on the administrative reforms.

“In fact I personally have been involved in their process in the past. In all reports I prepared for The World Bank in 1999-2000-2001, loan relations were very important in relation to public administration reforms. You can relate EU negotiations to this. Many reforms including financial co-operation, financial management, control law, public procurement law, and other reforms related to these, even strategic management. Installing these in Turkey lay in the joint works with The World Bank, EU and OECD. These initiatives originated with these. I don't mean it was completely shaped by their choices. Turkey tried to create its unique model from these initiatives and made some revisions on the packages.” (Yaman 2013)

There was a different take on the nature of the effect by some respondents who argued The World Bank might have some indirect effects arising from the reports and indexes they publish. Such studies create global rankings and go into detail concerning the work countries carried out to become better in that particular field. The Head of the unit responsible for the administrative development is among the owners of this idea;

“Apart from the loan relations, their ideas and related reports about your country are also quite important. For instance, a regular report prepared by The World Bank covering the business environment of various countries is very important for them in trying to attract foreign investment. Turkey was ranked 71st the previous year and moved up 2 places to 69 last year. These ratings are considered seen globally and countries feel obliged to reform their systems to achieve a better ranking. There is even a subheading detailing the reforms carried out by different countries. Such reports and publications indirectly affect the reform process of our country.” (Avşarbey 2013)

There may not be as much reference to the World Bank as there is for the IMF and the EU from the respondents. However, adding evidence from the documentary sources to the argument, it is clear The World Bank has been heavily involved and directly influential on the administrative reform process in

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the relevant period by driving and shaping the reforms. This is another outcome arising from the vulnerabilities and financial problems of Turkey as a developing state.

5.2.3 The European Union

The Westernization of the country has been one of the prevailing aims of the Turkish modernisation efforts of the last two centuries and has been the major one since the establishment of the Republic in 1923 (Öniş 2001, p. 107). Relations with the EU are fundamentally important because, in the eyes of the public, politicians and academics, full membership represents the realisation of Turkey's modernization project. As a consequence, the impact of EU relations on the political, economic and social transformation of Turkey increased particularly after recognition of Turkey as a Candidate State in 1999 and then the commencement of negotiations in 2004. The EU is, probably, the most influential external agent of change and, according to Sözen and Shaw (2003, p.109), it emerges as a key motivating factor favouring modernisation, through its policies and financial incentives. Such a strong relationship and motivation for modernisation generates significant driving, facilitating and shaping impacts on the administrative reform. In the 2000s, when negotiations started and the government vigorously pursued the EU membership aim, it was definitely the most significant effective factor on administrative reforms. This was indicated by almost all respondents and summarised by some:

“Our country’s strong will to join the EU, our economic integration to the EU common market and commencement of the accession negotiations led the country to significant economic, political and administrative reforms.” (Kızılıçık 2013)

“The EU has a huge impact on reforms in Turkey. An examination of Turkey’s recent history shows nearly all the measures taken by successive governments to create an efficient and well-working civil service are somehow related to the country’s ambition to join the EU. [...] The prospect of EU membership represents perhaps the strongest motivation for government reform to pursue a strategy aimed at aligning their administrative policies and practices with those of the European Union.” (Kaldırım 2013)

The EU effect on administrative reform is more substantial than any other international organisation because there is an implicit, official process of negotiation involving adoption of the EU *acquis* to local administrative systems. The EU accession criteria, as defined by the Council of the European Union, with a direct influence over administrative systems may be summarised as follows:

1. Copenhagen 1993:

- Political criteria: stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities;
- Economic criteria: a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competition and market forces;
- Administrative and institutional capacity to effectively implement the *acquis** and ability to take on the obligations of membership (European Council 1993).

2. Madrid 1995:

Adjustment of administrative and judicial structures so as to be able to transpose EU Law and effectively implement it (European Council 1995);

3. Luxembourg 1997:

Institutions strengthened and improved and made more dependable (European Council 1997);

4. Helsinki 1999:

Obligation of candidate countries to share the values and objectives of the European Union as set out in the Treaties (European Council 1999).

There is enough evidence that the *acquis* has genuinely oriented Turkey's reforms in last two decades. Enactment of the Competition Law (1994) and the establishment of a Competition Authority (1997), Ethics Board for the civil service (2004), establishment of regional development agencies (2006) and many more examples (For details, see Appendix Appendix 2) were mainly requirements of the EU negotiations and the results of the EU impact. Sezen (2011, p. 337) rightly argues the harmonisation of Turkish legislation with the EU *acquis* had begun before Turkey joined the Customs Union in 1996 and

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intensified in 2000s when the accession negotiations commenced. Sezen takes the argument much further; “since then, almost all key laws dealing with the basic structure and functioning of the State have been amended” (Sezen 2011, p. 337). These requirements and direct impacts of the EU are simply explained by a respondent;

“There is a huge effort in our ministries in adopting EU acquis to Turkish legislation. [...] There is already common legislation to comply with and an accession process going on. Turkey has to adopt all acquis of the EU. For this reason, the EU has a very dominant effect on the administrative reform process of Turkey.” (Akbulut 2013)

Another take on the discussion of acquis, mentioned by some reports and confirmed by respondents, is the fact that incorporation of the EU acquis is “helping to shape the reform agenda, and provides a benchmark against which the reform process can be evaluated” (OECD 2002, p. 9). There are certain mechanisms which evaluate and report the progress of a candidate State on the adoption of the acquis to its internal legislation. This is maintained by the annual progress reports, which are a performance assessment of the candidate countries. Turkish politicians, bureaucrats, mass media and society are quite interested in these annual reports and they occupy the agenda for quite some time when they are published.

There is a general consensus regarding the positive impact of the EU on the administrative reforms. It is considered a driving and facilitating force of positive steps in public administration. According to the TEPAV paper examining administrative reform, the EU negotiations generate a positive atmosphere for reform implementations, play a facilitator role and become an anchor which would prevent turning back from the positive steps (TEPAV 2006, p. 3). A SIGMA assessment makes the same argument on the powerful impact of the EU on the administrative reforms. Moreover it claims the decrease in the number of people in support of the EU accession results in a decrease in the political pressure for public governance reforms and in the potential for EU accession to be a key driver of reform (SIGMA 2012, p. 11). As a close observer of the process, a high-level official from the Ministry of EU Affairs supports the proposition on the driving and facilitating role of the EU on administrative reform;

“Regarding Turkey, as I said before, the EU has had an important, facilitator role on the administrative reform process. It helped the political and public will to realise policies and carry out the administrative reforms despite the military, judiciary and bureaucratic impediments.” (Cangir 2013)

Although it doesn't have a clear and certain public management model recommendation for its members or candidates (see Lippert et al. 2001, p. 980 and Balci 2005, p.24), there are some fundamental principles expected by the EU. After all, in its external relations, the EU is a transfer agent (Stone 2004, p.553; Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, p. 7) and leaving an important field unregulated wouldn't mean no longer of interest. The SIGMA-OECD paper of 'European Principles for Public Administration' clearly argues there is not an EU acquis for national administrations; however, there are shared principles of public administration among EU member States which constitute the conditions for a 'European Administrative Space'. The paper then mentions the fundamental principles and standards of the administrative field which must be considered by candidate States (OECD 1999, p. 6). According to the Accession Partnership Document for Turkey (European Commission 2008, p. 3) priorities related to public administration are as follows:

- Pursue reform of public administration and personnel policy in order to ensure greater efficiency, accountability and transparency.
- Strengthen local administrations by reforming the central administration, devolving powers to local administrations and providing them with adequate resources.
- Implement legislation aimed at establishing a fully operational ombudsman system.
- Adopt and implement legislation on the Court of Auditors (Court of Accounts).

It is obvious there is a certain philosophy embedded and the measures are mostly related to concepts of “good governance” and “New Public Management” with direct references to the efficiency, accountability, transparency and decentralisation of public service delivery. A leading official of the Ministry of EU Affairs, who is closely associated to relations with the EU, confirms the argument;

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“The EU doesn't have a direct system or model recommendation for public administration of candidate countries. However, they have some fundamental principles. We can see this with the new public management approach. There is a relationship between what we are advised and the basic principles of the model. Examples are transparency, legality, accountability and subsidiarity. There are several principles such as these. The form of implementation is up to the policies of each country.” (Cangir 2013)

In discussing the EU and its effect on administrative reforms, it is necessary to mention SIGMA, a joint initiative of the EU and the OECD. The major aim of the initiative is to provide support on areas such as modernisation of member or candidate countries' public administration systems, assessment of reform movements, aid for the establishment of institutions and creation of the legal framework. Respondents mentioned on several occasions how it helped executives and bureaucrats to understand the fundamental criterion of the current EU legal system and eased the harmonisation process. Therefore, it is fair to argue the SIGMA initiative is a mechanism of EU pressure on Turkey to reform its administration in line with EU governance principles.

With respect to Turkey position, there is a huge organisational structure, similar to the other candidate or member countries, which is mainly responsible for the relationship with the EU and *acquis* harmonisation. The organisation responsible for EU affairs was established as a General Secretariat affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its affiliation was transferred to the Prime Ministry in January 2009 and a separate ministry was established in June 2011. The existence of such an organisational structure itself constitutes solid evidence on the strong influence of the EU on the political and administrative issues of the country.

*“We have to mention the role of The EU and Ministry of EU affairs on the reform process of the country. We can even name this ministry as a reform ministry. The EU membership process means transferring over one hundred thousand pages of *acquis* to your country. When you achieved this already means your public administration has reached a capacity of carrying out all necessary reforms. They don't force you to implement a particular system but if you transfer the *acquis*, you have*

to establish the necessary organisations. Here starts the importance of the ministry of EU affairs.” (Cangir 2013)

The EU is an important organisation endorsing convergence to candidate and member states based on some major policies. It is evident with the documentary sources and the respondent arguments that, as a significant and disputed candidate, Turkey is in the middle of accession negotiations and extensively affected by the EU related pressures over the administrative reform efforts. Although it doesn't have a certain model endorsed to the member or candidate states, extensive relations since the mid-1980s, high motivation of Turkey to become a full member and an ongoing official negotiation process makes EU one of the most effective agents of administrative change for Turkey. Influence has existed since the commencement of the relationship; however, full membership application in April 1987, customs union in January 1996 and particularly the recognition of membership status in December 1999 have been the milestones which have intensified the influence of the EU.

5.2.4 The OECD

The effect of the OECD on administrative reform processes of countries is widely debated. Regarding our case, close relations with the OECD, started in late 1990s, intensified in 2000s and the major feature of the cooperation has always been the administrative reform. Despite its well-known role of being one of the major facilitators of policy transfer globally with its extensive knowledge and wide network, apart from some limited shaping and facilitating impacts, the evidence didn't prove it to be significantly effective on the reform process of Turkey. Respondents argued many working groups were established and joint projects were carried out after the OECD Turkish Review of 2001 and these relations generated only some indirect effects on the administrative reforms. As the two following respondents indicate, OECD's contribution has been through their knowledge and cooperation;

“We work in close relations with the OECD. [...] They have useful studies about public administration reforms which can be good examples and can be used.” (Kontoğlu 2013)

“The OECD has also affected the administrative reform process by educational programmes and knowledge.” (Haktankaçmaz 2013)

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We have to acknowledge that the OECD impact on the administrative reform process is usually through working groups and official reports which propose new ideas and models to countries. It doesn't possess any financial instruments such as conditional loans or project based credits and their projects are meaningful only when they are combined with other international institutions' impacts. For these reasons, evidence suggest the OECD mostly has had limited facilitating and shaping impact on the reform process.

5.3 The Emerging Economic Forces

The impact of emerging economic forces on administrative reform processes is among the factors which are identified in the initial findings of the research, added to the framework afterwards and is supported by the explanations of the respondents. Firstly, as mentioned by a number of respondents, this feature is quite important in the context of a developing State. The applicability of the administrative reform in developing States is partly dependent on the nature of relations between the State, civil society and particularly newly emerging power houses because of their dynamic efforts to generate and develop great pressures on the policy makers and implementers.

Looking at the detail of the situation, new capital owners of small Anatolian towns, distant from historical centres of manufacturing and business, have been emerging and gaining power progressively since the beginning of 1980s and became quite effective particularly after 2000. With the rapid development of the economy, capital and enterprises have spread both geographically and socially. Former minister Çelebi (2013) cites the example of the establishment of 130 organized industrial zones in different regions of Turkey after 1983 and also the emergence of a flourishing group of small and medium sized entrepreneurs due to the support of government policies and improving economic conditions. By the time the entrepreneurs, so called Anatolian Tigers, had started communicating with the outside world thus increasing their knowledge of international trade and competing in international markets, their vision and demands grew and developed in a parallel. Their efforts to enlarge their businesses and competition with Istanbul capital, the long established capital group of country, brought about some demands from public administration. For example, more participation and accountability of local and central government in order to change the conditions which were not in favour

of them. This expansion of their economic activities led to expansion of their political activities and this created direct effects on public administration (Cangir 2013). In detail, respondents claim they have lobbying activities and relationships with Prime Ministry, Ministers and high-level public institutions. Although there is a divergence on the degree and nature of their impact, they are considered by respondents as effective factors on policy making by generating driving and facilitating impacts on the administrative reform process of the country. A respondent with long experience as a high-level bureaucrat both in the field organisation and the capital city summarizes the situation as:

“A new group of entrepreneurs started emerging and these have had relations with the State organs. Managing this developing relationship and responding to the needs of these entrepreneurs required a better working public administration. They became an important pressure factor as well.” (Saran 2013)

There are some particular mechanisms through which these emerging economic forces participate in decision-making processes. The first important mechanism is their organisation under effective NGOs. Their impact on the decision-making and reform processes is reinforced by the success of their organisational ability; because, by the time they increased their influence, they established powerful NGOs and respondents counted MUSIAD (Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association), TUSKON (Turkish Businessmen and Industrialists Confederation) and ASCON (Anatolian Tigers Businessmen Association) as the important examples. They use the power of these NGOs and lobbying activities to create pressure on central and local governments to participate in the decision-making processes. Furthermore, some mechanisms have been established within the administrative structure for including these forces and related NGOs to decision-making processes as well. An example by a respondent from the Prime Ministry, the working process of such mechanisms is: The private sector brings their demands or complaints regarding a particular regulation which creates obstacles for their business and investments. The administration notes this, works on the issue and if it is good for common benefit as well, political mechanisms change the legislation in accordance with their demands. Many changes have been brought about with

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this mechanism (Avsarbey 2013). A more detailed institutional example from another respondent from the Prime Ministry is below;

“For instance we have YOIKK (Co-Ordination Committee for Improving Investment Environment). Along with relevant actors of public sector, private sectors NGOs are present here. Most of the problems coming to this committee are related with bureaucracy and administrative reforms. Actors bringing forward these issues are already from the business world. Because they are already organised, they manage well. They make good evaluations and bring forward good proposals. From this regard, they have positive effects on administrative reforms.”
(Kontoğlu 2013)

As an additional take on the issue, a group of respondents make more reference to the developing State status of Turkey. They argue there are new economic forces emerging in developing countries and these are usually encouraged by State structures. In such an encouraging atmosphere, their demands are seriously considered by governments and administrations and usually reflected in the economic policies and administrative reforms. Respondents claim these emerging economic forces, new entrepreneurs and businessmen achieving significant results from their efforts, clearly affect the administrative reforms and this is not intrinsic to Turkey. This is the case for all developing countries and emerging businessmen trigger and also support the administrative reforms in line with their interests.

As a strongly developing country with rapidly expanding economy, spread of the capital around the Turkey and related social trends triggered a process in which new economic forces are emerging particularly from the developing Anatolian cities and having more impact on the policy making processes. Being evident in the initial findings of the study, this factor doesn't take place in the original model and has been an addition to the framework as a unique feature of the developing state setting.

5.4 The Socio-Demographic Factors

Demographic factors, particularly population growth and migration are regarded as having important influences on administrative reform processes of

countries. The nature of these influences, however, depends on certain characteristics, especially the development level of the countries affected. In developed States, demography related problems are usually seen as aging population, increasing costs of welfare state and international migration. However, developing States encounter problems of population growth, internal migration and rapid urbanisation because of unequal economic development around the country and pressures from the economic integration of a young population. With respect to the situation in Turkey, it can be argued the country has been experiencing all the processes previously mentioned for developing States. Although the economy has been growing steadily in this period, it has not been enough to remove the negative effects of these socio-demographic factors (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.** on page **Error! Bookmark not defined.**).

Population growth is the first pillar and the source of the socio-demographic development of Turkey. Although it has slowed lately, the country has experienced rapid population growth due to increased fertility rates and increased life expectancy. The major implications of this growth on the administrative system are: increasing proportion of young people, rapid increase in working age population and rapid urbanisation due to the internal migration. All these factors force governments to reform its systems and provide more and better public services such as education, health services, social security, and employment support. These are obvious and direct impacts on the administrative reforms. Additionally, because the Turkish economy cannot easily provide enough financial resources for its public services as a developing state, it has to create ways to deliver these services with lower costs, or create sufficient funds to finance these services, mostly by lending from international organizations. In both ways, socio-demographic factors trigger other mechanisms and create an indirect influence through other effective factors like general economic conditions and international organisations. One respondent puts one part of the argument quite well in detail;

“As long as the population grows, the State has to increase the scale of its public services accordingly. At the same time quality of the services should be enhanced as well. You have to increase the number of the personnel, locations of public services, find more practical solutions

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and after all it becomes complicated. These developments require innovations in the public sector. In order to respond to the demands of citizens and provide better public services, you have to give up your old habits and bring something new.” (Sert 2013)

Internal migration and its result, rapid urbanization, is the other significant pillar of the problem for Turkey. These developments mean central and local governments face various challenges: Providing basic public services, more effective city planning, providing housing, education and creating investment friendly policies to increase employment. Internal migration creates densely populated urban ghettos around the big cities resulting in substantial economic, social and administrative problems (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.** on page **Error! Bookmark not defined.**). While national public services such as education, health, security and economic integration of the young population create pressures on the central government, demand for fundamental local public services such as housing and urban infrastructure create similar extensive pressures on local governments. Similar to the situation for population growth, pressures on the levels of governments have two characteristics which might also be identified as examples of interactions with other effective factors on reforms. The first type of pressure is created through citizens and their organized structures, NGOs. New residents of urban areas soon become involved in the local and national politics and because of the city life, became an important pressure factor and demanded better public services which triggered the reforms (Yaman 2013). Response of the politics of such pressures might sometimes be as important as changing the system and structure of ministries. One respondent claims “Particularly the structure of Public Works and Housing Ministry has changed for this reason” (Kontoğlu 2013). There is another common argument among a considerable number of respondents that extensive local government reforms of the last three decades are also directly related with rapid urbanisation and the requirements it created on social life.

The second type of pressure has been through the economic conditions and international organisations as previously mentioned in the population growth discussion. The heavy burden of increasing public service demands made governments to consider whether to create ways to deliver these services with lower costs or finance these services through international organisations. In all

options, this development, directly or indirectly, affected administrative reform programmes. One respondent, who is the head of a development agency established in one of the most migration-receiving regions of the country, explains the situation explicitly:

“We, as the Kocaeli province, have been experiencing internal migration for a pretty long time. When we consider nearly 60,000 migrants a year, their integration, employment and housing are big problems. Who are responsible for solving these problems; local governments, being in the first place, central government and its representatives in the field? This is a big pressure [...]. These are all affecting administrative reform processes, in fact triggering reforms.” (Akbulut 2013)

Lastly, a couple of respondents proposed a particular policy, urban transformation projects, as an example of the influence of socio-demographic factors on administrative reform. These projects are mostly carried out by local governments with the help of central government. They are part of a new generation housing policy aimed at replacing the ghettos, which surrounded immigrant-receiving cities, with modern secure housing having sufficient amenities. Some respondents considered these projects as the biggest reform movement of last decade. In this case, the problems of poor housing transformed into pressures from citizens on the politics and particularly after the devastating impacts of 1999 earthquakes, triggered the efforts on this policy area. Needless to say, implementation of such big scale projects required sufficient financing as well. One respondent, having a career of high-level civil servant and a minister, illuminates the situation;

“Urban transformation projects, one of the biggest reform movements of last decade, aim to improve the living standards of people migrated to urban areas. People hope to live in good houses which are strong enough to live through earthquakes. This is another demand of the community, [...]. These reforms are affected by the growing population, integral migration and fast urbanization.” (Çelebi 2013)

Socio-demographic developments such as population growth, internal migration and rapid unplanned urbanization constitute deep rooted long term challenges which require great attention from governments and

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administrations. Although this factor is a part of the original model, it is obvious in the evidence that the nature of the socio-demographic developments and the details of their impacts on the process are quite different in the setting of Turkey than they are in the developed nations.

5.5 The Conclusions

The impacts of general socio-economic forces and related dynamics on the administrative reform process of Turkey are thoroughly elaborated in the chapter with evidence from identified data sources. A preliminary conclusion from the discussion might be, although they do not seem directly related to public administration, they had intensive driving and facilitating roles on the planning, introduction and application of administrative reforms. With respect to the relationship with the framework model of Pollitt and Bouckaert, it can be seen this cluster of factors presents great similarities with and confirmations of the model, apart from some re-formulations of the factors in line with the unique conditions of Turkey.

The impacts of national and international economic conditions and crises was the first significant factor discussed in the chapter. This comprehensive topic was used instead of 'global economic forces' and 'Socio-economic policies' of the original model and contained both of these factors. Turkey's developing, in most cases vulnerable and dependent economic structure and limited freedom on socio-economic policies required examining these factors together under the same heading. Evidence from both interview respondents and supporting documentary sources suggest that; these factors have had great driving impacts on the management reform processes and, as a fundamental conclusion of the research, developing state economic conditions constitute one of the major determinant features departing the setting of Turkey from the developed states. As a rapidly developing State with strong links to the global economic and political system, Turkey is not immune to the immense impacts of internal and external economic conditions and crises. The country experienced poor economic performance and many economic crises in the period covered by the research, until the mid-2000s and a careful examination proved that poor economic performance and economic crises periods are followed by intensive administrative reforms. Transformation of economic policies and economic models might generate impacts on the administrative

reform process as well and would bring about its compatible administrative model. However, they are not produced by independent domestic policy processes in the case of Turkey and mostly originated from the powerful effects of economic conditions, crises and international organisations.

A significant function of the economic crises on the administrative reforms has been the fact that they exposed the structural and functional weaknesses of the administrations and in this way laid the foundations of the reforms. Moreover, findings suggest that, poor economic conditions forced governments to use their resources more effectively and the only way to achieve this was creating an efficient, effective and productive public administration and reducing the costs of the public services while improving the quality via administrative reforms. Apart from direct impacts of the economic conditions and crises, they make indirect effects by triggering other relevant mechanisms in the form of applications to international financial organizations for urgent need for extra funds or extensive pressures from the exhausted citizens for a better public administration. Although this factor is labelled different from the original model, its contents are quite similar with the global economic forces, which are generally related with the economic crises and economic conditions of countries, and mostly confirmed by the findings. Impacts of socio-economic policies, on the other hand, seemed as an ineffective factor in the setting of Turkey.

The Impacts created by international organizations on the administrative reform process constitute another substantive conclusion of the research because it is a context specific feature diverse from the developed state settings and the features of the original model. Although Pollitt and Bouckaert leave the impacts of international organizations out of the model, particularly the impacts of the IMF, the World Bank, and the EU are in high importance and have been a part of the framework by being subject to further consideration in this section. Examination of the close relations between the IMF and Turkey explicitly presents the driving impacts of this institution and the fact that there have been many stand-by agreements for conditional loans between the parties, particularly after the periods of poor economic performances and significant economic and financial crises. All these stand-by agreements, in addition to the economic measures, included administrative measures as conditions and were usually followed by wide-ranging administrative reforms.

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The World Bank is another international organization which has had significant driving and shaping impacts on the administrative reform process of the country through particular projects and programmes in various public sector fields. Rather than being an extra condition for economic support, improving the public administrations of the developing States is one of the major aims of the World Bank and it has a certain administrative philosophy to impose on these states. For this reason, the impact of the Bank on the administrative reform process is more straightforward and detailed. Relations between the Bank and Turkey were quite intense during 1980s. Particularly after 1990, conditional loans for three major incidents, 1994 economic crisis, 1999 earthquakes and 2000-2001 economic crises, had created impacts on the administrative reforms in line with the exact administrative philosophy of the World Bank. The Bank generates limited indirect impacts through the indexes or annual reports they publish as well. The Process and the results of the impacts generated by the World Bank and the IMF are quite similar, apart from the fact that, while the IMF focuses on the financial issues and demands administrative reforms as additional requirements, the World Bank mostly concentrates on the particular public administration fields for concrete improvements.

Although the documentary sources and the experiences of some respondents explicitly presents the strong causal relations between these two international organisations, the IMF and the World Bank, and management reforms, the claims of post-2002 reform team about the limited impact of them can be interpreted as a result of the relatively comfortable economic conditions of this period and the significant role of the actors in the process. Due to a well performing economy and less need for international funds, political executives and the bureaucrats of post-2002 period mostly enjoyed an atmosphere in which they played a mediating role and independently made their decisions to choose which pressures to respond to and which to ignore. This substantial conclusion not only proves the significant role of the national actors, but also supports the argument that impact of these organisations strictly relies on the temporal economic conditions of the debtor countries.

Relations with the European Union and the accession negotiations have always been given great importance by the public, politicians and academics because of their perception that full membership to the EU represents the realization of

Turkey's two century old modernization project. Since the recognition of Turkey as a candidate state in 1999 and especially the commencement of accession negotiations in 2004, impact of the EU on the political, social and economic life has increased and EU has become the most important external agent of change in Turkey. This impact created significant implications for the administrative field as well. Firstly, the driving and facilitating impact on administrative reforms is more direct and concrete than the impact of any other organization due to the existence of negotiations involving adoption of the EU regulations to the local administrative system. The Accession process and the adoption of the EU *acquis* help countries to have a reform agenda and the progress is systematically evaluated and annually reported by the mechanisms of the EU. Although it doesn't have a standard public administration model or a model recommendation to the members or candidates, it has some fundamental administrative values and principles. These are: efficiency, accountability, transparency and decentralization of public service delivery and are expected to be fulfilled by the countries with diverse administrative systems. In this way, the EU crates a shaping impact on the process as well. An important joint initiative of the EU and the OECD, SIGMA is another means of direct impacts on the administrative reform process. Providing support to countries on subjects such as modernization of their public administration systems and assessment of reform movements are among the aims of the initiative and it constitutes a tool of the EU pressure on Turkey in reforming the public administration.

The OECD and its impact on the process, despite the existence of close relations since early 2000s, proved not to be quite significant within the limits of the research findings. This organisation has created some facilitating and shaping impacts on the process, particularly on post-2002 reforms, however, this impact has been quite limited and bounded by relations and pressures of other international organisations according to the research findings. Due to lack of coercive mechanisms to force the governments and create instant changes, OECD mainly generates limited incremental changes on the process.

Emerging economic forces and their impacts on the administrative reform process doesn't exist in the original model and is added to the framework in the progress of research and. This feature is more significant to the context of a developing State like Turkey and strongly linked to the economic conditions

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of a developing state where there is a constant economic development and new actors are entering to the economic arena. This has been the case since early 1980s and has created an emerging economic power. The dynamic efforts of new economic actors and their circles generated significant pressures on the policy making processes in line with their economic and political interests. Governments and these economic groups created some mechanisms, such as becoming organised under effective NGOs or establishment of administrative structures for co-operation, through which they can participate in decision-making processes. According to the findings of the research, many incremental changes were achieved through these mechanisms with the contribution of emerging economic actors and they created driving and facilitating impacts on the process.

The last section of the chapter is devoted to the examination of the socio-demographic factors. Although the nature and contents of socio-demographic developments of a developed and developing State are quite different, this factor had impacts on both and is exactly adopted from the original model to the framework of the research. Factors such as population growth, internal migration, rapid and unplanned urbanization because of the unequal economic development around the country and pressures from the economic integration of a young population are the major developments experienced by Turkey as a developing State. These have had direct and evident driving impacts on the administrative reforms by generating pressures on governments to reform its administrative systems and provide more and better public services in the fields of education, health services, social security, and employment support. Apart from these direct influences, these factors created an additional type of pressure through the economic conditions and related international organizations by triggering extensive need for extra funds.

Regarding the relation of these elements with the model, it is fair to argue this set has been mostly confirmed by the empirical findings apart from some additions and modifications originated from the developing economic condition of Turkey and the socio-economic vulnerabilities and structural problems arising from this condition. Looking at the details of the individual factors, firstly, the impacts of international organisations are added to the framework. Although the owners of the original model argue that “Nevertheless, the key reform decisions are usually formally taken by national

governments, [...] "(Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p. 32), it is not that straightforward in the context of a developing State. Regarding Turkey, due to their immense influence on the country because of the economic vulnerabilities as a developing nation and the political aims to be a part of developed western block, this substantial factor is added to the framework. Dependency on the international organisations reduces the extent of relative independency on taking the reform decisions. International organisations as a result, become one of the major reform agents for the developing countries. Moreover, in the case of Turkey and similar EU candidate countries, membership accessions to the EU is an indispensable driving and shaping force for any kind of transformation. Another factor added to the framework was emerging economic forces, the products of rapidly developing economies of such countries and they generate considerable impacts on the process. Socio-demographic change factor is effective on both contexts with some divergence in the contents and nature of the developments. Lastly, Socio-Economic policies factor is not separately adopted due to the findings as a developing State; socio-economic policy of Turkey has usually been under intense pressures of bad economic performances and international and supranational organisations. The table below simply presents the modification of the original model for the context and the aims of the research.

Table 4: Relationship between the Model of Pollitt and Bouckaert and the Framework of Study: Socio-Economic Forces

Original Model (Pollitt and Bouckaert)	Contextual Differences Leading to Modification	Framework of the Study
Socio-Economic Forces	Socio-Economic Differences of Developing State	Socio-Economic Forces
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global Economic Forces • Socio-Demographic Change • Socio-Economic Policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heavy Pressures of Poor economic conditions and economic crises • Related pressures from International Organisations • Pressures and demands arising from the developing economy, emerging economic forces, increasing population and fast urbanisation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impacts of National and International Economic Conditions and Crises • Impacts of International Organizations • Emerging Economic Forces • Socio-Demographic Factors

Source: Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011, pp. 32 -46), Table created by author.

Consequently, before moving to the next chapter which examines structural and cultural institutional factors involving mostly resisting and the blocking nature of impacts on the process, substantial driving, facilitating and accelerating impacts of the socio-economic forces and related dynamics on the administrative reform process of Turkey are presented here. Another significant point of the examination has been the intensive interactions of these factors. They usually work in cooperation and interact with each other and even with the elements of forthcoming sets of factors in the process.

Chapter 6. The Structural and Cultural Features: Impacts of the Political and Administrative Regime on Management Reform Process

Structural and cultural features of the State and their functions have created significant implications on the administrative reform process of the country in the period of research interest. The factors examined in the chapter are mostly the institutional aspects of the State organisation and have strong relations with the deep-rooted historical, political and cultural features of the country. These features directly affect the planning, introduction and implementation phases of reform efforts and, apart from some exceptions, have usually had quite obstructive and blocking roles on the administrative reform process. Diverse from the original model, where factors of politico-administrative system are examined separately, they are directly added to the framework due to the immense influence of these factors on the process and their intensive interactions with other factors of framework.

The chapter is organised under the headings of major structural and cultural factors affecting the administrative reform process of Turkey in the period covered. The first section is on the Constitutional framework of the state. In comparison with the original model, initial findings required a more detailed examination of basic structure of the state due to its more complicated nature and overarching impacts on the administrative reform process of Turkey. For this reason, factor is labelled as Constitutional Framework and examined under two further sections of the fundamental institutions and basic structure of the State with the implications for the administrative reform process. The section on fundamental institutions explores the impact of historically effective institutions, for example, the Presidency, the Prime Minister and his Office, the Military and the Judiciary. This section also highlights problematic relations between the role of the institutions and agents of the administration reform process and which of them have created more determinant impact on the reforms. The basic structure of the State looks at the unitary character of the State and horizontal coordination at the central level with the effect on the

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process. Although it is part of the framework, its impact on the process is far less significant than other factors and for this reason; it has been subject to a short examination.

The second section deals with the nature of executive government and this feature is strongly linked to the political stability and its implications on the management reform processes. This section has two sub headings: The first one briefly explores the impacts of the elections and representational system on the stability of the political atmosphere. The second looks at the nature of governments created by this system, impacts of diverse government types on the political stability and consequently the reform process. The third section elaborates on the civil service and its comprehensive impact on the administrative reform process of the country. Under further headings, this section also examines bureaucrat-politician relationships and the general impact of the civil service on administrative reforms. The last section before the conclusion explores the political and administrative culture, both having direct and embedded indirect impacts on the reform process and many other factors.

Examination of these factors helps us reveal the relationship between the findings and the original model of Pollitt and Bouckaert, whether the elements of the model are validated by the findings or they required modifications. Factors examined in the chapter don't take place directly in the original model and evaluated separately as the background factors affecting the process. They are included in the framework in here and although there are some modifications and diverse focuses in the setting of Turkey, factors are mostly similar with the separate evaluation of the original study.

6.1 The Constitutional Framework

After the establishment of the republic in 1923, although Turkey experienced three new constitutions with very different approaches, two military coups and two serious military interventions which caused change of governments, the basic characteristics of the State remained much the same. This static look depends on the fact the fundamental structure, nature and character of the State are inextricably related with and in some cases originate from the political and administrative culture examined below under a separate heading.

If we concentrate on the 1982 Constitution, we can see significant tutelage points are established within the administration. An explicit check and balance system is created and each authority is controlled by another.

6.1.1 The Fundamental Institutions

With respect to the general administration and administrative reforms, the President, the Prime Minister and Prime Ministry Office, Military and the Judiciary, with their legal and traditional roles, have had significant impacts on the administrative reform process. The approach to these organisations is from two aspects. First, as Constitutional institutions, they have legal and traditional authority and powers which influences the policy making in general and reform policies in particular. These powers make these institutions effective on the reform process. However, there is a second aspect, the agents occupying the tenures that might or might not use the vast power and authority. As a preliminary conclusion, we can argue there is a potential effect of the institutions dependent on the decisions of the agents ruling them.

6.1.1.1 The Effect of the Presidency

As a reaction to the previous constitutional system, which was believed to have created political and social deadlocks, the Presidency was designed by the 1982 Constitution as a check and balance mechanism which could intervene and therefore protect the administrative and political philosophy of the State as the guardian of the constitutional system. One respondent put this very clearly;

“Our system is based on a check and control mechanism. The President can't start a reform programme in this country but he or she can easily be a brake on one. [...] As an objective position above politics, the Presidency has been designed to be a brake on governments.”
(Haktankaçmaz 2013)

The President is granted with extensive legislative, executive and judicial powers, which is far greater than many parliamentary democracies. Among the powers of the President are authorities of veto, appeal to the constitutional court and appointment of key civil servants. These are highly important with respect to the administrative system and effective on the pace and intensity of

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administrative reforms. The table below presents the use of relevant authority by Presidents in relation to the Governments of the period.

Table 5: Vetoes, Appeals and High-level Civil Servant Appointments of the Presidents between 1980 and 2010

Year	The President	Governments	Vetoes	Appeal to Court	Approval of Civil Servants
			(Man. Reform Related) ¹		
1980	Military Controlled Era under the National Security Council (Without a President)	Military Controlled Technician Government	N/A	N/A	N/A
1981			N/A	N/A	
1982			From 12/09/1980 to 9/11/1982	From 21/09/1980 to 13/12/1983	
1983	Kenan EVREN From 9/11/1982 to 9/11/1989	Motherland Party Governments (Majority Governments) Turgut Ozal From 13/12/1983 until 21/12/1987 Turgut Ozal From 21/12/1987 until 09/11/1989 Yildirim Akbulut From 09/11/1989 until 23/06/1991	0	0	N/A
1984			9 (4)	0	
1985			2	1 (1)	
1986			3 (1)	2 (1)	
1987			4 (2)	1	
1988			4 (1)	1 (1)	
1989			4 (2)	1	
			0	0	
1990			4	0	
1991			Turgut ÖZAL From 9/11/1989 to 17/04/1993	Right Path Party – Republican People’s Party 20/11/1991-06/03/1996 (4 Governments)	
1992	9 (4)	2 (1)			
	1 (1)	0			
1993	Süleyman DEMİREL	0			0

1994	From 16/051993 to 16/05/2000	Motherland Party - Right Path Party 06/03/1996- 28/06/1996 Welfare Party - Right Path Party 28/06/1996- 30/06/1997	5 (3)	0	6832/ 7247	
1995			2 (1)	1		
1996			4 (2)	2 (2)		
1997			2 (1)	1		
1998			Motherland Party - Democratic Left Party - Democratic Turkey Party 30/06/1997- 11/01/1999	0		0
1999			1	0		
2000			0	0		
2001	Ahmet Necdet SEZER From 16/05/2000 to 28/08/2007	Democratic Left Party (Minority Government) 11/01/1999- 28/05/1999 Democratic Left Party - Nationalist Movement Party - Motherland Party 28/05/1999- 19/11/2002	1	0	%86.7 5534/ 6381	
2002			4 (2)	3 (2)		
2003			5 (4)	3 (1)		
2004			16 (10)	2 (1)		
2005			9 (7)	2 (2)		
2006			15 (9)	8 (6)		
2007			12 (10)	4 (2)		
2008			10 (6)	4 (3)		
2009			0	0		
2010			2	0		
	Abdullah Gül From 28/08/2007 on	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan From 14/03/2003 Until 29/08/2007 Recep Tayyip Erdoğan From 29/08/2007 Until 06/07/2011	0	0	%98.5 3441/ 3495 By 10/20 12	
			1 (1)	0		
			0	0		

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		From 06/07/2011			
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Source: General Secretariat of the Presidency of Republic of Turkey, Undersecretariat of Prime Ministry (www.basbakanlik.gov.tr), Constitutional Court of Republic of Turkey. Table is designed by the author.

¹This figure shows the vetoed or appealed law which are related with the administrative reform fields framed by this research.

Evidence suggests the decision to use all these authorities and the influences it would create on the administrative issues depend on the political philosophy of the President and his/her relations with the Government. If the President and the Government shared similar ideas about the important policy issues, there would be no collaboration issues as with the period of the current President, Abdullah Gül. Since he used to be an important member of the ruling party before becoming President, there have been no major disagreements on policy issues and the President has hardly ever used his obstructive authority. This is a point agreed by most of the respondents and two of them, Kontoğlu (2013) and Zararsız (2013), who have backgrounds in Prime Ministry bureaucracy, clearly mention that if government and the President don't have the same ideology or philosophy, then it would be very difficult to reform the system.

There have been several periods, on the other hand, when relations have been quite challenging and the authority of the President of the day impeded new policies and legislation. President Kenan Evren's relationship with the Motherland Party government might be stated as the first example of such tensions in the period arising from the philosophy differences. As the leader of the military coup, founder of the new State organisation and guardian of the new strict constitutional order, Evren had to collaborate with the powerful Prime Minister Turgut Özal, a completely different, reformist and neo-liberal figure from the far end of the political spectrum. Conversely, President Turgut Özal's short working period with the coalition government consisting of Özal's two old major political opponents illustrated examples of tension not because of the political philosophy and guardianship of the Status-Quo, but because of a power struggle between him and government partners. As a powerful figure, President Özal wanted to keep the authority of government in his hands, owing to the power of his position. The motive was different but the outcome was the same. Presidential authority affected both general policies and administrative

reform programmes. Later President Süleyman Demirel, similar to the current President, was less interventionist. Leaving his decisions in the 28 February military intervention apart (For details, see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.**, section **Error! Reference source not found.**), he hardly had any effect on the policy issues and administrative reforms. Lastly, Ahmet Necdet Sezer's working period with the Justice and Development Party Government presented the most concrete example of turbulent relations creating significant tensions over the politics and society. President Ahmet Necdet Sezer vetoed almost all laws related to administrative reforms originated from the Justice and Development Party (see **Table 5**). The legal reason for the vetoes was the unconstitutionality of these laws; however, the underlying reason was the clash between the deep rooted statist tradition of the President and the reformist philosophy of the government.

At this point, the veto of the law on Basic Principles and Re-structuring of Public Administration (2004) is shown as an important example of the obstructive role the President played in the process (For details on the Law see Appendix Appendix 2). Although it couldn't be enacted, the law was a fundamental step of the 2002 Justice and Development Party government reform programme and reflected the basic philosophy behind the reforms. In order to form a basis for the ensuing administrative reforms, the government tried to enact a framework law which would change fundamental characteristics of public administration. The Draft Law was subsequently vetoed by the President for unconstitutionality and violating the unitary nature of the State. After the veto the Government couldn't press further because of the political juncture. Evidence suggests the veto impeded the Government's reform programme and resulted in great disappointment of the government and the high-level bureaucrats. Although it had been possible to sustain the reform programme by spreading elements of the law to other legislation over the time, the integrity of the programme was compromised by the veto of this fundamental law. Ömer Dinçer was the designer and leader of the reform programme as a bureaucrat, implementer and supervisor as a Minister. He drafted this law and lived through all the process personally and summarised the situation quite well in the interview;

“Public Administration Basic Law is the fundamental of these all (vetoed laws). We had to send many laws two or three times if you

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remember. To elaborate on this, before sending Public administration basic law to the President, I personally went to the President to give a briefing on the law and explained to him why there is a need for public administration reforms. [...]Because public administration basic law was vetoed by the President and couldn't be enacted, I inserted articles about the strategic planning and strategy units' establishment in ministries to the law on Public finance and control which came from the Ministry of Finance.” (Dinçer 2013)

The second significant authority of the President is the appeal to the Constitutional Court regarding unconstitutionality of proposed law. An Appeal to the constitutional court is a secondary authority because Presidents usually use the veto authority first. If the Parliament insists on the same version of the law, it is then sent to the Constitutional court. In respect of the motives driving this action and the dynamics, it works in parallel with the veto authority. Table 5 presents similarities between the figures on appeals and figures on veto and appointments. One remarkable point of this discussion is, this authority creates a link with another effective factor, the judiciary, on the administrative reform. When the President and the members of High Judiciary have similar philosophies or viewpoints which are diverse from government on an issue they can generate insurmountable obstacle to the administrative reforms.

The last significant authority of the President in relation to administrative reform is the authority to appoint high-level civil servants. As elaborated below in the relevant section, high-level civil servants hold important roles with regard to administrative reform. Each government normally prefers to select and appoint high-level civil servants they feel they can work with. In some periods and depending on the diverse reasons the governments' choice was blocked by Presidents using this authority. This is an additional factor creating a check and balance system on government. Although this authority was not used as a control mechanism by most Presidents, it became remarkable, particularly in the tense period between President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and the government of the Justice and Development Party. Appointment figures in Table 5 suggest, among the available figures of three Presidents, his appointment percentage is by far the lowest. As Kontoğlu (2013) mentioned, appointments of high-level bureaucrats almost stopped in the period of President Ahmet Necdet Sezer. During this time most high-level tenures were

filled by substitutions. This created an indirect effect on the reform programmes by slowing the planning and implementation processes. Another point of the discussion is, this feature is related with the dissimilarity of the Administrative and political philosophy of the State as well. The perception of some civil servants as threat to the administrative and political philosophy of the State is one of the reasons for refusing to appoint them.

Apart from the authorities and their impact on the process, general relations and tensions between the President and the government created indirect impacts on the policy issues as well. As mentioned above in the relevant section (see section 5.1, page 88) economic conditions and crises have substantial impacts on administrative reform. Considering the fragile economic conditions of Turkey as a developing State, some publicised tensions between the President and Government created turmoil on the political and economic agenda of the country. For example a heated debate on the constitution between President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit during a National Security Council meeting on 21/02/2001 went public. This was considered as one of the triggering factors of the 2001 financial crisis.

The evidence from the official figures in the table supports the interview narratives and suggests how the Presidency influenced the administrative reform programmes with use of the exceptional authorities. The period of Ahmet Necdet Sezer has been a remarkable example of the causal mechanism between the President's authorities and administrative reforms. In his tenure (16 May 2000 to 28 August 2007), he worked with three governments, one of them was a three party coalition, the other two were the Justice and Development Party majority governments. They initiated a vigorous campaign to implement reforms contained in their programme using the power of their majority in the National Assembly. President Sezer had important conflicts with all these governments in general and with Justice and Development majority party in particular.

Evidence from both the documentary sources and the interviews reveals the significant role of the Presidency on the process. With its overarching powers and authorities, the President of Turkey has all the necessary tools to intervene in the policy-making including the administrative reforms and influence the process in line with his or her philosophy and views. Experience of Turkey

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about the impacts of the President on the administrative reforms has mostly been negative in the period, particularly some Presidents using their power to block the reform process.

6.1.1.2 The Prime Minister and the Prime Ministry Office

If we move to the second important institutional structure, the Prime Minister and his/her office are fundamental pillars of the Turkish political and administrative system with significant constitutional authority and related legislative powers. The Prime Minister has full control of the cabinet and this dominant executive role is reinforced by the role he/she has within the party structure. Owing to the legislation regarding political parties and elections, they are the absolute ruler of their parties and decision-maker of almost all MP candidatures. Adding the cultural factors to the picture, the Prime Minister becomes the most important figure in the Turkish politico-administrative system. This brings us to an important aspect as evidenced by both documentary sources and the interview results. The Prime Ministry has a greater influence on the process, beyond its formal authority or party dominance which originates from the extensively centralized State structure and the leader oriented administrative and political culture.

“The Powerful position of the Prime Ministry is already a very effective factor and we can clearly see this in the developments of the last decade. This is also a part of our long lasting administrative culture which is very fond of having a powerful leader figure.” (Kızılcık 2013)

In examining the influence of the Prime Ministry and his/her Office on administrative reforms, firstly it can be said the nature of the influence is diverse, depending on the circumstances and the attitudes of the agents. Most respondents consider the influence of the Prime Minister and his office on the reform process as positive, particularly in countries with leader oriented political and administrative culture similar to Turkey. When the legal status and powers of the Prime Ministry merges with powerful agents in political and bureaucratic seats, it facilitates the launching and implementation of even the most comprehensive and vigorous reform programmes. A respondent with long experience in the Prime Ministry office summarizes the situation;

"[...] our centralized structure and the power of the Prime Ministry generate very positive effects on the administrative reform process. The Prime ministry is very powerful in our system and it has full control of other ministries. We benefited from this power in our projects when I was the head of Department of Administrative Development. [...] Due to the power of the Prime Ministry, we can easily obtain results. If this was not the situation, that ministry would have resisted these efforts. In this respect, the relative power of Prime Ministry is a facilitating factor for administrative reform." (Kontoğlu 2013)

These arguments are supported by the developments in the period of the research interest. Governments headed by powerful Prime Ministers had extensive impacts on the reform process of country. The 1983 – 1990 period of the Motherland Party under the leadership of Turgut Özal and the post 2002 period of the Justice and Development Party under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, have been the two most extensive reform periods for the country (For details see Appendix Appendix 2). The major common point of these two leaders is the dominant role they played with their powerful leadership characteristics and the public support they enjoyed. This argument reveals another important aspect of the issue as mentioned above, the importance of the agent. Utilization of these authorities and powers primarily depends on the personality of the Prime Minister as clarified with the expressions of two respondents;

"In my opinion, the inter-ministry co-ordination of Prime Ministry is essential for the success of a reform programme. But it usually depends on the personality of Prime Minister. Some of them might not use this power." (Haktankaçmaz 2013)

"We have to admit there is a very powerful Prime Minister figure in our country. [...] Truth to say, in countries where reforms are successfully carried out, direct support from the head of government has been hundred per cent effective." (Akbulut 2013)

In looking at the organisational structure, despite having a small cadre of personnel, the Prime Ministry Office has a broad range of sub-units enabling it to control the State structure of Turkey (For details see Appendix Appendix 1,

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section 1.3.2.2). This argument is supported by the reports of the SIGMA: “The current distribution of power and responsibilities within the governance system in Turkey suggests the Prime Minister’s Office has a crucial role to play in promoting, preparing and monitoring these [administrative] reforms” (SIGMA 2012, p. 11). In this organisational structure, as mentioned by Kontoğlu above, one of the main service units of the Prime Ministry is the Department of Administrative Development. It was established in 1984 and has been mainly responsible for the administrative modernisation and co-ordination of the reform programmes. This institution is regarded as a substantial element of the reform process by a number of respondents. Two former heads of this department mention this unit’s importance, while one also adds some of its organisational drawbacks;

“In my opinion making reform from within an organisation is quite difficult. In other words, it is very difficult for a ministry to reform itself. But it is easier for an outer eye to look in detail and reform it. We do it this way in Turkey. The Department of Administrative Development, which is under the Prime Ministry organisation, concentrates on a particular ministry, looks its legislation in detail, checks its duties and authorities and tries to explore what to reform and how to reform.” (Kontoğlu 2013)

“The Prime Minister and his Undersecretary have quite important roles on administrative reforms. [...] On the other hand, the Prime Ministry human resources are not adequate to bear such a responsibility. I was the head of Department for Administrative Development before and we didn't have enough personnel there.” (Sert 2013)

While a powerful and determinant Prime Ministry creates a driving force for administrative reform, in some cases it might generate some issues related with consultation and participation functions. The dominance of the Prime Ministry on administrative reform policies prevents other institutions or ministries’ ideas to be included in the process or realised without the approval of the Prime Ministry office. This might also be evaluated as a further example of the centralised State structure and the vertical co-ordination in the central organisation of the State. Respondents have concerns about the probable negative effects of a powerful Prime Ministry, depending on their experience;

“The Prime Ministry is very powerful and dominant but this has some serious drawbacks as we have experienced. Some very important changes, with the aim of reforming the administrative system, have been made in very short periods without consultation, discussion and participation of stakeholders. This had some negative effects which are still going on.” (Yaman 2013)

“Major administrative reforms of last decade has already been launched by previous the Prime Ministry Undersecretary. But this has also had an adverse effect. It has been quite difficult to carry out a reform which is not planned or approved by the Prime Ministry.” (Sert 2013)

After all the evaluations regarding the Prime Minister and his/her office, it demonstrates in the unique context of Turkey, this is a significant effective structural factor on the administrative reform process. Similar to the situation about the President, nature of this impact, whether driving or blocking the reforms, mostly depends on the utilisation of these authorities by the agents on these tenures.

6.1.1.3 The Effects of Military

The military effect on politics, administration and society has historical and traditional roots and can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire era. This role was consolidated in the Republican period due to the Military cadres being the major founders of the Republic. In recent history, the military-drafted 1982 constitution gave them further influence and ability to define internal threats and deal with them by intervening in any political or administrative activity. The military has always had a particular Administrative and political philosophy of the State and perceived itself as the guardian of the Constitution they created in line with this philosophy. Until recently, if the military perceived any threat to their philosophy and order, they didn't hesitate to intervene in any field, whether within with their jurisdiction or not. This is a part of their institutional tradition and culture. Such a dominant institution unsurprisingly had substantial impact on the administrative reforms and evidence from both interviews and documentary sources confirm the military has affected politics and public administration in three ways;

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- 1) Coups and interventions.
- 2) The National Security Council.
- 3) Public declarations.

These multi-dimensional actions continued until the second half of 2000s, when the influence of the military diminished.

6.1.1.3.1 Coups and Interventions

In the period covered by the research, the first intervention of the military occurred as a coup d'état on 12 September 1980. After dissolving the Parliament and the government, the Coup leaders established a Constituent Assembly, consisting of the National Security Council and Advisory Council, in order to create a constitutional and legal framework, prepare the new constitution and carry out the duties of the executive. Many significant economic and administrative re-organisations were carried during this time, all planned and launched by the military controlled government. The major reason for the relative ease of the implementation of these reforms was the unchallenged political atmosphere. Sözen (2005, p.210) rightly puts that, "One reason why administrative reform attempts were intensified during the military intervention periods was the stability provided by the military, even the though stability was achieved through coercion and oppression." The unopposed political atmosphere created through coercion helped the government to launch vigorous administrative reform policies.

The next direct intervention of the military occurred in February 1997, when the military decided there was a threat to democracy, this time in the form of the Welfare Party's pro-Islamic policies (Tessler & Altınoğlu 2004, p.23). During the period of a coalition government led by Necmettin Erbakan of the Welfare Party, at the National Security Council (MGK) meeting on 28 February 1997, the generals submitted their views on issues regarding secularism and political Islam in Turkey to the government (NSC, 1997), they made the Prime Minister agree to and sign up to important decisions and then forced the Prime Minister to resign.

The latest intervention of the military came in the form of a memorandum. 2007 was the year for presidential elections in Turkey. The controversial General Staff statement released on its Website on 27 April 2007 underlined

the secular characteristic of the republic. It outlined the concerns of the military on the latest developments regarding Presidential elections and reminded the role of the military as the absolute defender of secularism and other unchangeable characteristics of Turkish State (General Staff Press Statement, 27 April 2007). The reaction of the government to this statement was Constitutional reform which changed the status and election system of the President. The effects of these interventions were mentioned by many respondents as evaluated below;

“Apart from the normalisation in the last decade, military bureaucracy has always been effective on the administrative system and reforms since the establishment of the Republic. Military coups, digital coups, and other interventions caused reform programmes to be amended or abolished. There has been an amendment of a law recently and this limited the possibility of such interventions. But this is again a matter of administrative philosophy. There have been many interventions and these have affected the administrative reforms mostly in a negative manner.” (Avşarbey 2013)

6.1.1.3.2 The National Security Council (NSC)

Besides its general traditional role, effect and direct interventions on the executive, the institutional role on daily affairs by the National Security Council has been another remarkable feature of the military interventions. Because the governments were obliged to “give priority consideration” to the decisions of the NSC, it provided an enlarged role for the military, until the structure of the council changed and it was reduced to an advisory role in 2001. This fact is expressed by many respondents such as the one exemplified below;

“They were very influential in near past; let’s say until 10 years ago. Particularly the decisions of the National Security Council were above the government decisions.” (Akbulut 2013)

There are many significant examples of NSC’s effect on public policies and reform areas. Two examples concerning the privatisation policies gathered from media sources provide evidence of the effect of the NSC on policy issues. Regarding the privatisation of the TUPRAS, the Minister of Finance, Kemal Unakitan interviewed by one the major newspapers in June 2004 mentioned

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they had received an approval document from the NSC which confirmed the privatisation of TUPRAS (Milliyet 2004, P. 9). This was a clear sign that, Governments had to receive approval documents from NSC in order to privatise an entity. In another example from an earlier period, news from the same paper on 21st of February 1996 reported privatisation administration was opposed to the decision of NSC for naval guiding services (Milliyet 1996, p.9). After the dispute between the two organizations, the NSC decision was seen supreme over the other institution's decision and was implemented.

6.1.1.3.3 Declarations and Official Correspondences

In addition to the mechanisms mentioned above, the military has also been effective on daily problems through the declarations of the Chief of Staff or other military institutions' on policy issues. Below are two significant examples of declarations on privatisation issues. The Head of Privatization Presidency stated in an interview for a major national newspaper on 29/06/1998; "I briefed the Chief of Staff, National Security Council and National Security Academy on the privatization program and POAS (Turkish Petroleum Company) privatization. All the listeners gave positive reactions and approved the plans, including the Generals" (Milliyet 1998, p. 10). The NSC and National Security Academy had important influence on this particular privatization by commenting on and approving. Regarding another privatization, Turk Telekom Company, a major national newspaper reported the Generals, who visited the Prime Ministry, had a meeting with Deputy Prime Minister and expressed their concerns regarding the privatization of Turk Telekom. They mentioned three points to the deputy and left a detailed letter for the Prime Minister (Milliyet 2001, p. 1). The military officials were trying to affect the decision by presenting their concerns using a letter to the Prime Minister. A similar interference from the military on the public administration reform process is narrated in detail by one of the important figures of the post-2002 reform period;

"The Reform plans were explained to the Chief of Staff with a briefing meeting. Ömer Dinçer (Then undersecretary of Prime Ministry, Later Minister), Nabi Avcı (Minister of National Education at the time of writing), today's Constitutional Court Member Emin Kuz went to the Chief of Staff. They gave a briefing there. The Chief of Staff didn't do

anything publicly concerning the administrative reforms. But General Hilmi Özkök sent an official correspondence to the Prime Minister, a secret letter warning government about the reforms, but it doesn't have a meaning to keep it secret today. It was secret under the conditions of the day, because the military was intervening in a field which wasn't within its scope of authority and duties. I personally prepared a reply to that letter. I worked very hard and carefully to prepare the response. When I took the letter to be signed by Ömer Dinçer, he ironically told me that if this was the case then we wouldn't have made any reforms because we were telling the chief of staff there is nothing to concern for them. Answer to their 15-16 critiques, we told them not to worry this isn't done, that isn't done, there isn't such thing. What Dinçer meant was that if what we are telling them is true, we really didn't do anything. So the military opposed but didn't react publicly maybe because there was new government or maybe they were quite careful." (Çetin 2013)

Lastly, arguments of some respondents about the various impacts of the military need further clarifying. They argue that, while in some points of the reform history, effect of the military has been facilitating and accelerating as mentioned above, in some other times it has been obstructing. According to the owners of this idea, military institutions and related factors created wide range of impacts on the administrative reform process, from driving and facilitating reforms during the military controlled period of early 1980s to impeding and decelerating the reform efforts in 1990s and 2000s. Claim of a participant might be shown as an example for this argument;

"In a number of countries, the military sometimes interfere in the administrative systems whether directly or indirectly. This might sometimes be in an effort to reform. We experienced some reform efforts just after the military influenced periods. [...] It might either carry out an administrative reform or might obstruct it." (Saran 2013)

The evidence shows until very recently the military and related institutions have been quite effective on the political and administrative agenda, including administrative reform processes. However, after its final attempt of intervention in the Presidential elections in 2007 (For details See Appendix

Error! Reference source not found. section **Error! Reference source not found.**), most respondents consider their effect on the executive and politics has regressed to a point now evaluated as normal for a parliamentary democracy.

6.1.1.4 The Judiciary

Legality is among the major characteristics of the Turkish administrative and political culture (For details see Appendix Appendix 1, section 3.3). In this kind of legal political culture, any re-organisation or reform initiative requires new legislation which surfaces issues of legal accountability and the Judiciary as the substantial factor influencing the process. Legal accountability in Turkey is embodied in a constitutionally and legally defined system of judicial review. Important parts of the system, regarding its effects on the administration reform process, are the Constitutional Court and administrative jurisdiction bodies.

6.1.1.4.1 The Constitutional Court

The Constitutional Court has many authorities, which have direct or indirect influence on the administration reforms, i.e. elections, political parties, review of government authority to issue decrees on the power of law. Yet, most important of all the authorities is the constitutional review of laws. Almost all reforms are launched by new legislation in Turkey and any delays or cancellations slows down or stops reform programmes. In addition, the court's move towards a propriety review on its decisions, particularly on government policies, complicates the situation. From this aspect, Constitutional review of reform related legislation is among the major impeding factors of the administrative reform programmes. Sezen (2011, p.339) argues, opposition to reform programmes has mainly been conducted through judicial actions. The Constitutional court is one of the major arenas for these actions. The effect of the court on the reform process is mentioned by almost all respondents, as exemplified below;

“Although its structure and functions have been amended later (in 2010), many reform related laws were annulled by the Constitutional Court and became useless. They had been implemented partially and this broke the integrity of the reform program.” (Haktankaçmaz 2013)

There are many significant examples of constitutional court decisions covering the areas such as privatization, Social security and the public inspection authority. These decisions were taken with reference to the preamble section of the Constitution (which consists of general principles) or without any reference to any article at all.

Privatization; The Constitutional Court annulled almost all the legislation on privatization on its agenda throughout 1990s. Annulments of Decree no.531 with Power of Law for changing the Law on Privatization in 1994, Law no.3987 giving the Government authority to issue decrees on Privatization in 1994 and some articles of Law no. 4046 on Regulation of Privatization Implementation in 1997 are significant examples (Constitutional Court 1994, 1994a, 1997). Regarding these decisions, some authors evaluated the position of the court as imposing a particular economic model which not proposed in the constitution (Atar 2001, p.182).

The Laws Regarding Social Security Reforms; annulment of some articles and sub-articles of Law no 5510 on Social Insurance and General Health Insurance on 15 December 2006 is another important decision of the court. The aim of the law was to merge five different pension schemes into one with defined equal rights and duties. The reason for annulment was civil servants and other public workers did not enjoy the same legal status as other workers so it was contrary to constitutional articles 2, 10 and 128 to give them the same status with others (Constitutional Court 2006).

The Law on Public Inspection Authority (Ombudsman); another important decision of the constitutional court was the complete annulment of Law no. 5548 concerning The Public Inspection Authority in 2009. The aim of the law was to establish a Public Inspection Authority (Ombudsman) which would work under the authority of the National Assembly (Constitutional Court, 2009a).

A significant additional argument made by some respondents reveals that the Constitutional Court is perceived as having a particular philosophy, State tradition and political view. When these views are not in line with Government ideology and policies, the role of the court becomes more apparent. Similar to the examples given above on annulled laws, the archives of the court are full of annulment decisions on administrative reform related laws involving new administrative trends and practices. The reason according to the respondents

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is similar to the Presidency i.e., the traditional role of guardianship of the constitutional order and a particular ideology.

Though it is usually evaluated as a negative and impeding factor on administrative reform, another approach which considers the role of the court as a check and balance system creating useful outcomes is evident. This approach gives importance to the role of the court on the protection of the institutional order and prevention of reformers from making serious mistakes by being too hasty. Below is an example from a respondent.

“But they also have some positive effects because both the President and the Judiciary provide checks and balance. It is not always good to make radical changes very fast, abolishing regulations and removing traditional institutions.” (Kızılcık 2013)

6.1.1.4.2 The Administrative Jurisdiction

Concerning legal accountability of administration, there is a system of administrative jurisdiction which is defined in the constitution and relevant laws. The system consists of administrative courts and the Council of State (For details see Appendix Appendix 1, section 1.5.1) both of which have a considerable relationship with the administrative reform process. With respect to the types of cases which are effective on administrative reform, decisions regarding civil service appointments and privatisation implementations comprise the core of the argument.

High-level civil servant appointments are subject to an administrative judicial review. Respondents claim that, in the cases where courts annul the appointment decisions and send the previous owner of the tenure back to their previous position, effectiveness of the administration decreases. It is challenging to anticipate an effective performance from a civil servant returning to his/her tenure as a consequence of a court decision after the loss of the position due to a decision of political executives. We discovered such court decisions are commonplace in Turkey. The workload of the administrative courts in the late 2000s, presented in the table below, shows cases on the public personnel appointments takes third place in terms of numbers and has a large percentage in total.

Table 6: Percentage of Public Personnel Appointment Cases in Administrative Courts' Workload

	2009		2010	
	Number	%	Number	%
Fiscal Rights of Public Personnel Cases	20782	14	20710	13
Full Remedy Actions	15017	10	15476	10
Public Personnel Appointment Cases	10928	7.5	10749	7
Total Cases	145336	100	154634	100

Source: Ministry of Justice, General Directorate for Judicial Records and Statistics, <http://www.adlisicil.adalet.gov.tr>, Table Created by Author

In addition to the civil servant appointments, there are many other decisions which created direct effects on the administrative reform programmes. Significant decisions made by the administrative courts and council of State, (mostly on privatization implementation) are presented here as some important examples;

TUPRAS (Turkish Petroleum Refineries Company) Privatization I; %65.76 share of the company was privatised through a public procurement in 2004. Implementation of the privatisation decision was annulled by the Ankara 10th Administrative Court in the same year (Decision No: 2004/1192) and this decision was approved by the Council of State (Decision No: 2004/7618).

TUPRAS (Turkish Petroleum Refineries Company) Privatization II; %14.76 share of the company was privatized through a private brokerage company on Istanbul Stock Exchange in 2005. The Ankara 12th Administrative Court annulled the privatization act in 2005 (Decision No: E. 2005/465) and this decision was approved by the Council of State in 2006 (Decision No: 2006/2885).

Çeşme Port Privatization: The operating rights of the ports were transferred to the private sector via a public procurement in 2003. Although the local administrative court dismissed the case the Council of State annulled the act and cancelled the privatization in 2006 (Decision No: 2006/1231).

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Seydişehir Eti Aluminium Company Privatization: Company, which included a hydroelectric power plant and other production plants, was privatized through a public procurement in 2005. The Council of State suspended the execution and then annulled the act in 2006 (Decision No: 2005/7873).

Direct influence of such decisions of administrative jurisdiction on the administrative reform process is mentioned by many respondents and there is an overall perception of the administrative judiciary as an obstructive factor on administrative reform process. Similar to the opinions on the Constitutional Court and the Presidency, there is also an argument that the administrative judiciary has a particular administrative and political philosophy of the State. In fact all these constitutional institutions have a role in protecting the administrative and political philosophy of the State with their un-written traditional rules along the written ones. For most of the respondents, there is a particular administrative and political philosophy of the State they are trying to protect in order to impose on society when necessary. Any transformation or reform effort departing from the philosophy is blocked by these institutions. An important point to note is the concrete example by an important actor of the post-2002 reforms which revealed the philosophy and attitude of the Council of State with his interesting experience;

“We did some works but Danıştay (Council of State) objected to them. [Regarding Public Administration Basic Law] Danıştay (Council of State) made the same objection. When I went to the Council of State to give a briefing on the law, present were the President of Council of State, 11 heads of department, Deputies and I was only with a colleague. They said, loudly and clearly, this law was unconstitutional. I challenged them. I asked them to show me one article that is unconstitutional and if there is one, I would go to the Prime Minister and convince him to give up this law. They couldn't show me one single article and told me that it is against the ‘spirit of the constitution’.” (Dinçer 2013)

This interesting experience involves two significant nuances which supports the argument that the judiciary had an impact on the reform policies. First, the Council of State was given a briefing about a planned administrative reform by the highest level civil servant of the country. There are legal procedures on taking their opinions regarding reform preparations, but a direct visit was

preferred instead. This would, among other factors, present the perception among the executive of the importance and influence of these institutions. The second point is the critique of the proposed law by Council of State Members without being able to show a particular Constitutional article as evidence of unconstitutionality. Term “Spirit of the constitution” can be considered as the motto of the tradition and administrative and political philosophy of the State of these bodies referred to several times in the interviews.

It is clear with the evidence the Judiciary has been another structural feature of country which created significant impacts on the reform process, mostly in a negative manner, by slowing down or blocking the administrative reform process. As an institutional factor embodying the etatism philosophy and deep-rooted political and administrative culture, it constitutes an important part of the framework for the unique experience of Turkey.

6.1.2 The State Structure

Turkey is a republican democracy and the Constitution mentions the unitary state structure among the fundamental principles of the State (For details see Appendix Appendix 1 section 1.2). Central Administration is the core of the administrative structure, from both structural and functional aspects. An alternative authority in the vertical structure does not exist to confront Central Government.

Some respondents claim more unified and centralised the system of political control and power as this, it is easier to introduce new approaches to the management of public services. According to the owners of this idea, a unitary and highly centralized State structure in Turkey provides essential tools for governments to implement reform programmes, provided there is a government committed to launch and implement administrative reform. Reform programmes are planned and launched without consent from any other level of government and are easily implemented as a result.

“Mainly because Turkey is a unitary and highly centralised state and if central governments are strongly committed to pursue public management reforms they will have the capacity to implement them.”
(Kaldırım 2013)

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There is another viewpoint on the issue which considers the unitary and especially centralised structure as a factor triggering administrative reform through other mechanisms. Because the services are not provided close to the nearest level for the citizens, concerns on the quality and sufficiency of public services arise. This translates into citizen and NGO pressures and creates impacts on the administrative reform processes. In both ways, the impact of this factor is quite limited and dependent on other factors.

The other dimension of State structure is the degree of horizontal co-ordination within central government. With the situation in Turkey, we can understand from comments of respondents the distribution of power between different levels of government varied throughout history, depending on the political or administrative conjuncture. However, despite the varying roles and influences of diverse ministries or other institutions, it can be argued, since the late 1970s, The Prime Ministry has been described by the respondents using terms such as the locomotive, co-ordinator, moderator and last decision maker of the administrative reform process, all of which recall determinacy. Whatever the leading organisation, the degree of its impact depends on other factors such as the nature of the government, the political will of the executive and the relative power of high-level bureaucrats in the relevant period.

Although basic structure of the state takes place in the original study and in the Turkey case, unitary and centralised state structure evidently has various impacts on the administrative reforms; fundamental institutions are much more effective on the process according to the findings and for this reason, deserve more attention.

6.2 The Nature of Executive Government and Political Stability

The type and the nature of government are considered as a feature having significant impacts on the reform process of a country. It shouldn't mean the pattern of reform can simply be a given of a type of executive, but this background influence is strongly related with the political stability, which is a significant condition for a functioning management reform process. In addition to the nature of the government, the election system, which tends to determine the government types and stability of political atmosphere, is considered as a

related factor indirectly affecting administrative reform in Turkey. For this reason, the election and representational system is examined first. Then the governments emerging from this system are elaborated in relation with interactions with other factors.

6.2.1 The Elections and Representational System

The electoral system doesn't have a direct influence on the administrative reform process. However the system in Turkey deserves an examination because of its significant impact on the parliament composition and the nature of governments. The system is designed in an aim to create political stability, particularly after the political disputes and deadlocks that led country to the 1980 military coup. It has some fundamental features (For details see Appendix Appendix 1 section 1.5.3) that create results beyond the simple distribution of votes. The most significant feature in this regard is the 10% national threshold, which tends to create more stable parliament composition and powerful majority governments at the expense of an excessive amount of unrepresented votes.

Table 7: Vote and Seat Rates of Parties and Independent Candidates in Elections after 1980

Year	First Party		Second Party		Third Party		Fourth Party		Fifth Party		Unrepresented Votes %
	Vote %	Seat %	Vote %	Seat %	Vote %	Seat %	Vote %	Seat %	Vote %	Seat %	
1983	45,14	52,7	30,46	29,2	23,27	17,75	-	-	-	-	1,13
1987	36,31	64,9	24,74	22	19,14	13,11	-	-	-	-	19,81
1991	27,03	39,5	24,01	25,5	20,75	19,5	16,88	13,7	10,75	1,5	0,58
1995	21,38	28,1	19,65	24	19,18	24,5	14,64	13,8	10,71	8,9	14,44
1999	22,19	24,7	17,98	23,4	15,41	20	13,22	15,6	12,01	15,4	19,19
2002	34,4	66	19,41	32,4	-	-	-	-	0,99*	1,6*	45,2
2007	46,58	62	20,88	20,4	14,27	12,9	-	-	5,32*	4,7*	12,95
2011	49,83	59,4	25,98	24,5	13,01	9,63	-	-	6,57*	6,4*	4,61

Source: Data from Supreme Election Board of Turkey, table prepared by author. Political parties which had votes above the national threshold of 10% and had seats are taken into consideration.

Seat Rate figures are round off.

*These are independent candidates who are not members of any party organization and for this reason; they are not subject to national threshold.

Figures in the table explicitly present the magnifying effect of the system on the leading party. Votes of the parties falling under the threshold are not represented and their seats are mostly gained by the leading party. A number

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of respondents share the idea that the electoral system of Turkey is structured to generate political stability and powerful majority governments which can be quite effective on sweeping administrative reforms and public policies. The electoral success of the leading party is important but the electoral system gives the leading party a higher representation than the percentage of its votes. The tendency of the system in generating majority governments and political stability is mentioned as the most positive part and considered as having an indirect impact on the administrative reform processes (Avşarbey 2013, Çetin 2013).

Such comments on the electoral system were not universal. Several respondents, placing emphasis on democracy, participation and fair representation, voiced strong criticism of the system concerning the unrepresented votes. The argument of these respondents was, if important numbers of people are not represented and consider themselves left out of the political process, there is a danger the reforms would not be sustained. Added to the domination of party leaders on election candidate lists, the connection between citizens and MPs remains quite limited. Consequently, the real needs and demands of society might not reach the decision-making process.

The following comment summarises the necessary balance of political stability and the fair representation on the electoral system for administrative reform;

“Stability is of course very important for administrative reform, however, election systems should also consider fair representation for the long lasting effects of the reforms.” (Cangir 2013)

6.2.2 The Nature of Governments in the Period and Political Stability

The nature of executive government, whether it is a single party majority, coalition or a minority cabinet, is considered as having substantial impacts on the administrative reform process of a country because of the governance conventions, working conditions they tend to generate and the stability of the political atmosphere. The period the research covered might be considered quite appropriate to examine the impact of this factor, because, as mentioned below by a respondent, nearly all types of governments existed in Turkey between 1980 and 2010.

There is a general agreement among the respondents, although all parties and governments try their best to serve the country, single party majority governments create a better atmosphere for broad policy areas in general and administrative reforms programmes in particular. A respondent who had served as a Minister in both single party majority and coalition governments summarises the situation in two short sentences;

“It is clear single party governments work better than the coalitions. They can make decisions more easily.” (Çelebi 2013)

Depending on their experiences in Turkey, most respondents argue, on the condition of having a strong commitment for carrying out administrative reform, a long and stable period of a single party majority government brings about successful reform programmes, important transformations and a serious level of development. Moreover there is a clear tendency among the respondents to link the single party majority government periods directly with political stability, which is considered as one of the key requirements for successful administrative reform. Some respondents take this further and argue, among the single party governments, even more powerful ones are better for launching and implementing administrative reforms. Considering the leader oriented political and administrative culture of Turkey, a powerful single party government might have a chance to build the necessary capacity and enact all relevant laws in a shorter time with an unchallenged initiative in order to bring about vigorous reform (Yaman 2013). Most respondents relate the powerful single party governments of the last decade and the political stability as a great opportunity for Turkey for the realisation of administrative reform.

In contrast, considering the coalition government periods, respondents have a perception of problematic atmospheres due to the difficulties of co-ordination and cooperation. In the political tradition of Turkey, ministries are shared in coalition governments. One respondent defines this situation as dividing the State into two or three parts (Sert 2013). Rather than having a single coercive authority in the character of a Prime Minister, there are usually two or three leaders. Leaving important duties such as administrative reform aside, it is difficult to handle even the daily activities and responsibilities within coalition governments. Instead of bringing long term policies such as administrative reform into the agenda, short-term policies are implemented due to the short

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lived nature of coalitions. As one respondent put it, coalition governments and its members usually consume their energy by controlling and limiting each other (Avşarbey 2013). This is related with the political, administrative and cultural aspects as well. Turkey's culture is not oriented to consensus and the nature of coalition governments. This cultural aspect makes it almost impossible to carry out administrative reforms. Due to the requirement of Coalition governments of all coalition members consenting to any type of policy initiatives, negotiations usually end in political and parliamentary turbulences and stalemate resulting in political and economic instability and crises.

Although there are some coalition periods with substantial administration reform efforts at the start of the 2000s, documentary evidence supports the respondent's views. When we examine and cross reference the period covered by research from the viewpoint of relations between administrative reform and government structures (See Appendix Appendix 2, **Table 16**), we can see the two concentrated reform periods coincided with politically stable atmosphere and two powerful single party governments: The Motherland Party in the 1980s and the Justice and Development Party in the 2000s. Coalition government periods between 1991 and 2002 however, involved very short term governments in an unstable political arena. The average length of a government in the period between 1991 and 2002, when nine coalition governments had occupied office in eleven years, was approximately 15 months. As explicit in the table, figures support the argument regarding the relation between coalition governments and political stability in the case of Turkey.

Table 8: Governments in 1991 - 2002 Period

Government	Leader	Parties	Period
49. Government	Süleyman Demirel	True Path Party - Social Democratic Populist Party	20/11/1991 - 16/05/1993
50. Government	Tansu Çiller	True Path Party - Social Democratic Populist Party (Republican People's Party after 18 th February 1995)	25/06/1993 - 05/10/1995

Government	Leader	Parties	Period
51. Government	Tansu Çiller	True Path Party (Minority Government)	05/10/1995 - 30/10/1995
52. Government	Tansu Çiller	True Path Party - Republican People's Party	30/10/1995 - 06/03/1996
53. Government	Mesut Yılmaz	Motherland Party - True Path Party	06/03/1996 - 28/06/1996
54. Government	Necmettin Erbakan	Welfare Party - True Path Party	28/06/1996 - 30/06/1997
55. Government	Mesut Yılmaz	Motherland Party - Democratic Left Party - Democratic Turkey Party	30/06/1997 - 11/01/1999
56. Government	Bülent Ecevit	Democratic Left Party (Minority Government)	11/01/1999 - 28/05/1999
57. Government	Bülent Ecevit	Democratic Left Party - Motherland Party - Nationalist Movement Party	28/05/1999 - 19/11/2002
Total	5 Prime Ministers	7 Political Parties	9 Gov. in 11 Years (Average 15 Months)

Source: Data from Prime Ministry Office, table prepared by author.

Election systems, the nature of governments they created and the stability of the political atmosphere have obviously had significant, mostly background implications on the administrative reform process. Nature of executive government, as a part of the original study, directly adopted here and its significant background role on the process is validated by the findings in the setting of Turkey. Unique to the context of Turkey, election system, due to its immense influence on the proportion of Parliament seats and creation of political stability, is brought forward by the findings and presented here with the background and indirect impacts it generated on the process of administrative reforms.

6.3 The Civil Service

The Public administration reform policies involve executive politicians and high-level civil servants in many countries. The following discussions are distinctive to developing States such as Turkey; relations between two groups, security of tenures, politicisation of high-level bureaucrats, the degree of

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changes in high-level posts when governments change, the degree of relations between politician-high-level civil servant careers, general structural and cultural features of the civil service, political patronage, favouritism. Findings related with all these discussions are presented under two headings.

6.3.1 The Bureaucrat-Politician Relations

The degree and nature of relations between high-level civil servants and political executives are considered as significant factors of the administrative reform processes. This becomes meaningful only when it is interacted with other factors. Close relations and linked careers would ease the path of reform when they collaborate with a powerful and determined government. Conversely, independent careers and a non-politicised civil service might better resist the reforms.

With respect to the situation in Turkey, respondents have a general consensus on the existence of close relations between the two groups and most of them consider this situation quite normal and a requirement of modern administration. However, some respondents remind there is a strong legal career system and deep rooted institutional culture, which makes senior appointments challenging for governments. In such an institutional atmosphere, with the support of legal protections and the existence of administrative courts, it is not easy for ministers to change high-level positions rapidly, without legitimate reason. An un-official spoils system goes along with a strong legal career system and this dual characteristic usually creates tensions in the bureaucratic structure. The implication of this dichotomy on the administrative reform process has two dimensions. The close relationships of senior civil servants and politicians sometimes generate a synergy which might ease the preparation, presentation and implementation of administrative reform. Well educated and experienced senior civil servants take part in the decision-making processes and contribute significantly to the reform programmes. The post 2002 administrative reform programme is an explicit example of the close relationships between senior civil servants and politicians and the positive influence this synergy creates for the administrative reform process. An important characteristic of the period, Dinçer, expresses the impact of his and his team's relations with the Prime Minister on the working condition with the following example;

“When we detailed the project about the public administration reforms, our Prime Minister gave me, and my administrative reform team, an opportunity which wasn't given to anyone before. We summoned the Cabinet out of the Cabinet meeting room, and I told them why we needed public administration reform, what should be done, what will happen next and what will we do within the context of public administration in a meeting of two days long.” (Dinçer 2013)

On the other hand, unfair and un-legitimized appointments of civil servants by the governments might have adverse impacts. There is a different take on this issue from some respondents who insist merit and liability should be considered as minimum requirements in senior civil servant appointments. On this condition, governments should be free to choose the people to work with. However, they emphasise politicisation sometimes comes before the principles of merit in Turkey and favouritism and clientelism focused relations are major reasons behind this. Decreasing the quality of senior bureaucrats, assert respondents, would certainly have adverse impacts on the administrative reform process, along with other policy areas. Furthermore, due to the perception of unfairness of political executives, ownership of the reforms by the civil service might be damaged and a resistance among the bureaucracy might occur.

6.3.2 The Impacts of the Civil Service

Although some respondents mention the constructive role of bureaucracy on the process and propose the post-2002 reform team as an example, most respondents perceived the civil service as an institutional factor which usually resists administrative reform processes. Several reasons for the resistance might be identified but the major ones are the organizational structure, privileges of diverse bureaucratic groups and the prevalent administrative philosophy of Turkish civil servants.

The organisational principles and fundamental cultural features of the civil service, as an institutional aspect, determine the way it creates impacts on the design and implementation of public policies. The first aspect of the discussion is the career system and its organisation, which have direct influence on the working conditions and performance of civil servants. Important career groups

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are established under particular ministries and, until recently, they used to have members mostly from selected universities. These career groups or cadres create strong solidarity, institutional traditions and ownership of Administrative and political philosophy of the State. In some instances according to some respondents, the major reason for the resistance to reform by the bureaucracy is the administrative and political philosophy of the State as evaluated in the President and Judiciary sections, and the threat of reform programmes to the philosophy embraced by bureaucrats. Bureaucratic structures with highly educated, expert civil servants and very deep rooted administrative traditions, existing in the military, finance, foreign affairs and internal affairs, are challenging careers involving well educated and carefully chosen personnel. From this aspect, a problem of other developing states, the capacity of the civil service to plan and implement the management reforms is not the case for Turkey. Besides, such high-level bureaucrats have enough capacity to facilitate or, in most cases, impede the reform process. Despite their positive impact on the stability and re-generation of information and State tradition, the common culture of such careers and decisions shaped by this culture sometimes creates obstacles to reform. The structure and tradition of the State creates powerful bureaucrats and they act on behalf of the 'State' (not the government). They perceive themselves as the elements which provide the perpetuity of the State and they correct the mistakes of temporary governments. A leading respondent, who had experience of both the civil service and politics, clarifies the approach:

"In our experience, I think this [relative power of bureaucracy and its use] works against public administration reform. This is because; civil servants claim responsibility for the protection of the state, which is a legal definition of the civil servant, rather than considering themselves as the personnel who serves the citizens. Major objections to my duty as Undersecretary of Prime Ministry were on this issue. As the highest level civil servant, the role of Undersecretary was to protect the state from any danger including politics itself. From the moment I took over the duty, I located myself in a position of protecting citizens rather than the state. [...] Rather than outer groups, public organizations and their members threatened me. Associations of state inspectors, governors, specialists had all told diverse things and as a summary

they told me to stop. Who were I and what was I doing while they had 150 years of experience and knowledge. If you will make change, in my opinion, major obstacle is their 150 years of experience.” (Dinçer 2013)

Another aspect mentioned by more than half the respondents is the danger of favouritism despite the existence of such a career system. Previous researches on civil servants (Emre 1993, Özen 1996) identify “collectivism, solidarity and harmony” in “community” or “groups” as the major elements of Turkish administrative culture. In order to survive in the political and bureaucratic arena, bureaucrats try to establish good personal relations in their communities of departments, ministries or career groups (Ömürgönülşen and Öktem, 2009). Membership of particular groups is perceived as a guaranteed way of getting high-rank tenures in the bureaucracy and this process is nourished by patronage. Alumni groups, town membership relations, religious communities and career groups are mentioned by the respondents as major examples. When reform programmes affect their privileges these bureaucrat groups create serious obstacles on the reform process as in the experience of the post 2000 reform period, on the role of powerful inspection committees concerning manipulation of the public and the President on reform legislation.

A further feature of the career system (the requirement of a certain period of job experience in public sector to become a high-level civil servant) creates consequences as well. Civil servants in career jobs usually try to avoid legal problems and keep their personnel record clean for prospective higher positions. This is possible by not producing and avoiding risks which discourages innovation and creates a culture of procrastination. Lifetime security of job, lack of clear job descriptions and a proper performance management system contribute to this process and combined with political patronage relations, it means the best option for a civil servant is to serve their time not taking any risks, locate political support for (or use the one which is already present), then progress to high-level positions. Lack of innovation and ownership for new policies generates a negative impact on the administrative reform programmes claim respondents.

The impact of the civil service and especially the high-level bureaucrats on the administrative reform process of the country are clearly evident in the research findings. This feature took place in the original study as politician-high-level

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civil servant relations, however; initial findings of research required examining the civil service as a whole due to its structural and cultural characteristics, problems and its overall impacts on the process of administrative reforms. While their impact on the process is sometimes positive by facilitating and accelerating reform programmes, they mostly have negative impacts by impeding and slowing down the reform efforts. This completely depends on the period, nature of the reform, attitude of career groups and the interests of civil servants.

6.4 The Political and Administrative Culture

The political and administrative culture is a substantial element of all the institutional structures, executive and bureaucratic behaviours opposed to the change and reform processes. However it is difficult to identify particular cultural features with their characteristics and determine their impact on the administrative reform process. If we begin with a discussion of general State traditions, respondents agree with the argument the development of the public sector in Turkey is characterised by strong traditions and values inherited from the Ottoman Empire. The State administration is organised with a regulatory and controlling culture. Heper (2000) points out “continuity rather than change characterises Turkish political culture”. A closer examination reveals an inherited culture has significant similarities with Continental European State traditions and particularly with the Napoleonic model. Highly centralised and formal relations, powerful career based bureaucracy and a legalistic administrative and political philosophy of the State has significant implications for the reform process argue the respondents. In addition to these factors originating from the State tradition, some distinctive features of Turkish administrative and political culture like clientelism and patronage relationships, lack of participation, adherence to a group, loyalty to a powerful leader and a philosophy which dignifies the State are expressed by the respondents.

The major influence arising from the state tradition is the difficulty of administrative change, argue respondents. Due to the legalistic tradition, any change would only be possible by legal documents and the structures created by them. Because most reform attempts go to parliament, then probably vetoed by the President or sent to the Constitutional Court, the process

becomes very difficult and time consuming. Another aspect of the culture is the lack of participation due to hierarchy and vertical authority which is present in any part of the State structure. Horizontal distribution and share of state authority has not been included in the administrative culture until recently. Respondents confirm until recently, State and administration didn't communicate with the stakeholders and NGOs to obtain their ideas on the policy making process. Lack of participation might cause inaccurate policy decisions, generate reform programmes unresponsive to the needs and unembraced by the masses. Instead, there is a culture in which mechanisms work in a top-down fashion and authority is concentrated on a dominant leader. As a part of the general administrative and political culture, people love powerful leaders and teams which are bounded up strongly to their leader, declares one respondent. The policies and the implementation procedures mostly depend on the character and attitude of particular leaders as in the Prime Minister and his two undersecretaries regarding the administrative reforms in last decade. The role of these powerful leaders and their periods of leadership created windows of opportunity for administrative reform. This constitutes another example of the importance of the agents along with the institutions. In the case of Turkey, the same legal and institutional structures generate different impacts under the rule of diverse agents.

Another point to mention is the tendency of people to form groups and move together. In a society where the State has a dominant role, there is a strong solidarity within the groups such as townsmen, clans, political parties, religious communities, career and other interest groups. Having affiliations with large groups provides security, hence are seen as very useful, and functional. Moreover, these groups struggle to hold State power and use it because the State is the fundamental arbiter of economic, social and political power in society. Diverse groups within the State and society might create great resistance to change including reform when they have privileges in current structures, argue respondents.

Clientelism and patronage might be acknowledged as another important part of the administrative culture having implications on administrative reform. The existence of these factors as part of the culture has been a subject of many academic studies (Şaylan 2001, Özbudun 1981, Heper and Keyman 1998, Adaman et al. 2000 and 2005). Because of patronage politics, governments

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adopt irrational and random decision-making patterns based on speculative political aims. Şaylan (2001, p. 35) suggests among the overall results of this type of politics is the creation of financial opportunities for the supporters or political clients and the replacement of a merit based bureaucracy with a partisan one. The inevitable result of such policies is the loss of rationality in policy making and implementation processes and formation of administrative procedures unresponsive to the real needs of citizens. Another impact is related with the attitudes of citizens to political executives and administration. Two sequential studies (Adaman et al. 2000 and 2005) conducted on the issue reveal although there has been a significant decrease, there is still a perception of patronage on economic policies, education investments, police conduct, audits against tax evaders and State tendering. The major impact of this perception is loss of confidence with politics and administration leading to the lack of ownership in reform policies. In some cases, some organisational structures, established with a completely new philosophy to overcome such problems, might transform negatively and adopt traditional administrative relations and procedures. One significant respondent from political arena explains the situation with an example by criticising the clientelism;

“We created some new structures with the effect of the EU, regulatory agencies, but they also became politicized in a short period. There is a clientelistic culture in Turkey. Politicians create an organization and support it with public sources in order to survive in politics.” (Çelebi 2013)

The cultural norms of Turkish administration and politics create a State notion independent from society. Since the Ottoman Empire era, there has always been a particular elite group, who acted on behalf of the State, independent from society and politics. In some limited number of occasions, in economic, social and political crises or after military coup periods, these State elites have been the agents of change and reform (for detail Sayın and Çınar 2007, p. 447). However following the rapid developments in society through the 1980s, State elites have fallen behind, which caused conservative reactions. In this regard, Sözen and Shaw (2003, p.110) identifies the preoccupation of State elites with the aim of “saving the state” as an important continuity in the Turkish polity. Any attempt to introduce change, including administrative reform would encounter great resistance from this system according to the

respondents. One respondent similarly claims they act on behalf of the ‘State’, they perceive themselves as the factors which provide the perpetuity of the State and correct the mistakes of temporary governments. According to the same respondent, this philosophy was realised in the personality of President Ahmet Necdet Sezer (for detail see page 123). Strong resistance from various units of State to the Public Administration Basic Law is directly related with the discussion because transforming the political and administrative philosophy of the State was among the major aims of the law. Experience of the post-2002 administrative reform programme leader Dinçer recounts core of the discussion on this philosophy;

“To protect this ideology [state ideology] and related order, an authoritarian structure was established. While the entire world was going towards more participation, transparency, auditability and accountability, the authoritarian administration was keeping itself, the state as we call it, in an untouchable position. [...] Thus, in such conditions, it would be naive to believe that state institutions would easily give consent to change. Because of this, the concept we chose to change has been the state mentality. Mentality must change, in other words, before going further; there was a need to re-define the state, citizen, public servant, public service and public domain. [...] For instance a major discussion and disagreement issue was the idea of public interest (common good, common weal). Until that day, whoever wanted to say no to citizens was using this term as a justification. State officials from all levels [...] were using this term to create legitimacy with this un-identifiable and un-bounded concept. We tried to re-define the concept of public interest in Public Administration Basic Law’s fourth article. Phrase of ‘Removing the obstacles on the citizens usage of fundamental rights and freedoms’ disturbed all bureaucracy and administration in Turkey. From President to Council of State, Chief of Staff (Military), Ministry of International Relations, it disturbed every state unit. The attitude which determined the opposition and resistance [to administrative reforms] was originated from the fact that we disturbed the ideal comfort of Status-Quo.” (Dinçer 2013)

The experiences of the respondents over administrative habits and behavioural traditions are among the major obstacles of administrative reform as well. In

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some cases, although the reform legislation was passed, some parts of the bureaucracy and society intentionally made only some formal arrangements without really embracing the principle (Kontoğlu 2013). In other instances governments provided their citizens with advanced democratic or administrative rights, but citizens were not able to realise and use them because of the entrenched administrative culture. As a respondent illustrated, although demonstration marches and rallies are not subject to permission from the administration and this permission procedure was abolished many years ago, citizens still go to obtain permission from the administration (Ekici 2013). Last of all, many State units, although they are not functional anymore, have been the subject of great discussion and showed resistance when governments wanted to abolish them.

The experiences, examples and expressions can be multiplied due to the broad scope of the topic. There is enough evidence and argument to claim the political and administrative culture of Turkey, a factor directly borrowed from the original study and its impacts are validated by the findings in the setting of Turkey, generates significant barriers to administrative reform processes whether directly, or through other factors which are examined under different headings in this study.

6.5 Conclusions

The Major aim of the chapter has been a thorough examination of the effects of structural and cultural factors on the administrative reform process. This set of factors represents the country specific institutional features of the state and the administration that have, with some exceptions, had obstructive and blocking impacts on the management reform programs. Institutions in this group of factors, the evidence suggests, have a broad meaning which includes certain historical character, philosophy and tradition beyond their structural and legal aspects, in line with the viewpoint of the historical institutionalism, which have significant implications on their role in the process. Concerning the relation with the framework model of Pollitt and Bouckaert, these factors are presented as the basic features of political and administrative system clusters of their model, but evaluated separately from the model to explain the diverse reform experiences of different countries. In the study, diverse from the original model, they are directly included to the framework as a second set of

significant factors with some slight modifications and re-formulations. The contents and impacts of the factors presented great similarities with and confirmations of the original proposals of Pollitt and Bouckaert.

The fundamental Constitutional features of the state and their implications on the management reform process are the first theme examined in the chapter. The topic is detailed under the headings of fundamental institutions and the State structure. This section replaces the 'basic structure of the state' of the original model while confirming their arguments about the general influences of these features. A diversion from the original model, the differences of the Turkey context required inclusion of some significant institutions to the framework. In this regard, the first aspect is the fundamental institutions which have traditionally had substantial impacts on the policy making process. The explicit check and balance system of the 1982 Constitution and the significant tutelage points created by deep rooted state tradition are characteristics of Turkish state. The President, Prime Minister and Prime Ministry Office, Judiciary and the Military emerged as the major examples of such effective institutional structures and they have had substantial impacts on the process, on the condition of the choices of the agents on the tenures. The Presidency has evidently had generated great obstructive and blocking impacts on the management reform process via his authorities of veto, appeals to the Constitutional Court and the appointment of high-level civil servants. In particular when the government and the President held diverse philosophies and depending on the attitude of the President, this institution possesses the necessary tools to block the policy making process. This occurred several times in the given period.

The Prime Minister and his/her office is the other fundamental institution in the Turkish state structure with obvious positive impacts on the process. The Prime Minister's full control on the cabinet due to the relevant legislation, dominant role on the executive reinforced by their absolute control over party structure and leader oriented political and administrative culture of the Turkey ensures a dominant position within the system. When this picture is merged with a powerful and committed Prime Minister Figure, driving, facilitating and shaping impacts on the management reform process becomes very potent. Organizational structure of the Prime Ministry Office, despite having some apparent deficiencies, has also had facilitating and, due to its technical

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capacities, shaping effects on the process, particularly during the periods of influential undersecretaries.

The military and related institutions are additional fundamental structures effective on the policy making in general and management reforms in particular. The role of the military on the politics has been a historical fact in Turkey since the Ottoman Empire Era and this impact was consolidated during the Republic era and in particular with the military-drafted 1982 Constitution. With its particular philosophy and its self-appointed role as the guardian of this philosophy and the constitutional order, the military intervened in the politics and policy making through diverse mechanisms and generated various types of impacts ranging from driving and facilitating the process, particularly during the military controlled period which had created significant transformations including the management style reforms, to obstructing and blocking it, during the reform efforts of the 1990s and the 2000s. The impact of the military on the policy issues has been decreasing in the second half of the 2000s and, at the time of writing, it is not as effective as it was before.

Due to the legalistic character of the Turkish State tradition, the Judiciary, particularly the Constitutional Court and the administrative jurisdiction, have great importance concerning the policy making process and reform programmes. Another check and balance mechanism of the State structure, the Constitutional Court, has had many substantial direct and indirect impacts on the policy making process through its authority of the constitutionality review of new legislation. This authority goes beyond its legal purposes especially when the involvement of the court becomes a propriety review. The Court cannot carry out ex-officio review and requires an authorized application usually delivered from the President and these two factors are therefore related. The administrative jurisdiction on the other hand, reviews every action and decision of the administration and has created indirect impacts through the civil servant appointments and direct impacts from some important privatization implementations. Considering the duty of the judiciary as legal review of institutions, their actions and legislations, their role on the management reforms have mainly been negative, by obstructing and blocking reform programs. Additionally, similar to the Presidency and the Military, Judicial institutions have a certain administrative and political philosophy and this has been an important motivation in their procedures.

State structure is the second aspect of this section with relatively limited impacts on the process and it has two dimensions. First is the unitary and centralized character of the State which proved to be a facilitating factor for the management reform effort. In some cases, however, this system creates some problems because the services are not provided from the nearest point to the citizens and the system itself might be subject to the reform efforts. The second aspect, horizontal coordination in central level, has similar facilitating impacts on the process as well by some particular organizations gaining power and becoming the locomotive of the reform programmes.

The nature of the executive government and the political stability section is another confirmation of the Pollitt and Bouckaert's argument that type and nature of the governments are significant background factors that shape the scope and intensity of reforms and adds the dimension of political stability to this aspect. The political stability is considered as an important pre-condition of a well-functioning administrative reform process. Interesting electoral system of Turkey, which is designed to generate the powerful majority governments, has had indirect impacts through various types of governments and the political stability it created. In some cases, it also created negative impacts on the sustainability of reform programmes with the number of the votes denied in the decision-making processes. It is evident in the research findings that the type of the governments contributed to the stability of the political atmosphere and in this way generated significant influences on the management reform processes. Single party majority governments created better atmosphere for vigorous management reform programmes and made facilitating impacts on the process. The periods of such governments create political and economic stability and in this way, reform movements become faster, wider in scope and more effective, particularly under the leadership of influential political actors. Coalition governments, on the other hand, had difficulties in agreeing on some common policy areas and except in some instances, had blocking impacts on the management reform process through the political instability they generated. However, as an interesting outcome from the interviews, if a reform is managed in a instable political atmosphere with a coalition government, due to the level of consensus, it has more chance to be embraced by masses and become successful.

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Involvement of the high-level civil servants to the management reform process and the substantial effects they created constitute other important aspects of the process in Turkey. While confirming Pollitt and Bouckaert's arguments about the impacts of high-level civil service on the process through their variables, the general structural and cultural features of the Turkish civil service and factors such as political patronage and favouritism, which are distinctive to Turkey, are included in the examination as further themes. High-level bureaucrats usually have close relationships with the political executives thus combining this with their relative power; they can be quite effective on the planning, launch and implementation of reform programmes whether in a positive manner by facilitating and accelerating the process or, as usually seen, in a negative manner by slowing down or blocking the change. The nature of their impact depends on various variables such as the period, nature and the contents of reform, attitude of a particular career group and their occupational or departmental interests. With regards to a typical problem of the developing state settings, policy capacity of the civil service, didn't come up as a problem from the findings due to the bureaucratic structure involving well educated, professional civil servants and deep rooted administrative traditions.

The political and administrative culture, as the last factor examined in the chapter, is the foundation of all the institutional structures, executive and bureaucratic behaviours concerning the institutional change and reform processes. Cultural features inherited from the Ottoman Empire have great similarities with the Continental Europe State traditions. Authoritative hierarchical vertical relations, lack of participation, orientation to powerful leadership, clientelism and patronage relations, a notion of State above the society and the existence of State elite to protect the Status-Quo are significant characteristics of politico-administrative culture. The combination of these characteristics creates an atmosphere which is quite conservative and resistant to change. Particularly the legalistic philosophy of the state requires almost all changes to be carried out by new legislation and complicates the situation by adding further obstructing factors to the process as mentioned above in relevant sections.

On the theoretical side, the original model places considerable stress on the political and administrative system clusters. In addition to the examination of the functional elements of these clusters, the key features of their combination

are identified and explained by the authors in another chapter named politico-administrative system (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, p.47). These are the features creating the diverse experiences of countries on the management change and reform processes which could not be left out of consideration. Apart from one, all the features are directly included to the framework with some additions and despite the different substance and natures of the factors, their impacts have mostly been confirmed by the findings.

In detail, the impacts of the state structure feature in the original model is confirmed by the research findings, however, it is evaluated under a more comprehensive heading, the constitutional framework. Some other country specific features and some significant institutions such as the President, the Prime Minister, Military and the Judiciary are added to the framework due to their undeniable impacts on the process. The nature of executive government is a feature of the original model confirmed by the findings of the study with additions about the need for political stability as a significant pre-condition and the electoral and representational system of Turkey due to its determinant impacts on the form of governments and the stability of the political atmosphere. The factor of politician-high-level bureaucrat relationships and its impacts on the process was adopted with some additions using the more comprehensive title of the civil service and its implications are confirmed with some contextual differences. Lastly, 'the philosophy and culture of governance' feature is confirmed by the research findings with new labelling and contextual differences. The source of policy advice factor is left out of the framework due to the lack of relevant findings which give reference to its impacts. In the context of Turkey, policy advice channels are usually considered as being embedded in the national and international institutions which are already evaluated as other factors. Table below simply presents the modification of the original model in accordance with the context and the aims of the research.

Table 9: Relationship between the Model of Pollitt and Bouckaert and the Framework of Study: Structural and Cultural Factors

Original Model (Pollitt and Bouckaert)	Contextual Differences Leading to Modification	Framework of the Study
<p>Fundamental Features of Political and Administrative System</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The state structure • The nature of executive government • Politicians - Bureaucrat Relations • The philosophy and culture of governance • Sources of Policy Advice 	<p>Historical Institutional Characteristics, Traditions and the Culture of Turkey</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong political and administrative culture and state tradition inherited from the Ottoman Empire and Early Republic, • Traditionally powerful institutions, • Impact of Historical Institutions on the process • Requirements for Political Stability 	<p>Structural and Cultural Factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional Framework • Fundamental Institutions • State Structure • Nature of Executive Government and Political Stability • The Civil Service • Political and Administrative Culture

Source: Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011, pp. 32 -46), Table created by author

Before moving to the next chapter which examines the functional elements involving planning, decision-making, introduction and implementation phases, a common conclusive remark for the institutional factors might be the fact that all public institutions and the cultural aspect of the politics and administration have a certain administrative and political philosophy (in concepts such as; spirit of the constitution, public interest, common good, perpetuity of the state and etc.) and they resist to the administrative reforms to protect that particular philosophy as long as they perceive the reform efforts as a threat. From this viewpoint, apart from some exceptions, nature of this set of factors is mostly conservative and their impacts have generally been obstructing and blocking management reform process. However, many authorities of these institutions, the rules of their engagements and impacts they would create are meaningful only when they are utilised by the agents, for or against the reform efforts.

Chapter 7. The Functional Features: Impacts of Political and Administrative System, Elite Decision-making and Chance Events on Management Reforms

The functional elements of a political and administrative system are directly related with, even the active mechanisms of the management reform process which means, all subjects examined in this chapter are significant parts of the planning, decision-making, introduction and implementation phases. Rather than being external factors driving and triggering administrative reform or structural and institutional factors slowing down and obstructing the reform process, unifying theme of these features is, they are literally the operational elements of the process. All these elements are adopted from the political and administrative system clusters of the original model by Pollitt and Bouckaert. Some additions, modifications and re-formulations are applied due to the differing background factors in Turkey. Elite decision-making and chance events, which are considered as independent clusters in the original model have also been included to this set due to their close relationship to other elements of the chapter and some practical reasons on the outline of the research.

The chapter is presented under the section headings of political and administrative system factors and each factor is elaborated in relation to its impact on the management reform process. The first section examines the national and international origins of the new management ideas and trends in relation to the implications on the management reforms of the country. The second section briefly examines the effects of citizens and NGO pressures on the management reform process. Similarly, political ideas and ideologies of the parties and the implications for the management reforms are discussed in the next section. Although these two factors only had limited impacts on the process, it was not possible to ignore and omit them from the framework. Hence, these factors are discussed in relatively short sections. The political will and determination of executives create substantial differences in developing countries experiencing huge economic and social transformations despite the

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weak institutional development levels. Therefore, as an addition originated from the research findings, the fourth section looks at the effects of these factors on the management reform process. The contents of the proposed reform packages, their compatibility with the national context and related discussions are covered in the next section. The implementation process and the results achieved are other factors having only limited impacts on the process of administrative reform. Due to their limited impacts and the strong link, they are detailed briefly in the same section by adding the monitoring and feedback dimensions. The elite decision-making mechanism considered to be the central point on creating management reform and is examined with its comprehensive impacts under another section. Chance events, normally overlooked but often create significant effects when they occur, is covered in the last section before concluding the chapter.

In addition to the answering research questions, detailed examination of these factors and their interactions with other features provides insights for the theoretical concerns as well. Detailing these factors, which are mostly adopted directly from the original model, will reveal the implications of the model on the setting of a developing state, whether the elements of the model is validated by the findings or required modifications.

7.1 The New Management Ideas

The period of the last three decades, due to rapid economic and political globalisation trends, developments in academic and administrative fields, generated a considerable flow of new management ideas regarding public administration. This is a significant factor considered by some authors as a precondition of the management reform process which determines the contents of reform programmes. Inter-country borrowing, conceptualised as policy transfer, facilitated by international bodies such as the OECD and the World Bank is a well-known process. With respect to Turkey, respondents confirm the existence of many new ideas during the period and discuss the issue from two main perspectives; policy transfer and compatibility of the ideas to the country context.

Since the end of the 1970s, a significant international cultural, economic, political and administrative trend gained universal characteristics and affected

many countries. New ideas about management styles and systems rapidly circulating in Anglo-Saxon tradition countries in the 1980s and 1990s affected Turkey also. The respondents argue due to a strong relationship with the EU, other international organisations and certain nation States, it is not possible to consider constant reform effort and administrative reform processes or Turkey distant from the global trends and ideas which generate many universal concepts. Apart from these relationships subjecting Turkey to new management ideas, other channels emerged adding to the flow. Many civil servants had worked jointly with other states and international organisations. Many were sent to developed countries for postgraduate studies and other educational activities and particularly in the 1980s, during the periods of the Motherland Party Governments, some transfers in to the public sector SEEs from the private sector were seen. A brief look at the reform efforts would show (For details see Appendix Appendix 2), the new ideas were usually the current trend i.e. managerialism, privatisation, cost reduction, effectiveness and efficiency prevalent in the 1980s and 1990s, and later good governance, transparency, participation and decentralization in the 1990s and 2000s.

Discussion on the new management ideas inevitably brought the respondents to the concept of policy transfer. Most of them agree that, Turkey was affected by these ideas and trends by evaluating and partly adopting the successful policies, experiences and knowledge of other countries and international organisations. In particular during the 2000s, intensified relations with international organizations, joint projects with them or other nation States and high-level bureaucrats sent abroad for educational and academic programmes increased the flow of new management ideas and related policies to Turkey. Useful points of this transfer are considered as; (1) being more secure against failures because they were tried before, (2) providing the opportunity for the country to be part of the mainstream of administrative policy by introducing and implementing common programmes (3) an opportunity to convince society and the masses by using the leverage of the international community and other successful countries (Haktankaçmaz, 2013). The following expression of Dinçer, leader of reform team and architect of administrative reforms after 2002, gives a good insight on this aspect of discussion;

“We used governance as a model for our efforts. Using such a model makes it easier to present yourself. Such concepts guide you and ease

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the way while you are presenting your ideas. In fact we even didn't use the term public administration reform, we said re-organization or re-structuring. This is because we aimed at changing old mentality with a new one. [...] In the process of administrative reforms, although we used some terms such as re-organization and re-structuring, it was mainly about governance.” (Dinçer 2013)

While discussing the transfer of new ideas and policies, many respondents mention the importance of compatibility of these ideas to the national context. For this reason, they are not transferred directly without modifications to the unique system of the country. As one respondent mentions, a particular paradigm or model is designated and then by moving to the details, only some parts of it are transferred in line with the context and needs of Turkey (Zararsiz, 2013).

Discussion on new management ideas and their impacts on the reform process reflect, parallel to the proposals of the original model of Pollitt and Bouckaert, this is a considerable factor which created significant shaping impacts on the management reform process. Respondents confirm the existence of a flow of many universal ideas, which were the trends of the relevant period, and the existence of policy transfers from international organisations or other States. Although the transfer was modified by the limitations of these unique conditions, all reform effort in Turkey could be linked to a particular new management idea of the period. In this case, it is not surprising that only a limited number of respondents argue Turkey was not affected much by these ideas and created its own methods in line with the real needs of the country.

7.2 The Pressures from Citizens and NGOs

As an important aspect of the political system, pressures from citizens are considered one of the important underlying forces affecting administrative reform. The extent of this is strongly related with the level of democratic mechanisms and economic development of a particular country. In Turkey, it can be said, although pressure exists to some extent the effect of the citizens on public policies and public administration reform are not as potent as in the developed world. A group of respondents argue there is a constant increase in the influence of citizen pressure since 1980; however, the general consensus

of the discussion proves its limited impact. An important respondent claimed they experienced no pressure from citizens regarding the new administrative arrangements from the outset. Some demands were made only after promises made by the government. This argument reveals there might be an interaction between governments and society which would shape the expectations of citizens on administrative reform.

NGOs are an important part of the discussion as the significant elements of modern civil societies and diverse institutionalised representatives of society interests. Almost all respondents agreed NGOs have only a moderate effect on the administrative reform process compared to developed nations. Most respondents distinguish between NGOs having the real meaning of the term and other institutional structures which are dependent on the State or consist of small interest groups and don't have a significant representation or effect on society. NGOs depending on public resources cannot move independently from the State, argue these respondents. Number and impact of real NGOs, on the other side, was limited until the end of the 1980's due to the remaining anti-democratic impact of the 1980 military coup (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.**, section **Error! Reference source not found.**). Some respondents mention, particularly after 2000, social and economic developments and reform towards more democratic mechanisms created an appropriate atmosphere for NGOs to participate in the policy-making processes, including administrative reforms. These respondents particularly mentioned Powerful business NGOs such as TÜSİAD and NGOs of emerging economic forces (see section 5.3). Lastly, there was a different take on discussion from some respondents who claimed NGOs organised around certain interests with ideological roots have sometimes had a negative effect on the administrative reform process.

The impacts of citizens and NGOs on administrative reform in Turkey seem to be closely related with the historical characteristics of political institutions and the traditional aspects of the political and administrative culture of the country. The classic public administration philosophy of Turkey is centralised, hegemonic and not open to participation in general. Although some legislation has been passed to include them in the system, co-operative decision-making and participation of citizens and NGOs has increased in last decades, their influence on society and politics is still limited. Looking from the theoretical

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window, although this factor is borrowed from the original model and NGOs are added to the framework in line with the initial findings, their impact on the process is not as significant as the developed state context of the original model.

7.3 The Party Political Ideas

Turkey has a long tradition of political parties stemming from the Ottoman Empire era. Political ideas generated by the parties are consistent and deep rooted. Although it is generally considered as an important factor on the administrative reform process, party political ideas are not cited by respondents as intensively as other factors. Looking in detail, two important characteristics of the political and administrative culture, leader orientated politics and close clientelistic relations give a clear perspective on party politics in Turkey. Powerful leaders possessed great authority and control over their parties and they reinforced this authority with the political support they established via close clientele relations. Strict party discipline and ability to take group decisions on any occasion have been other outcomes of these features. It demonstrates, within the general political tradition of the particular party, the political views and policy decisions are mostly determined by the leader and a small group of supporters. The party and its general political philosophy and tradition has specific impacts on the policy decisions for sure, but this is strongly dependent on the leader and his/her team. This brings the importance of the agency to the fore once again. For instance, after Turgut Özal was elected as President and left the party leadership in the late 1980s, the reformist tendency of the Motherland Party was diminished even though it was the same government and party cadre.

With regards to the political ideas of parties and their relation with the management reforms, we can argue that, whatever the political philosophy of the party is, they usually keep such reforms in the tops of their agendas and their ideas are mostly consistent with the reform ideas and trends of relevant periods. Consequently, we can say parties and their policies created only limited impacts on the administrative reform processes and these were dependent on their leaders. Following this argument, in relation with the original model, it is fair to argue, although this factor is adopted from the model and its impacts are partly validated by the empirical findings, its

implications are not as significant as they are in the developed state context of the original model.

7.4 The Political Will (Determination of Politicians on reform and change)

Political will is a concept which still requires further clarification in academic literature. The meaning of the term adopted here is referenced from Teles, the third aspect of his explanation: “a form of commitment and intentionality that is translated into purposeful actions to attain pre-set goals” (Teles 2010, p.64). Similarly, Körösényi underlines the individual leaders and claims “it is the political will of leaders that move political actions, therefore the whole political process” (Körösényi 2007, p. 1). The institutional and social context, which assists the presentation of strong political will, is quite important and not ignored completely. It is worth mentioning however, the roles of diverse agents are in high importance in these arguments as they are capable of creating different circumstances in similar conditions.

In reference to the general situation in Turkey, a strong, sustained political will and commitment is among the essential factors for planning, launching and implementing administrative reform. Almost all respondents consider political will as one of the key pre-conditions of administrative reform. It is evaluated as an element which helps overcoming the resistance to reform programmes. Bureaucracy, structural features and the cultural norms of the country tend to conserve the Status-Quo and reveal a reluctance to adopt administrative reform. In contrast, respondents claim that the political will of executives always overcame obstacles and cite the example of the first years of the Justice and Development Party government when the strong will of the Prime Minister and cabinet created a rapid and vigorous administrative reform programme. They generally agree on the idea it is very difficult to launch and implement a reform programme without the political will, determination and support of political executives.

Some participants moved the discussion to the politico-administrative culture and suggest commitment to the powerful leaders and the top down nature of the policy making process makes the role of political leaders on the presentation and implementation of administrative reform even more

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important. Certain political leaders, principally Prime Ministers and particular ministers it is said, should possess strong political will and commitment to maintain the reform process. If such executives do not embrace a reform programme and the bureaucracy is aware of this, then it is not possible to proceed and realise the reform initiative. On the contrary, if the bureaucracy feels there is a strong political will, it will work enthusiastically and accomplish more tasks. Two reform intensive periods of the last three decades, The Prime Ministry of Turgut Özal in the 1980s and especially the Ministry of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2000s, are considered as perfect examples of the influence of political will on the administrative reform process. Respondents note political will and determination of the two leaders and their endless interest in the reform programmes played a vital role on the realisation of reform in their period of government. The two examples are also significant as they outline the importance of the setting because the impacts of economic conditions, socio-demographic developments, the demands from citizens and NGOs and powerful single party majority governments had facilitating roles regarding the expression of their leaders' political will. A participant who worked closely with the latter Prime Minister explains the general process precisely;

“Among the projects we realised in my duty at Prime Ministry, there isn't single one which we could have done without the will of our executives. [...] Sometimes we prepare some drafts for other ministries but they resist to our efforts. In such conditions, determination of that minister clears the way for us. Here, Undersecretary took some of our work to Cabinet meetings. They were discussed in the Cabinet, all ministers were briefed individually. For instance we abolished the need for 470 official documents demanded from citizens which created red tape. This required amendments in 170 decrees. [...] These are very difficult to achieve by the effort of bureaucrats only. There is a need for strong will from upper levels.” (Kontoğlu 2013)

One last and unique aspect of the discussion is the tendency of a couple of respondents to add high-level bureaucrats to the political will and determination discussion. Arising from the close relationships between high-level civil servants and political executives (see Section 6.3 on Civil Service, p. 149) these respondents underline, along with the political executives, certain senior civil servants also have influence on the process. Their will and

determination created a substantial impact. Prime Ministry Undersecretaries are cited as the most frequent examples of this and are mentioned among the factors deeply affecting administrative reform by respondents including a close colleague of the most cited Undersecretary;

“The Political will and determination of the Prime Minister and his Undersecretary Ömer Dinçer have been among the major factors behind the fast and effective administrative reforms.” (Zararsız 2013)

A factor which doesn't take place in the model and a fundamental addition of the empirical findings to the framework, political will and determination of political executives and even bureaucrats evidently came out as an important element of the administrative reform process of Turkey with their various impacts. Furthermore, this factor brought forward another important argument, the importance of the agents along with the institutions and structures, as a part of the discussion.

7.5 The Contents of Reform Packages

The reform programmes and their contents resulting from the interactions of all other factors are another important part of administrative reform formulations. Although they seem quite similar and related, major difference of this section from the section 7.1 on the new management ideas is the fact that, only some parts of the new management ideas transformed into the actual contents of completed reform programs. Interactions of many other factors of the framework influence the process, adjust the new management ideas to the context and determine the actual outcome. In other words, the contents are usually the result of the overall decision-making process and their nature is affected by all other factors explained in the study, including the new management ideas. Almost all respondents perceive the contents of the reform programmes as being effective on the process and emphasise the nature of the content and their compatibility with the national context as two important aspects of the discussion.

In recent decades, there have been substantial reforms in the administrative field based on neoliberal assumptions, market-driven policies, and neo-managerial principles, first in a few advanced capitalist nations and then globally. Almost all respondents argue the reform policies of Turkey are deeply

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influenced by these public sector reform trends. New management techniques and practices involving market-type mechanisms associated with the private sector were among the driving factors of change in the management of public services in Turkey and felt in governance, economic and institutional environments in the public sector. There has been a constant effort to discover how to increase the quality and effectiveness of public services in developing countries like Turkey by trying to adopt these developments and utilise the new ideas and trends.

In the first period after 1980, there is evidence of the impact of NPM policies via the political elites of the day under the leadership of first a cabinet member then the Prime Minister Turgut Özal. He was a reformist who worked for the World Bank, stayed in the USA for a while and held the ideal of transforming Turkey. He and his team transferred some policy examples they observed in other countries. He also had close relationship and similar philosophy with Thatcher and Reagan who were the strong advocates of NPM. The major themes were: (1) an attack to big government and waste by reducing the State's role in economy, (2) then promotion of an open market economy to create more individual choice. This was a completely new administrative mentality resulting in implementation of some NPM principles. Due to the increasing needs originating from socio-economic factors, rapid developments and cultural aspects of administration, new policies were implemented vigorously without an opportunity to monitor and evaluate the possible impact or gathering the necessary feedback (For details see Section 7.6).

"The Post 1980 period is one of the three major reform periods of the Turkish Republic. [...] With the collapse of Keynesian economic system, there was a global transformation with Reagan and Thatcher and Özal in Turkey. Fundamental dynamic behind this development is the regression of state from the economic field. This is the adoption of new public management, in fact managerialism to the public administration. If we look from the viewpoint of west, we can see this as the transformation of Weberian bureaucracy. A structure which gives weight to legality, gave way to the flexibility. Increasing costs of public service brought efficiency and effectiveness into the agenda. Particularly the cost efficiency has been very important in public administration. In this regard, after the 1980 military coup and in

Özal period, we observed new economic approaches and their effects on public administration.” (Cangir 2013)

In the 1990s, Turkey experienced a relative slowdown in reform policies due to the general economic, social and political conditions explained in the relevant sections. The content of reform packages in this period was partly a continuation of NPM related programmes launched in the 1980s. Throughout the second half of the decade the governance concept started gaining importance. With the impact of some democratisation and related constitutional change, the participation of stakeholders had been utilised in policy making processes. In this period, good governance was central to the administrative reform debates in the western world. Increasing interactions with international organizations, such as the World Bank, the IMF and the EU in the 1990s, partly due to economic crises, political developments and international relations contributed to these developments.

After 2000, a new and rapid wave in the coalition period commenced then intensified after the 2002 elections bringing with it a powerful single party government. Governance was chosen as the major theme for the reform programmes. Confirmed by the correspondents, examination of the reform steps reveals most of the initiatives were NPM style policies already implemented in the UK and USA in the 1980s and 1990s (For details see Appendix Appendix 2). Some principles of governance and other contemporary ideas were also added to the process in this period. Particular contents of reform programmes emerged as decentralization, e-government, participation, effectiveness, efficiency, transparency and accountability of public administration. The Public administration basic law was a concrete example highlighted by respondents for the situation. Other significant examples proposed by respondents are: (1) introduction of public service standards modelled on the UK's citizen charters, (2) introduction of Public Hospital Unities similar to the system of the NHS (National Health Service) of the UK.

The compatibility of the reform package content is surfaced once again by the respondents at this stage. The main argument of respondents is the unique conditions of each nation State and the possible diverse impact the same policy might create on them. They argue, because a particular policy has been successful in one country this doesn't necessarily mean it would create same

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effect in others. The distinctive conditions and diverse administrative culture of the country should be considered by the policy makers while determining the content of reform programmes. Lack of such a consideration and direct adoption of some administrative reform packages without modification are proposed as one of the major reasons for failures of administrative reforms. The Head of Administrative Development Department in the Prime Ministry (the laboratory of administrative reform in Turkey) clarifies the importance of local conditions with this example:

"I think we tried to create reform packages which are unique to our country. Of course we were affected from the new concepts and trends but a direct implementation hasn't been the case. Some concepts are not embraced by our system. So, because something has been successful somewhere, it shouldn't mean that it will be successful here. We experienced this in some fields such as internal auditing. I don't think there is a standard that is good for all management over the world. Good management is a relative concept itself. It depends on the administrative culture and expectations of citizens. For some countries time is important, for another one the cost, for another one human relations and for some all of these factors are important. While smiling civil servants is the most significant expectation in a particular country, this may not have any meaning in another. So you cannot expect a system which has been very successful in a country to give the same results in another one. We have our own dynamics, own philosophy, own expectations and own culture which would determine whether a reform would be successful or not." (Avşarbey 2013)

When we examine the ideas of respondents concerning the reform programmes realised in the period covered, we see their experiences of incompatible reform initiatives. Most respondents declared some of the reform policies not being compatible with the Turkish context and illustrate examples of this. As one interesting example, the Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of Development (previous State Planning Organization) admits because planning is not a viable concept for our culture, strategic planning wasn't considered as a complete reform field (Yaman 2013). In addition to the concept of planning, he gives another example by implying Public Procurement Law didn't comply with the Turkish administrative system due to its principles

requiring very effective planning. By giving the examples of policies which didn't comply with the administrative system of Turkey, respondents reminded the importance of reform package content and the compatibility with administrative structures, functions and culture.

The content of reform packages are among the core aspects of discussion on administrative reform, an important element of the original model and connected to all other factors examined in the research. In the period of the research interest, content of reforms were usually in line with the international agenda of management reform i.e. implementation of NPM and Governance principles. Another aspect of the discussion, transfer of other countries' successful policies had been a reality of reform programmes in Turkey. Additionally the compatibility issue of reform programmes and their contents to the unique conditions of a country is exemplified by respondents as another significant aspect of the problem of creating significant impacts on the success of reform programmes.

7.6 The Implementation Process and the Results Achieved

Implementation of administrative reforms is among the key determinants of results achieved and success. This is the process whereby all the factors examined hitherto play their roles and generate the final outcome of the struggle. In our case, respondents perceive the implementation process and results of reform as significant factors but they feel these factors have limited impact in Turkey due to the weaknesses of monitoring and feedback mechanisms.

As a developing state, Turkey has pending economic, social and political problems creating a twofold impact on the implementation of administrative reform programmes. Firstly, there is the pressure of rapid implementation due to the large number of requirements on the public sector which limits a thorough evaluation of implementation and results. Secondly, it is challenging to give primacy to administrative reform and to realise it against other top priority fundamental problems even if it is possible to initiate the process. Although these two problems are solved, the reach of reform issue, to lower levels of bureaucracy and citizens exactly as they were planned arises. This is a

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problem of a centralised State structure, lack of enthusiasm, top-down nature of policy making and lack of participation in the political and administrative culture. Extensive decentralisation reforms of last decade are important parts of this discussion and constitute significant examples of implementation problems. On the one hand, these reforms move the focus of the service delivery and implementation to the local level. On the other hand, powerful executive with a strong tradition of centralization and a gatekeeping field administration don't agree to give up their powers and lead the decentralization reforms to implementation deficits. As a result, although there is a dedicated and powerful structure for implementation, the general agreement among the respondents is that, outcomes of management reform are quite different from the original aims of the creators.

Another argument arising from the research findings is the positive or negative impact of the implementation or achieved results on the general process strongly depend on the monitoring activities and feedback mechanisms enabling lessons to be learnt. All respondents agree that, apart from a limited number of cases, monitoring activities, feedback systems and evaluation of outcomes do not exist in Turkey at least in a systematic methodology. The SIGMA evaluation report on Turkey in 2012 approved the opinions of respondents and noted "establishing an effective central management unit for preparing and monitoring public service policy and strategy, as well as for ensuring common standards in their implementation, is of paramount importance for achieving a successful and sustainable reform in this field" (SIGMA 2012, p. 9-10). The Political and administrative culture, need for quick implementations and reluctance of politicians and bureaucrats about accepting the failures are mentioned by respondents as reasons for the lack of monitoring and feedback activities.

After this brief discussion on the implementation and results of the administrative reforms, it can be argued among two elements of model in this section, only implementing process (due to the problems and negative implications) has had blocking impact on the process. The results achieved by the reform efforts do not reveal any obvious implications on probable future reforms and this element of model isn't validated due to the fact that problems, unexpected results or failures of reform programmes aren't

systematically monitored and reflected on by the decision-making process as an informative feedback.

7.7 The Elite Decision-making

Elite decision-making describes process of reaching a conclusion on what is desirable and feasible for the transformation of public administration. In our case, it has two important aspects. First is the process itself and the institutional structure behind it. In this regard the nature of decision-making in Turkey and the determinant institutional structures are examined. Secondly, consideration has been given to the nature of the decisions and philosophy behind them. These two aspects constitute the institutional and functional characteristics and culture of the political executive as well.

When examining the organisational aspect, it is seen determinant institutions in policy making have changed throughout history depending on the dominant philosophy of the particular era. In the 1960s and 1970s, when centrally planned economic programmes were on the agenda, the State Planning Organisation was the leading institution. Since the end of the 1970s, The Prime Ministry has been dominant (See section 6.1.1.2 on The Prime Ministry, page 130). After the 1980 military coup and the 1982 constitution which reinforced the executive, the role of the Prime Minister and his/her organisation increased. In some periods after 1980, The Ministry of Interior, due to decentralisation reforms and Ministry of Finance, due to economic based reforms, have been effective.

In looking at the decision-making process statements from the respondents, owing to the political culture and administrative traditions of the country, policy making is usually not open to participation of stakeholders and new policy ideas usually come from or the existing ideas are chosen and decided by the political executives, mostly from the Prime Minister and Ministers. It is perceived by respondents as a right which belongs to Ministers and several very high-level bureaucrats only. Information and reports prepared by these high-level bureaucrats substantially affect the decisions of political executives on reform programmes. Even if some lower levels are included in the decision-making process, they are provided only with some limited aspects of the issue. The sources of ideas reaching political executives are from various channels

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such as citizens, NGOs, businessmen, bureaucrats and advisors according to the respondents. The bureaucrats work on the idea, prepare reports, legislation amendment proposals and prepare relevant strategies. In some cases the bureaucrats make some preparations and submit to their executives. Nevertheless, whatever the source is, it is the high-level political executives who take the real decisions. An ex-minister, who was involved in the decision-making process personally in the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s, summarises the situation;

“In my period, Özal (Prime Minister) used to talk about something first. Then related ministers used to come together and discuss the issue. Some high-level bureaucrats had also participated in these meetings. After the main framework had been established, detailed works were carried out by the related ministry or organisation.” (Çelebi 2013)

After 2002, due to the high importance given to administrative reforms, members and the head of reform team became important individuals in the decision-making process. Most respondents argue, although they were bureaucrats, particularly Prime Ministry Undersecretaries, as the head of these teams, had critical roles in decision-making.

When we look at the insights of the decisions and the philosophy of the elites in the period, it is seen administrative reform has always been on the agenda of the elites with a high priority. After the 24 January decisions in 1980 (For details see Appendix Appendix 2, section 2.1.1) the major aim was to change the economic structure and transform the etatism philosophy to an open market and regulatory State. The military controlled government already pursued the agenda of the 24 January decisions unopposed. Following, the single party majority period under the rule of Prime Minister Özal (already the architect of the policies) increased the implementation of neo-liberal, minimalist and managerial State reform until late 1980. In the 1990s, there was a slowdown in administrative reform programmes due to coalition governments and socio-economic crises experienced at the time. The decision-making process became difficult as the coalition partners were usually from opposite wings of the political spectrum. Although managerial and minimalist style reforms were always on the agenda, it was quite difficult to agree on the detail. Only in the period of the last coalition government, due to devastating

impacts of the earthquakes, economic crises and obligations of increased relations with the EU enabled some significant decisions regarding administrative reforms. After the 2002 elections which ended the coalitions, single party majority resumed the managerial reform decisions with the support of a society exhausted from long term economic, social and political problems. The government was well prepared, according to respondents, and made critical decisions with the aid of other factors such as a majority in parliament, the EU negotiation process and the economic conditions. Decisions made by political executives in this period have been closely related with the New Public Management and Governance approaches.

An examination of elite decision-making proves it is a significant element of the administrative reform process and validates the model's arguments about this central factor in the setting of Turkey. It is obvious there are structural and cultural features of decision-making determining the nature of the process. However, its impacts are widely dependent on other factors and although it is a high level activity, decisions made by political executives are the outcomes of interactions between all the factors related to the management reform process of the country.

7.8 The Chance Events

Unexpected events such as scandals, natural or man-made disasters, accidents, unpredictable tragedies, shootings or epidemics are considered by Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011, pp.40-41) as significant factors having an impact on administrative reform processes. Although such impacts are not very usual, they might become seriously important when they occur. They reveal weaknesses, vulnerabilities and capacity problems of public administrations which are not visible in the normal course of life and due to the wide reaching impact of such events, they focus the attention of the public on particular institutions. Turkey has significant experiences in the period evaluated as clear examples of the impact of chance events on administrative reform programmes. Almost all respondents agree on this point and mention that the events highlight the problems of administrations and provide an opportunity to solve them. Particularly in mass events affecting general living conditions, people feel desperate, see the State as the only hope and demand help from it. Some respondents argue if the state cannot respond to the demands of society

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due to inefficiency and inadequacy of organisational structures, society will be very disappointed and create immense pressure to reform the system. It might even throw the governments out in extreme cases.

The major examples cited by almost all respondents are the devastating earthquakes of 1999 (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.**, sections **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.**). Most respondents were in significant positions in politics and bureaucracy at the time and they confirm the ineffectiveness of the State organs, particularly disaster and emergency response management as experienced during the earthquakes. Some respondents take the discussion a step further and claim the impact of these disasters and poor emergency response of the State units contributed to the election defeats of the coalition parties. Respondents knew of the inconsistency of disaster and emergency management. A respondent, who was a province governor at the time and became a member of the reform team later, recalls his experience clearly;

"[...] The first three days of 1999 Marmara earthquake demonstrated to us how poor, incompetent and desperate our disaster response system was, including the Turkish Armed Forces. [...] Everyone society and government, witnessed the incompetency of our disaster prevention and response system, an urgent need in this field emerged and this has been a major driving force for forthcoming reforms. Later the disaster management system of Turkey was systematically reformed." (Çetin 2013)

Additional important issues outlined by respondents for the big losses were the negative impacts of rapid urbanisation in the earthquake area and weak regulations for the housing construction sector. They have all been subject of vigorous reform programmes since. Organizational structure and working principles of disaster and emergency response was completely changed by a comprehensive and gradual reform package which included: (1) increased standards for housing constructions, (2) introduction of compulsory earthquake insurance and (3) organisational changes on disaster and emergency response management. Respondents admit Turkish administration learned significant lessons from the 1999 earthquakes and carried out a substantial programme of administrative reform resulting in Turkey becoming

a foremost authority in the field of emergency response. As a State agency, AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency) is an institutionalised example of the impact of chance events on administrative reform programmes.

Despite being an extraordinary factor on the process, unexpected or chance events occur and have a significant impact on administrative reform process. Such events expose weaknesses of administrative procedures and institutions and in this way lead to the administrative reform. In this regard, this is another element of the model directly applied in the study and validated by the empirical findings.

7.9 The Conclusions

The functional elements of political and administrative system of Turkey and their impacts on the management reform process are elaborated in the chapter. As an initial conclusion, although these factors constitute the process of planning, decision-making, introduction and implementation phases of management reforms, a majority of them have had only limited or bounded influences on the process, which are meaningful only with the powerful contribution and support of other factors. With reference to the relationship with the framework model of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011), apart from some slight modifications, additions and differences in the level of importance, these elements are borrowed from the political and administrative system clusters of the original model and the proposed arguments regarding these elements are confirmed by the findings of the research. Elite decision-making and chance events, independent clusters of the original model, are included in the chapter due to their crucial relationships with other elements and practical requirements of planning and their arguments are confirmed by the research findings.

The first feature examined in the chapter is the new management ideas produced and distributed by the international organisations, particular states, academic circles, policy think-tanks, policy advisers etc. and their effects on the management reform processes via other related factors. It is clear with the evidence that Turkey was affected by the new management styles and systems originated from the Anglo-Saxon countries and spread globally during the 1980s and 1990s via notable international organizations. The transfer of these

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policies had happened through various processes and compatibility of these policy ideas had always been an important consideration. Therefore, necessary modifications in line with the conditions of Turkey were made in the process of transfer. Despite the existence of some claims of the limited impact of the new management ideas on the process, the bigger picture proved its significant shaping impacts on the reform programmes.

The Impacts of the citizen and NGO pressures on the management reform process are examined in the second section. This factor has recently increased its driving and facilitating impacts on the process of administrative reform process, however, it is fair to conclude that, apart from some exceptions, level of the impact is still very limited compared to the developed nations. From this point of view, this is a partial confirmation of the original model with slight differences and additional contents about NGOs.

Despite the long history of democratic experience and the existence of political parties with certain philosophies, similar to the citizen and NGO pressures, level of the influence created by the political parties is far lower compared to the developed nations and they are dependent on the power, influence and initiatives of their leaders, due to the leader oriented political culture of Turkey. For this reason, although the findings confirmed the same element of the original model, level of the impacts on the process in Turkey was quite different from the context of the original model.

Political will, the determination of leaders, and the effects of these elements on the management reform processes is another theme of the discussion. This factor doesn't exist in the original model and constitutes one of the substantial additions to the framework in the research process through the findings on Turkey. Although political will is a concept in need for further clarification, evidence suggests strong political will and determination are required for the introduction and implementation of management reforms and they might create substantial differences on the process. Even in some cases, leaders with political will may personally be among the driving forces of reform programs. Especially in a leader-oriented political and administrative atmosphere such as Turkey's, determination of the executives brings about great differences about the realisation of the reform programmes and plays driving and facilitating roles on the process. As detailed in relevant chapters, Turgut Özal, Prime

Minister of majority governments in the extensive reform period of 1980s and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of majority governments in the fast reform period of post-2002 are two concrete examples of leaders with political will who have been the driving forces and facilitators of the management reforms.

The following factor, content of reform packages constitutes the embodied outcome of the interactions between many other elements of management reform process. It includes, and mostly sourced by, the new management ideas but it doesn't necessarily mean the direct adoption of all fashionable new management ideas. They are partly transformed into the actual contents of completed reform programs due to the interactions of all other factors in the process. Evidence suggests the importance of the compatibility of the contents with the national social, political and cultural context of the country as well. Original model's proposal about the importance of this feature is mostly confirmed by the research in the setting of Turkey. In the relevant period, contents of reform packages were affected by new global management ideas such as neoliberal assumptions, market-driven policies, neo-managerial principles and governance philosophy. Depending on the level of their compatibility, and influence of other factors, actual contents of reform packages have generated impacts on the management reform process, mostly as shaping the reforms. In some cases, as seen in the failures of some reform efforts in Turkey, incompatible contents generated significant blocking impacts.

The implementation process and the results achieved are other significant elements of the original model which are adopted by the framework of the research and examined under same section due to their close relations. However, these factors are among the ones having only limited impacts on the process according to the findings. The major problem defined with the implementation is, the outcomes of management reforms are notably different from the original aims of their policy makers and the findings suggest that this is more obvious in Turkey. The reason is implementation process being another arena in which all other factors interact sometimes by collaborating and sometimes by conflicting with each other. Decentralisation reforms are important examples of implementation deficits arising from the contradictions of various factors of the process. It seems fair to conclude here, due to the lack

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of systematic monitoring and feedback mechanisms, unexpected implementation problems and reform policy results or failures are not systematically monitored and their impacts are not reflected to the decision-making process as constructive feedbacks.

Elite decision-making, which takes the central place in the original model, is adopted by the research framework and two major aspects emerged from the findings. First one is the nature of the decision-making process and related institutions. Second is the nature of the decisions and philosophy behind them. Impacts created by this factor are bounded to other factors, due to the fact that all the decisions made by elites are the final outcomes of interactions between all other elements of management reform process. A point strongly related with the authoritative vertical relations aspect of political and administrative culture, level of decision-making has always been high in Turkey, involving only the political executives such as the Prime Minister or Ministers. Regarding the insights of decisions and philosophy of the elites, we see management reform has always been at the tops of their agenda, even in the military controlled period of 1980 – 1983 and their philosophy has always been in line with the international agendas or fashionable management ideas of the period.

Unusual and unexpected natural, political or personal events are considered as an important part of the original model and its implications are confirmed by research for the context of Turkey. Such unexpected developments usually reveal the fundamental weaknesses of public administrations not evident in normal circumstances and they become the focus of attention to all. In this way, pressure on the decision-making process comes the fore and triggers some substantial reform efforts in the relevant areas.

Regarding the relevance of the original model, almost all elements of the Pollitt and Bouckaert framework have been validated with the findings, except for some additions, reformulations and changing weights of the elements on the process. The new management ideas factor is the first element of the political system in the model and their impacts are confirmed by the research with contextual differences and diverse levels of impacts. The citizen pressures constitute the second part of the political system in the original model and the impacts of this factor are also confirmed by the research by adding the NGO

pressures dimension to the framework. The major difference of the two contexts has been the level of impacts, which is considerably low in the Turkey. The party political ideas factor is another one adopted by the framework for Turkey and it is proved that it has far more limited impacts on the process than it has in developed states. The political will is among the factors missing in the original model and added to study as a very significant element through the initial findings.

Regarding the administrative system cluster, the contents of reform packages factor and its impacts on the process are evaluated with the additional dimension of compatibility and, influence of this factor on the process is mostly confirmed by the findings. The factors of the implementation process and the results achieved are merged under the same theme, monitoring and feedback dimensions are added on. While the impacts of the implementation process are partly confirmed by the findings, the research didn't reach any evidence about the impacts of the results achieved, due to the lack of monitoring and feedback activities. The effects of the elite decision-making, the central cluster of the model, are confirmed by the findings of the study as well. Lastly, chance events and its impacts on the process are examined and the proposals of the model on this factor are confirmed. Table below simply presents the adjustment of the original model in accordance with the context and the aims of the research.

Table 10: Relationship between the Model of Pollitt and Bouckaert and the Framework of Study: Functional Factors

Original Model (Pollitt and Bouckaert)	Contextual Differences Leading to Modification	Framework of the Study		
Political System	Cultural and Functional Differences	Political and Administrative System		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Management Ideas • Pressures from Citizens • Party Political Ideas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loyalty to the powerful leaders and their teams, • Requirement of these leaders' initiatives, • Dependence of political parties to these leaders and their decisions, • Power of political and administrative elites on the choice of new ideas and contents. • Lack of monitoring activities for implementations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Management Ideas • Pressures from Citizens and NGOs • Party Political Ideas • Political Will (Determination of Politicians about the reforms and change) • Contents of Reform Packages • Implementation Process and Results Achieved • Elite Decision-making • Chance Events 		
Administrative System				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content of Reform Package • Implementation Process • Results Achieved 				
Elite Decision-making				
Chance Events				

Source: Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011, pp. 32 -46), Table is created by author.

Beyond being the effective factors of the framework, elements examined in this chapter constitute the planning, decision-making, introduction and implementation phases of the management reforms. While some of these functional elements have positive, facilitating effects, some others have only limited or bounded impacts on the process, which are significant only with the involvement and the support of the other factors.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

An important part of policy making, the process of management reform involves a wide-range of factors and their interactions. The study was set out to explore the factors that have been effective on the management reform process of Turkey, a strongly developing nation, in the period of 1980 – 2010. Exploring these factors, the study also pursued two more aims; to understand the differences of developing and developed state settings in relation with the management reform process, and to examine the utility of the Pollitt and Bouckaert model in the setting of a developing state. Comprehensive nature of the research made it possible to derive some generalizable theoretical and practical results for the other developing nations as well.

There are some similar external and internal pressures for each State that forced them to carry out management reforms on their systems. However, the speed, extent and the nature of management reforms have varied considerably between countries due to their unique historical conditions i.e. the political and administrative culture, state tradition and socio-economic conditions. In this broad framework, Turkey is a developing country with extensive relations with the political and economic international organisations and has experienced rapid economic, social and political transformation towards the requirements of the international system and its internal dynamics since the early 1980s. While these factors generate driving forces on the reform process, substantial political, social and cultural features inherited from the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic generated obstructions and resistance to administrative reforms. The interactions of all these factors and the impacts they created on the process constitute the core discussion of the research. Developing socio-economic status of the country and related dynamics add further dimensions to this process and make the management reform experience of Turkey more complicated and diverse from the experiences of developed nations. Research findings enlightened the fundamental differences of two settings and, as a result, acknowledged significant inadequacies of the management model of Pollitt and Bouckaert on the developing state setting. Beyond answering the research questions and pursuing the aims, research reached to some interesting additional outcomes and challenging questions for the further interests in the field.

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In an aim to conclude the findings of the study, the chapter is structured under some major themes. First the contents of the research and the applied methodology to carry out the research are briefly concluded. Then the findings of the research and the synthesis of these empirical findings are presented in an effort to answer the research questions and achieve the research aims. This is followed by theoretical implications of research findings. After a general evaluation, the major discussions in the following section is whether the model has survived in the context or not and what kind of implications the study has generated on the relevance of the model. The policy implications of the study and recommendations for both Turkey and other developing States constitute another section. Before concluding the chapter and the thesis, possible areas for future research are presented in the final section.

8.1 What is Researched and how it was conducted?

Research carried out a thorough analysis of all the identified factors that have been affecting the management reform process and constant interactions and causal relationship between these factors. All these factors and interactions are examined and presented within the limitations of the context. Because the research is interested in the management reforms in the period of 1980 – 2010, it is influenced by the administrative reform debates of this period. Particularly the reviewed literature on the diverse experiences of the countries and reasons for the differences provided a perspective for the framework of the research. Historical institutionalism approach, due to the importance and role it credits to the historical role of institutions on the change and transformations, directly affected the research framework. However, the major informant of the research was the management reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011), which is considered one of the most comprehensive models and theories explaining management reform process of a particular country. It involves both the importance of historical institutions and reasons for diverse country experiences. Moreover, it highlights the importance of the agents who make the decisions and other features of decision-making and implementation processes. This model is used as a template for the study and applied to the context of Turkey. However, due to it being established through the experiences of developed nations, modifications and re-formulations in line with the contextual specifics of Turkey was required.

Regarding the methodology, the use of multiple data sources utilising a case study design and triangulation of the diverse data sources was the key feature. The main data source as evidence for the core discussion was the elite interviews conducted with current and previous high-level politicians and civil servants who had substantial knowledge and experience of the management reform process of Turkey. The primary and secondary documentary sources, consisting of the legislations, official documents, reports and statistical datasets of national and international organisations and related literature pieces, were widely used to explore the contextual features of Turkey and contributed from the background with understanding and evaluating the findings of interviews. In some limited cases, documentary sources explicitly supported the analysis and were used to fill some information gaps. The analysis of both the interviews and the documentary sources were made using qualitative content analysis.

8.2 What is found?

8.2.1 General Findings

The main empirical findings of the study are chapter specific and are presented in the relevant empirical chapters in an effort to answer the research questions under the categorisation that is in line with the theoretical perspective and the nature of the topic. This section synthesizes the empirical findings helped to answer research question, present some common conclusions related with research aims and in some cases move beyond them.

Basically, the findings confirmed, the management reform is quite a comprehensive process involving structural, functional, cultural, economic, social and political features of the country, vested interests of many groups and lastly an international perspective. Any effort to precisely conceptualise such a multi-dimensional process seems a naive approach. Even its authors propose their model, considered to be very comprehensive in the relevant literature and adopted by the study, as a tool with which further studies can be carried out. The research findings proved the difficulty of an exact formulation by revealing the requirement of some modifications to such a comprehensive model for the local context of a developing State.

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A significant conclusion suggested by the findings is, rather than being static, single dimensional process, the factors examined in the study represent sets of processes within and further processes and interactions between factors, which generate the management reforms as the final outcome. We have to acknowledge the reality that, there is not a single management reform in the period resulting from the only one or some limited number of factors. The particular reforms or comprehensive programmes were affected by numerous factors of the framework simultaneously and were the results of interactions between and cooperation of a number of factors.

Turning our focus to these factors, it is obvious that they constitute a wide-range of array and their impacts on the process are various. Following this argument, as evident in the research, while some factors and dynamics, particularly the socio-economic forces and international organisations, are triggering and driving reforms through particular policies, others, particularly the functional factors such as new management ideas, political will and elite decision-making facilitate and shape the outcome of reform programs. As the countervailing forces, structural and cultural aspects of the political and administrative system, such as constitutional framework, civil service and administrative culture, slow them down or generate obstacles that cause deformations on the process. In the setting of Turkey, particularly the socio-economic factors and the structural-cultural factors have more significant impacts on the process. Apart from some country specific factors, the different reactions and patterns mostly originate from the level of impact generated by the similar factors and the degree of their importance on the process due to the problems arising from the developmental differences of the political, economic, social and administrative settings.

8.2.2 Key Findings

Specifically, set of socio-economic factors mostly represents the dynamics that have driving and facilitating impacts on the management reform programmes. Apart from one element of the group, the emerging economic forces, nature and the contents of the pressures created by these factors are quite similar for all other countries. However, findings of the study suggest, as a substantial conclusion that the impacts of these pressures, particularly the economy-

related ones, are more extensive and determinant in Turkey, for the reason as a developing state, Turkey is economically more dependent and has more economic and social weaknesses than the developed nations.

Moreover, for the similar reasons originating from the developing state economy and the dependence on the international funds, impacts of international organisations on the process are more extensive in Turkey and probably in similar developing states than they are in the developed state settings. Furthermore, if a developing state such as Turkey has a political goal of becoming member to a supranational organisation such as the EU, this would, according to the findings, generate an extensive pressure on the administrative structures through reforms and help shaping the reform process of the country. This is a vital point missing in the original model.

Structural and Cultural set of factors represents the country specific institutional features of state and the administration which have, with some exceptions, had obstructive and blocking impacts on the process by impeding and decelerating the management reform programmes. Variation of the speed, nature and the extent of management reforms from one country to another mainly originate from this set of factors and they have created the major differences of Turkey's experience as well. Among this set of features, a substantial point derived from the findings is the importance of political stability. Evidence proposed the impacts of the nature of governments, particularly the positive impacts of the stable majority governments, on the administrative reform process and this impact is directly related with the politically and economically stable periods these governments create. In a developing state dealing with various economic, social and demographic problems, such a stable atmosphere is crucial and it makes easier to plan and implement long-term policies including administrative reforms.

Last set of factors, functional factors, represents the elements of planning, decision-making, introduction and implementation phases. They have, with some exceptions, had facilitating and shaping impacts on the management reform process. While some elements of this cluster have had only limited and bounded impacts dependent on the contribution of other factors, most of these contents constitute the platforms on which, all other factors with all types of impacts interact by collaboration or conflict. Among these factors,

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political will requires a special attention for the reason it mostly has had a significant impact on the process. Though there are extensive pressures from the economic conditions or international organisations, Turkey has a strong institutional structure and tradition inherited from the Ottoman Empire, which constitute a significant resistance to the administrative reforms. Adding some characteristics of the Turkish political and administrative culture (i.e. loyalty to the powerful leaders, lack of initiative, difficulty of consensus) to this framework, it is quite difficult to carry out any type of transformation without the strong will of political executives or high-level bureaucrats. This is another vital point missing in the original model of management reform.

Lastly, another substantive conclusion related with all the features of the framework, actors of Turkish political and administrative scene have absolute impacts on the process of administrative reforms. They clearly have a mediating role by making decisions on what is desirable and feasible, which pressures to respond to and to ignore, which policies to adopt and to implement.

8.2.3 Beyond the Research Aims

Research process and empirical findings brought about an interesting outcome that was not among the aims of research at the outset, nature of the impacts on the process. As obviously seen above in relevant chapters and conclusive remarks, impacts of these factors on the process vary from the positive impacts such as driving, facilitating, accelerating and shaping reforms to the negative impacts such as impeding, blocking and decelerating them. In some cases, same factor generated converse impacts in different periods, depending on the conditions and the involvement of the other factors. This is an aspect that requires further examination and in this way, it would help proposing more detailed arguments on the administrative reform processes. However, because the major issue of the research is the factors affected administrative reforms, this aspect is not explored any further and left to the prospective studies for further examination and explanations.

Evidence confirms the fact that Turkey has significant similar features with other developing states, which are identified by the literature on the administrative reform experience of these countries such as structural

problems of civil service, economic conditions and crises, related international pressures and patronage relations in community and civil service. However, beyond the general evaluations about the issue of developing state setting, some speculative questions can be raised which requires further examination. As an important part of the framework and findings, are the factors of Constitutional Institutions and the impacts of some overarching institutions on the reform process in Turkey, such as the Presidency, the Military and the Judiciary, applicable to the other developing state settings? Is it likely that other states have such powerful institutions that can be quite determinant and obstructive on the process? Despite the existence of such institutions, do they have powerful and determined leaders who can change the level of these institutions' engagements? Are the roles of these agents in the process as high as they are in Turkey? Do all developing states have a strong motivation and a source of pressure on the administrative reform process such as the EU? Similarities explained in relevant parts of the study gives the idea that, experience of Turkey and the results derived from this experience would be valid for other similar strongly developing states as well. However, these challenging questions can be answered only by pursuing the research aims in another similar setting with same methodological and theoretical stance.

8.3 Theoretical Implications

Research is informed by various theoretical debates related to the management reform process and the findings have had some implications. Firstly, regarding the discussion on the internal and external factors affecting management reforms and their priorities on the process, empirical findings suggest the management reform process is quite complicated as it involves internal and external factors and the variety of impacts they create. In another important debate, the convergence or divergence of the management reform experiences of different countries, the findings of the study confirmed the existence of the policy transfer through international organisations but there is strong evidence that they are carefully chosen for adoption by the actors of political and administrative elite. This created diverse patterns for Turkey with additional impacts of different economic, political, social, administrative and cultural features.

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Related with the arguments above, historical institutionalism is another theoretical approach that impinged the research. In the case of Turkey, findings of the research presented strong coherence with the substantial aspects of this theoretical approach. The role of the historical developments, culture and tradition underpinning just about every element of the process requires a broad explanation of the institutions parallel with the one made by historical institutionalism. As another aspect of the approach, there are some patterns of change, which are similar with the explanations of this theoretical approach. It is obvious in the findings during the period, there have been small and incremental changes, which were sometimes interrupted by abrupt changes and critical junctures that give way to radical transformations. Lastly, in order to explain the fundamentals of the developments, in addition to other aspects, there is a need for explaining traditional cultural and political mechanisms. In our case, the empirical findings of the research illustrated the direct or underlying impacts of historical, cultural and political mechanisms of institutions on the management reform process. All public service organisations, politics and the administration have historical and cultural aspects and a defined philosophy. There is enough evidence to show they mostly resist to the administrative reforms to protect that particular philosophy if they perceive it as a threat.

Although the Historical Institutionalism approach helps in explaining especially the resisting and obstructing roles of these factors on the dynamics of change, it had some shortfalls in explaining another dimension of administrative change and reform in the case of Turkey, the role of agents in the developments and over the institutional attitudes. Many identified authorities of these institutional structures, their historical and cultural aspects, the rules of their engagement and the impacts they created on the process for or against the reform efforts depended on their utilisation by the agents. They had substantial roles on the respond to the management reform pressures and the choice of the policies to be implemented. The study has clear findings and evidence on the different roles of diverse agents in the same institutional settings of Turkey. Within the similar institutional atmosphere, some figures of the political and administrative cadres created diverse dynamics on the process of reform, depending on their philosophy and the attitudes. This is another

confirmation of the relative inadequacy of the historical institutionalism approach on explaining this dimension.

8.4 Relationship with the Model

Employing the comprehensive public management reform model of Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011), developed in advanced nations, as the major theoretical framework for the study and applying it to a completely different context of a developing State is among the major contributions of this study. After commencing the research with the guidance of this model, it is fair to mention, it survived well in the context of a strongly developing State and the proposals of the model are mostly confirmed by the empirical findings. The major strength of the model in the research process has undoubtedly been its overarching and interactive character, despite being applied to a quite different setting than it was produced in.

The weaknesses of the model that led to the amendments, on the other side, have mostly been related with the direct application of a model, established on several developed countries with a comparative approach, to another context, a developing state. This process surfaced some significant limitations and the majors are,

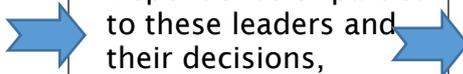
- 1) Lack of the international organisations, quite a determinant factor considering the administrative reform experience of a developing State, in the main framework,
- 2) Lack of enough attention for the significant economic conditions of a developing state,
- 3) Lack of attention to the emerging economic forces and their impacts, a significant factor for the setting of a developing state,
- 4) Lack of attention to the Political Will, another substantial factor for a developing state with regards to the administrative reforms,
- 5) Consideration of the specifics of the political and administrative system out of the model and presentation of these features separately,
- 6) Although there is room for the nature of executive government, lack of attention to its major result, political stability,
- 7) Lack of some specific institutional factors, definitely substantial in the experience of the developing States.

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Evidence from the case of Turkey demonstrated these weaknesses and for this reason, the unique conditions of this developing state required some modifications, removals from and additions to the original framework, particularly by focusing more on the socio-economic factors and the contents of some institutional features.

Table 11: The Model of Pollitt and Bouckaert and the Framework of Study

Original Model (Pollitt and Bouckaert)	Contextual Differences Leading to Modification	Framework of the Study
Socio-Economic Forces	Socio-Economic Differences of Developing State	Socio-Economic Forces
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global Economic Forces • Socio-Demographic Change • Socio-Economic Policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heavy Pressure of Poor economic conditions and economic crises • Related pressures from International Organisations • Pressures and demands arising from the developing economy, emerging economic forces, increasing population and fast urbanisation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impacts of National and International Economic Conditions and Crises • Impacts of International Organizations • Emerging Economic Forces • Socio-Demographic Factors
Fundamental Features of Political and Administrative System	Historical Institutional Characteristics, Traditions and the Culture	Structural and Cultural Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The state structure • The nature of executive government • Politicians - Bureaucrat Relations • The philosophy and culture of governance • Sources of Policy Advice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong political and administrative culture and state tradition inherited from the Ottoman Empire and Early Republic, • Traditionally powerful institutions, • Impact of Historical Institutions on the process • Requirements for Political Stability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitutional Framework • Fundamental Institutions • State Structure • Nature of Executive Government • The Civil Service • Political and Administrative Culture
Political System	Cultural and Functional Differences	Political and Administrative System
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Management Ideas • Pressures from Citizens • Party Political Ideas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loyalty to the powerful leaders and their teams, • Requirement of these 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Management Ideas • Pressures from Citizens and NGOs • Party Political Ideas

Administrative System		leaders initiatives, • Dependence of parties to these leaders and their decisions, • Power of political and administrative elites on the choice of new ideas and contents. • Lack of monitoring activities for implementations.	• Political Will (Determination of Politicians about the reforms and change) • Contents of Reform Packages • Implementation Process and Results Achieved • Elite Decision-making • Chance Events
Elite Decision-making			
Chance Events			
• Content of Reform Package • Implementation Process • Results Achieved			

Source: Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011, pp. 32 -46), Table is created by author.

Merged table, with an overall presentation of the original model, the contextual differences leading to the modification and the modified framework derived from the findings, would recall the modification process and the outcome reached by the researcher.

The usability of this modified framework on other developing States is another complicated issue requiring some answers beyond the outcomes of this study. Firstly, as explained in relevant parts of the study, Turkey has economic, social, political and cultural conditions and problems, which are similar to other strongly developing nations. Furthermore, the literature and the standards of international community and their organisations consider Turkey as a developing State. Still, is Turkey an example of a particular type of developing state in the way it responded to the dynamics of reform? Answering this question requires carrying out similar detailed studies on other developing nations and this is beyond the aims and the scope of this study. Only recommendation would be, this modified model would presumably work in other developing states and help examination of their administrative reform process by grasping the necessary differences of context, although some of the contents, (e.g. fundamental institutions, political and administrative culture), might diversify in other instances.

8.5 Policy Recommendations

In addition to its implications on the theoretical discussions and the modifications on the original model, the empirical findings of the study led the researcher to some policy related consequences and recommendations for both Turkey and other similarly developing countries with similar circumstances and are briefly listed below.

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Specific to Turkey, almost all respondents agree that there is a clear need for an independent and powerful agency to plan, introduce, implement and monitor the reform process of the country. As suggested by the empirical findings of the study, the Prime Ministry Office has carried out this role with an inadequate human resources capacity and has been the locomotive of the management reforms in the last decades. Combining these arguments, there are two options for a working solution. If the Prime Ministry would like to continue its current determinant role on the management reform process, it has to establish a powerful agency within its organisational structure. Or, if it continues with the current organisational structure, then it has to reduce its role and influence on the management reform process and hand over relevant authorities and duties to a newly established organisation solely responsible for management reform. In both options, there is a definite need for an agency responsible for management reform.

Another country specific recommendation would be about the legal position and the role of the President in Turkey. The President of Turkey have enough tools to block the policy making process, without bearing any political responsibility on his or her actions. In this situation, depending on the choices of the political system, it would be better to whether reduce its authority and powers on the policy making process, or carrying out necessary legislations to give this institution a political responsibility on its actions.

Due to the dynamic nature of the reform concept and a constant need for management reform especially in developing States, monitoring activities and constructive feedback are essential for the success of reform programmes. This will help creating a management reform process which is rapid enough and responsive to the needs of the State and the society. A delayed response not only leaves the problem unsolved, but also raises more problems in relevant fields. Such monitoring and feedback activities should be an integral function of the independent agency mentioned above.

Beyond being an administrative and organisational process, management reform always has a political dimension. Any effort that doesn't take the political mechanisms into account will have a little chance of success. This is particularly true for developing States and nations with high acknowledgement

of powerful leadership as in Turkey where management reform programmes always need support and the political will of these leaders and political elites.

Whether originating from national or international sources, the proposed reform programmes and their contents should be compatible with the social, political and cultural features of the country. The experiences and traditions of the long-standing institutions are the outcome of that particular cultural atmosphere and should not be considered only as obstacles for development. In transforming the traditional institutional structures, more gradual and evolutionary policies should be preferred in order to prevent political and administrative crises.

The experience of Turkey clearly shows reform cannot be realised only by regulations and legal arrangements. Similar to the proposals of some respondents, there is a need for the transformation of the mentality, which means a substantial cultural and philosophical change. As a result, reform requires a transformation of administrative culture and, related with the previous argument, this takes time and considerable effort.

Another administrative and political culture related issue is, for most of the respondents, a particular political and administrative philosophy protected by the State elites and its imposition on society. These institutions block any transformation or reform effort that removes the system from their philosophy. There is a need to change the philosophy of the State elites and the role they play on the process.

In order to catch up with the rapid socio-economic development of society, more participation channels should be introduced to include NGOs and citizens in the reform process. Along with the legal arrangements, this might be achieved by carrying out educational programmes for citizens and NGOs, regular information sharing activities, establishing a watch group of citizens and NGOs for monitoring and evaluation. In addition, constant contact and relationships with academia for learning about the latest policy trends would prove productive.

In order to prevent the direct and indirect blocking impact during the implementation process, Turkey and similar developing countries should solve

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the structural, functional and cultural problems of their civil service. Some examples for the policy areas requiring attention:

- Selective recruitment of the best possible candidates,
- Competitive and fair payment structure,
- Removal of patronage relations,
- Removal of duplicated organisations,
- Continuing computerisation leading to transparency,
- A well-planned performance management system.

Overall, a system that is established on merit is required in order to make best use of well-educated and experienced civil service members in relevant policy areas.

8.6 Possible Fields for Future Research

The scale of the debate is very extensive and multi-dimensional. The researcher held a very wide point of view and explored every possible effective factor on the management reform process of Turkey. After identifying all the factors, this study created an opportunity for future research in each factor with a more detailed approach and attention. In order to generate achievable policy strategies and targets for better-functioning reform processes, there is a need for more detailed examination of each group of factors to allow further assessment of the dynamics and interactions affecting the process and its elements. Exploring the following selected factors as future research strategies would facilitate the attainment of this goal:

The Impact of International Organisations on the Process: Particularly the impact of the World Bank and the EU on the process might be subject for a more detailed examination. Although the studies on EU – Turkey relations are substantial, the implications of these relations on the management reform process need further examination.

NGOs and Management reform Process: Rapidly developing numbers and impacts of the NGOs make the further examination of this factor and its impacts on the management reforms a fundamental requirement.

Monitoring Activities and Feedback Mechanisms: Lack of these factors is quite clear in Turkey and more detailed examination of the reasons for and the impacts of this deficiency on the process would help generating policy strategies on this field.

The Nature of Elite Decision-making and the Political Executive: This concept involves politics, administration, civil society, NGOs, political culture, traditions and historical factors. Although increasing patterns of participation have been transforming decision-making practice, it is still exclusively a high-level activity, due to the political and administrative culture of the country. In order to understand the process better and propose functioning policies, this multi-dimensional concept and its implications deserve a further examination.

Nature of Impacts Generated by the Effective Factors: A study examining nature of impacts, such as driving, facilitating, shaping and obstructing the reforms, which were interesting additional outcomes of the research, would give further insights on the administrative reform processes.

Lastly, as an alternative but important additional research opportunity, in order to further analyse the impacts of unique political and administrative cultures and institutions, a comparative research can be carried out between two similar level developing States with diverse political and administrative cultures.

8.7 Closing Remarks and Contributions

Study explored the effective factors of the administrative reform process of Turkey and by applying a well-known model to the context, put forward significant differences and similarities of two settings, reached to fundamental conclusions on the problem and proved the limited utility of the model of Pollitt and Bouckaert on the setting of a developing state. Knowing that that it is quite difficult to raise a certain framework due to the comprehensive characteristics of the topic and giving credit to the probable limitations, a modified framework came out from the research procedures that might be extended to the similar developing state contexts in future research. With its dimension of the exploration of the management reform experience of Turkey in the period of 1980-2010 and analyse of the factors affecting this process with a comprehensive and holistic approach, the research is a contribution to the literature on the administrative reform process of Turkey. The findings and

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the conclusions of the research, although very cautious and limited, have some implications for the other developing nations with similar circumstances and contributed to the international literature in this way. Lastly, the application of a well-known model to a developing State context for the first time, examining its utility on the new setting and modifying it in line with the unique conditions of the new context has been a contribution to the theoretical debate. As an unanticipated consequence, determining all effective factors, with their various impacts and interactions on the process, contributes to the future policy-making process of both Turkey and other developing nations.

Appendix 1. Structural, Cultural and Functional Features: State and Administration

Turkey is a parliamentary democracy established after the First World War and has western style institutional features along with strong administrative and political traditions rooted in the Ottoman Empire. The main aim of this appendix is to elaborate on the structural, cultural and functional features of the State considered having significant implications on the administrative reform for the country.

The general administrative structure and cultural aspects of Turkey are evaluated under particular themes. Constitutional principles take first place, as they constitute the core specifications of the State and administration. The unitary and centralised State structure is the major constitutional aspect. The central organisation of State machinery and significant institutions linked with the administrative reform process are examined later. The civil service, including its fundamental principles, senior positions and their relationship with politicians, is a sub-topic of the appendix shedding light on public service personnel and their cultural features within the system.

Other significant features are two institutional structures, the Judiciary and the Military. The Judicial structure, administrative jurisdiction, constitutional court, and electoral system constitute the relevant functions directly related to the administrative reform process. The Military has historically exercised influence on politics and administration in Turkey since the establishment of the Republic. In the last section, the organisational structure of the Military and its general role and impact on the State machinery is covered.

Outline of the appendix is designed to cover and elaborate all the structural, cultural and functional features of the Turkish State and administration having significant influence on the administrative reform process in order to provide background information for the examination of the empirical findings.

1.1 The Constitutional Principles

1.1.1 A Brief Constitutional History

The roots of modern Turkey goes back to the Ottoman Empire, a theocratic monarchy and the last major Turk-Islamic State ruled by a monarch family. The Ottoman constitutional system comprised a combination of Islamic law and sultan decrees. The Ottoman rulers had two main fundamentals regarding the State. One was based on the principles of Islam and the other was the strong commitment to Turkish rule. It is not a coincidence these two principles are the subject of two major conflicts of modern Turkey; Laicism-Political Islam tension and the Kurdish Problem (For details see Appendix **Error! Reference source not found.**).

The first modern constitutional arrangements started life in 1876 with the promulgation of the first constitution. Since then, Turkey has experienced many constitutional arrangements and they can be characterised as the gradual establishment of a unitary nation-State, parliamentary democratisation and recognition of international law. The structural, cultural changes and reform initiatives have been top-down procedures implemented by powerful executive structures.

The 1876 Constitution: The first Constitution was promulgated in 1876 by pressure from Young Ottomans and other intellectuals rather than the public (Teziç 1991, pp.138-139). This constitutional era lasted for just under 1.5 years until the suspension of the Parliament by the crown and didn't include any party system. A parliament had been established but all the power and authority was still in the hands of the crown and it was fundamentally different from the European Constitutional Monarchies (Özbudun 1981, pp.6-7). Parliament was seen as the voice of the people but didn't have any authority over the regime.

After a long period of suspension, Parliament was summoned by the Crown after the Young Turks Revolution in 1908. The constitutional amendments of 1909 provided stronger grounds for a parliamentary democracy. The regime moved towards a Constitutional Monarchy but the overall strength of executive power wasn't limited (Dal 1984, pp.16-25). The constitutional era of the

Ottoman Empire ended after World War I with the last assembly of parliament in 1920.

The two aspects of the Ottoman Empire effect on the Republic of Turkey in terms of constitutional arrangements beginning with the first constitution are:

- Strong references to some concepts such as secularism, national sovereignty and nationalism in the constitutional arrangements can be perceived as reactions to the Ottoman Empire's constitutional arrangements.
- The republic inherited a substantial administration system.

The 1921 Constitution: This was the fundamental law of a new state structure fighting for independence. The new parliament assembled in Ankara, enacted the first constitution of the modern Turkish State and assumed significant powers and authority including executive power. It was a framework consisting of 23 short articles reflecting minimum reconciliation elements of a divergent parliamentary combination and organised the essential structural needs (Tanör 1996, p.192). A very important amendment was made in October 1923 to declare the new state as a republic and established the Presidency.

The 1924 Constitution: After the war and establishment of the new state, there was an apparent need for a new and comprehensive constitution. The new constitution had been a further move towards a conventional parliamentary democracy. The separation of powers principle, election terms, and governmental arrangements were organised more clearly. On the constitution and legislative procedures a system was designed as a parliamentary democracy but in practice it became a one-party authoritarian regime with the aim of nation-building. The constitution remained in force for 36 years until the 1960 military coup and was followed by the Constitution of 1961. During this time, it served as the basis for many fundamental changes and reforms seeking to transform Turkey into a modern, secular and democratic Republic.

In the two decades following the independence war, the country saw a steady process of top-down modernisation through Atatürk's Reforms, which focused on legislative arrangements to transform the religious profile to a secular modern system. The chronology of Major Reform is as follows (Webster 1939, ÖZTÜRK (ed.) 2012, Yardimci 2011, Ahmad 2003);

November 1, 1922: Abolition of the Crown.

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October 29, 1923: Proclamation of the Republic of Turkey.

March 3, 1924: Abolition of the office of Caliphate held by the Ottoman Crown.

November 25, 1925: Change of headgear and dress.

November 30, 1925: Closure of religious convents and dervish lodges.

March 1, 1926: Introduction of the new penal law (modelled after the Italy's)

October 4, 1926: Introduction of the new civil code (modelled after Switzerland's)

November 1, 1928: Adoption of the new Turkish alphabet.

June 21, 1934: Introduction of the law on family names.

November 26, 1934: Abolition of titles and by-names.

December 5, 1934: Full political rights, to vote and be elected, for women.

February 5, 1937: The inclusion of the principle of secularism in the constitution.

The 1961 Constitution: As a reaction to previous powerful executive structures originating from parliament majority and the problems arising from this in late the 1950s, this constitution brought a balance to the system. First the separation of powers principle was consolidated with more emphasis on the parliament and less power and authority for the executive. Although the executive and judiciary had been promoted, legislative power was still seen as the most significant. Moreover, a second chamber of legislation, the Senate, was introduced to form a bicameral system as a precaution providing a counter balance to the power of a parliamentary majority (Eroğul 1977). Another important institution, the Constitutional Court, was established to add checks and balance to the system.

Executive power had been particularly limited in favour of fundamental rights and freedoms which created problems at the time, such as the ineffectiveness of the executive. The traditional extraordinary role of the military in the State structure was reflected in legislation for the first time in the 1961 Constitution. Instead of being under the rule of a civil authority (normal in a democracy), the

military was given autonomy from the administration and defined as having the same level of authority or, in some cases, even higher than the civil authority (Yavuz 2000, p. 295).

Unlike the former constitution, this one was based on human rights with Article 11, individual freedoms were secured and the concept of a social state was included in the Constitution for the first time. It was amended 7 times between 1969 and 1974. These amendments increased the exclusive role of the military, empowered the executive and made a number of adverse changes on rights and freedoms (Tanör 1996, p.315-317).

1.1.2 The Fundamental Principles of the 1982 Constitution

The constitution in the force at the time of writing is the 1982 version. The fundamental principles of the Turkish State were designed in the constitution and the related articles are as follows;

The Republic; The Turkish state was established as a Republic in 1923. This has been the basic structural character of the State from the beginning (Constitutional Article 1).

The Rule of Law; The Turkish State has the principle of rule of law which means all state activities are subject to legal accountability and all individual rights are under legal protection whether against the state or against other individuals (Constitutional Article 2).

The Secular State; The executive is not based on a holy or religious rule and the state is officially neutral on matters of religion supporting neither religion nor non-religion. A secular State also claims to treat all its citizens equally regardless of religion, and claims to avoid preferential treatment for a citizen from a particular religion/non-religion over other religions/non-religion (Constitutional Article 2).

The Social State; there is a coexistence of a public sector economy along with a private sector in order to organise production and distribution processes in line with general social development and welfare using direct and indirect tools. This principle can be considered as a synonym of the welfare state concept (Constitutional Article 2).

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The Separation of Powers; article 2 refers to “fundamental tenets set forth” in the preamble of the constitution and one important tenet is the separation of powers (Constitutional Article 2).

The Nation State; The Republic of Turkey is a nation-State. The Republic defined itself as a nation-State when it was established in 1923 (Constitutional Article 3).

The Unitary State; Turkey is a unitary state which is governed as one single unit and the central government is supreme and any administrative divisions, units or local governments exercise only powers central government delegates (Constitutional Article 3).

1.2 The Administrative Principles

The constitutional administrative principles are very limited in number and their contents and relationship with each other are quite plain. As an entry level general assessment, according to the structure of the Constitution and the principles of the Turkish Administrative System, the “Administration” is not a satellite of the Executive; it is within the Executive branch, but a separate entity. It operates, however, in close relationship with the Executive and under the supervision of the legislative, executive and judicial branches.

The constitutional administrative principles and related constitutional articles are as follows (Güler 2009, p.118);

The Integral Unity of Administration:

- Centralization Principle (Article 123)
 - Hierarchy (Authority Concentration in Centre)
 - De-concentration of Authority (Authority De-concentration in the Field)
Art.126
- Local Administration Principle (Article 123)
 - Administrative Tutelage (Decentralization) Art.127

1.2.1 The Integral Unity of Administration

The unitary state structure of the administrative field is based on the principle of integral unity of the administration. This principle is clearly defined in the fourth section of the constitution:

“ARTICLE 123: The administration forms a whole with regard to its structure and functions, and shall be regulated by law.

The organisation and functions of the administration are based on the principles of centralisation and local administration.

Public corporate bodies shall be established only by law, or by the authority expressly granted by law.”

Unity of administration doesn't have a meaning of a collaboration of diverse independent units; on the contrary it has a meaning of division of tasks in a unitary structure.

1.2.1.1 The Centralisation Principle

This is one of the implementation tools of the administrative unity principle. The State consists of many organisations and institutions integrated under a single corporate entity. The centralised administration principle is implemented by the centralised organisation based in the capital city and a field organisation spread to the 81 provinces of the country. Administrative relationships within each level (horizontal co-ordination) are based on a traditional bureaucratic hierarchy. Relationships between the two levels (vertical coordination) are based on de- concentration of authority.

De-concentration of authority is the fundamental characteristic of the provincial governor system. Formation of central administration is organised as; the land mass of the country is divided into provinces and the provinces into further smaller divisions according to geographic and economic conditions, and the need for public services. As a unitary state, Turkey has 81 provinces, and within those provinces there are 892 districts at the time of writing. Field organisations, as a part of the central organisation, are established in these provinces and administered by governors based on the de-concentration of authority principle. While general administration of the provinces is handled by the governors (appointed by central government as

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‘representatives of the state and the government’) districts are headed by district governors as ‘representatives of the government’.

1.2.1.2 The Local Administration Principle

This is the other implementation tool of the administrative unity principle. Part of the public power is exercised by some public institutions or administrations which are not included in the central organisation (including field organisation) and a single corporate entity of State. Public institutions can exercise power through their own legal entities in two ways. The first is decentralisation in terms of location and local government do so based on geographic divisions. They are authorised to carry out general duties in a designated part of the country. There are 81 Provincial Special Administrations, 2950 Municipalities and 34395 villages in Turkey (General Directorate of Local Administration Data of 2011) at the time of writing.

The second is decentralisation in terms of function. A number of public institutions such as ministry affiliated institutions (i.e. State Economic Enterprises, universities and professional boards), exercise public power based on particular functions and service fields. They are authorised to carry out a particular public service countrywide. This aspect of the local administration principle and the units carrying out these duties are not clearly defined or restricted.

The relationships of both these decentralised institutions under the central organisation of the State are organised on a particular relationship principle, “administrative tutelage”, defined in the constitution (Article 127). Autonomy is not specified at any level of the legislation.

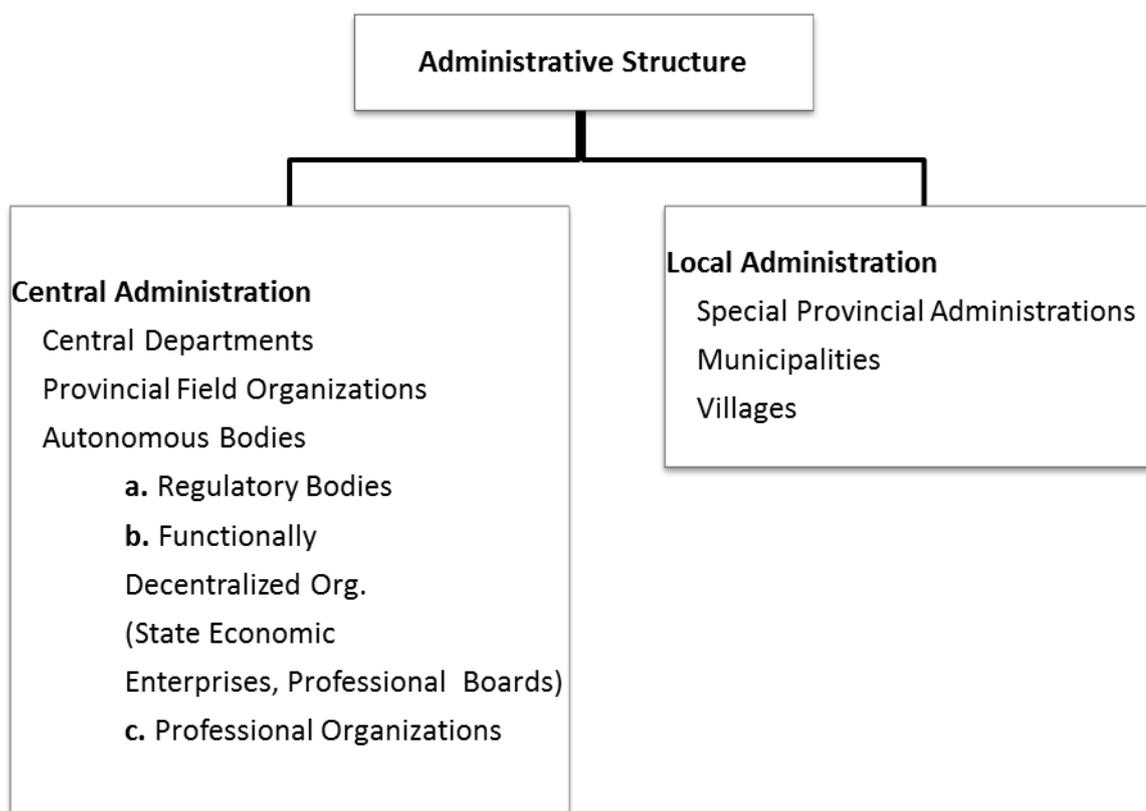


Figure 3: The Administrative Structure of Turkey

1.2.2 The Unitary and Centralised State Structure

Reflection of the constitutional principles on the practice has created a robust unitary and centralised state structure. Public administration in Turkey is divided between central and local administrations under the control of central government through the indispensable aspect of the unitary State principle and centralised structure. Central Administration is the core of the administrative structure, both from structural and functional aspects. Local government is organised by the constitution for the purpose of meeting collective local needs. Their authority and duties are defined and limited by the relevant legislation.

The strong unitary and centralised character of the State is maintained by civilian administrations which is the field organisations of the centralised State structure. The land mass of the country is divided into provinces and the provinces into further smaller divisions geographically, economic conditions and the requirements of public services (Constitutional Article 126). This powerful organisation provides a unitary State structure with the necessary tools under Provincial and District Governors in running the country in an

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extensive centralised manner. Although there has been greater support for self-government and delegation of powers from central government to provincial level over the past decade, the structure and tradition of a highly centralised public administration still persists today. Some important figures in the table below describe this centralised role.

Table 12: The Central and Local Governments Distribution of Public Service Employment¹ (2011)

Level	Personnel with Cadre	Contracted Personnel	Workers	Temporary Staff and Others	Total	Proportion (%)
Central Government ²	1,808,656	164,563	57,570	124,163	2,154,952	87.55
Local Governments	99,886	16,311	177,900	12,270	306,367	12.45
Total	1,908,542	180,874	235,470	136,433	2,461,319	100

Source: Public Personnel Presidency, Turkish Statistics Institute

¹Table shows the real numbers occupied cadres and positions by 31th March 2011,

²Includes General Budget Funded Administrations (Ministries and Core State Organs)

OECD data of 2008 also shows, in terms of distribution of general government employment between the central and sub-central levels of government, Turkey has the third highest ratio among 27 countries with 87.81% of central employment (OECD 2011c, p. 105). Even though a large number of central government personnel work in the field, they cannot be considered as personnel of local government because all their management and planning is controlled by central government and they are legally employed as field agents of the central administration. The structure of public expenditure in terms of local and central government proportions is another indicator of a highly centralised State structure.

Table 13: Central Government and Local Government Realised Budget Expenditure:

Years	Central Government	Proportion	Local Governments	Proportion
2009	268,219,185	84.75%	48,227,119	15.25%

2010	294,358,724	84.93%	52,226,305	15.07%
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Source: Data from General Directorate of Public Accounts (<https://portal.muhasabat.gov.tr>), Fiscal Statistics. Table created by author

1.3 The Central Organization

The central organisation of the State comprises institutions with three major powers and a powerful President as the central figure.

1.3.1 The President

Similar to other parliamentary systems, the President is defined as the Head of State, the representative of the Republic and unity of nation by the constitution (Constitutional Article 104).

As a parliamentary government system, there are practices which determine the boundaries of the structural framework in Turkey. Extraordinary powers granted to the President by the 1982 constitution are important examples of this. The President is granted extensive legislative, executive and judicial powers greater than many parliamentary democracies. The duties and powers critical to the research are mentioned in the table below.

Table 14: The Significant Duties and Powers of the President Related to the Research Topic

Legislation	Executive	Jurisdiction
to return laws to the Turkish Grand National Assembly to be reconsidered,	to appoint the Prime Minister and to accept his or her resignation,	to appoint the members of the Constitutional Court
to submit to referendum, if he or she deems it necessary, legislation regarding amendment of the Constitution.	to appoint and dismiss Ministers on the proposal of the Prime Minister,	To appoint one- fourth of the members of the Council of State,
to appeal to the Constitutional Court for the annulment in part or entirety of certain provisions of laws, decrees having the force of law, and the Rules of	to preside over the Council of Ministers or to call the Council of Ministers to meet under his or her chairmanship whenever he or she deems it necessary,	

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Procedure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the grounds they are unconstitutional in form or in content,		
to call new elections for the Turkish Grand National Assembly.	to call the National Security Council to meet,	
	to sign decrees (including decrees regarding appointments of high-level civil servants),	

Source: Presidency of Turkish Republic, Table created by author

Among these duties and powers, particularly veto, appeal to the constitutional court and appointment of key civil servants are in high importance and significant regarding government policies and administrative reform.

An exception emerged with the constitutional amendment of 2007 regarding the election method of President. In the original 1982 constitution the President was elected every seven years for one term only by the parliament. The 2007 amendment changed this rule to a system of public election of the President for five years providing for a second term of presidency for same person. Many practitioners and academics argue, a powerful President with a chance to be elected for second time by the public can transform the Presidency from a symbolic position to a potent political force leading to a complete change of the political system of the country.

1.3.2 The Prime Minister and Council of Ministers

The Prime Minister and council of ministers are the top level political decision-making and executive authorities in Turkey as in other parliamentary systems. The Prime Minister and Council of Ministers are responsible to the Turkish Grand National Assembly for Government Programmes and Policies.

“ARTICLE 109: The Council of Ministers shall consist of the Prime Minister and the ministers.

The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President of the Republic from the members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The ministers shall be

nominated by the Prime Minister and appointed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly or from those eligible for election as deputies; and they can be dismissed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Prime Minister when deemed necessary.”

1.3.2.1 The Prime Minister

The Prime Minister is an elected member of parliament and is usually the leader of the party having the most seats in parliament. The relative Constitutional article (Article 112) states the Prime Minister as Chairman responsible for ensuring the Council of Ministers (Cabinet) functions in a harmonious manner. He/she supervises implementation of government policy. The Prime Minister’s position is above the members of the cabinet and is de facto head of the executive branch. Each Minister is accountable to the Prime Minister who in turn ensures Ministers fulfil their responsibilities in accordance with the Constitution and law.

1.3.2.2 The Prime Minister’s Office

The powerful position of Prime Minister requires a robustly structured organisation to fulfil all relevant duties. From the beginning of the republic, there has been an office of the Prime Minister and over time it improved and became better organised. The latest legislation regarding the Office of Prime Minister is Law No. 3056 which was enacted in 1984. This law is based on same principles introduced for all administrative and executive organisations in early the 1980s. The office is divided into three major units:

- Main service units,
- Consultation-control units,
- Auxiliary units.

The Prime Minister is the head of the Prime Ministry Office and defined as chairman of council of ministers, chief of all ministries and prime ministry offices in law no 3056. This role is supported by a large organisation controlled by the Prime Ministry office. Inside this organisation, there are four major groups of support:

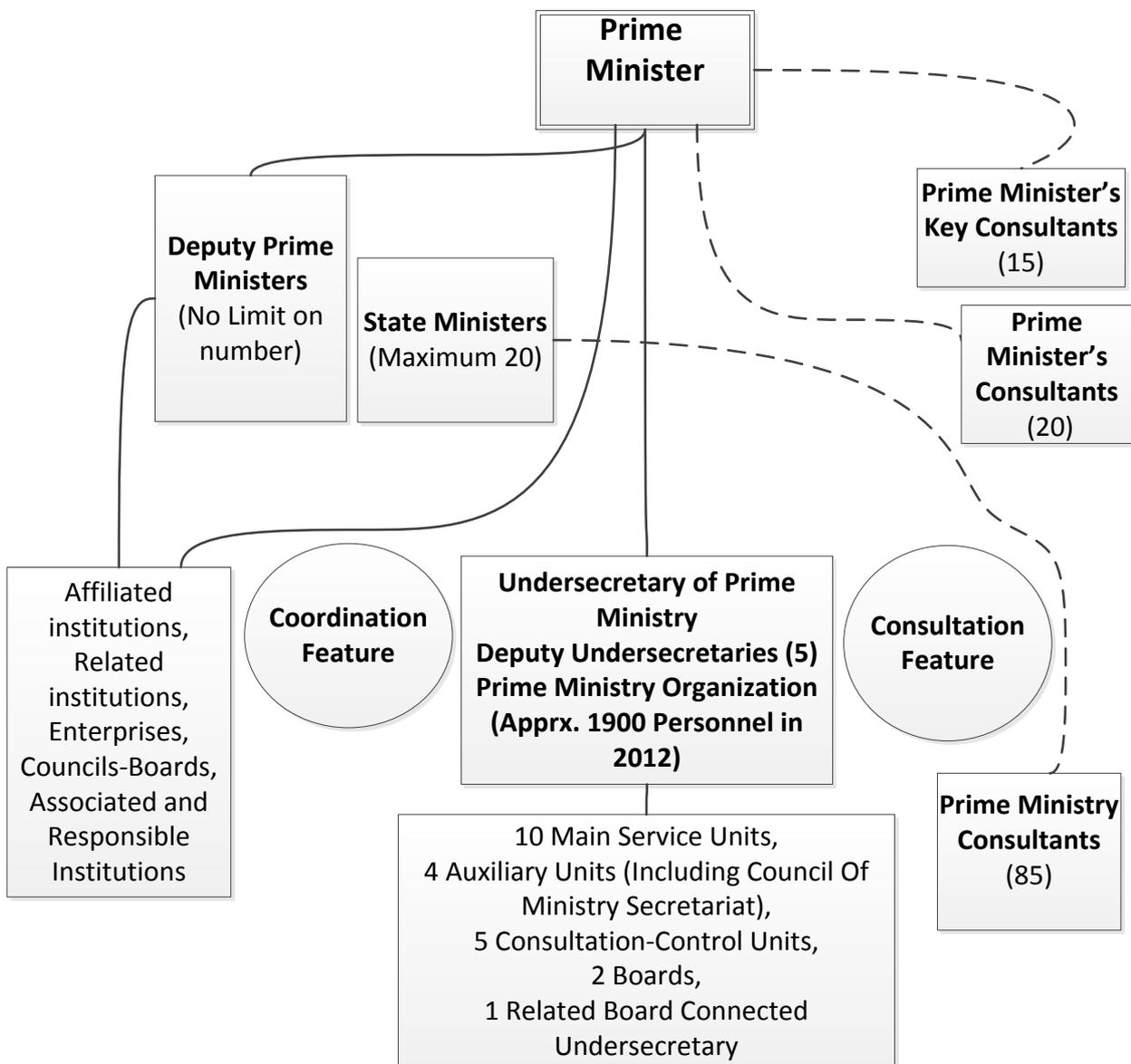
- Deputy Prime Ministers,
- State Ministers,

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- Official consultants,
- The undersecretary of The Prime Ministry (with deputy undersecretaries) (Prime Ministry 2012; 2012a).

The Undersecretary of The Prime Ministry always had high implications for public administration reform processes with its sub-units of The General Directorate of Laws and Acts and The Department for Development of Administration.

Figure 4: The Organisational Structure of Prime Minister’s Office



Source: Prime Ministry (2012; 2012a), Güler (2009, p. 162). Figure created by author

1.3.2.3 The Ministry System

The general duties of State are divided functionally and institutionally structured ministries exercise division of duties. The Ministries don't have their own corporate entities and are the parts of the corporate entity of the State. They are seen as the tangible element of the intangible notion of State (Güler 2009, p.171). Turkey has had two types of ministries since 1946, line ministries and ministries of state.

The Line ministries are the main ones existing for providing essential public services arising in their separate offices, institutional structures, budgets and personnel.

The Ministries of State play a supportive role with associated duties. The reason for their existence is political and assistance rather than executive. There is no organisational structure, budget or relevant legislation other than the 'Minister' him/herself. This notion was adopted in 1946 in order to assist the Prime Minister in administration of the related or affiliated institutions, coordinate the work of other ministries and employ experienced politicians to utilise their experience in the cabinet. The number of Ministers of State has varied throughout history. In 1984 legislation limited the number of ministers of State to 15 and was amended in 1994 to a new limit of 20.

1.3.2.4 The Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers (Cabinet) consists of the Prime Minister, designated by the President and members of the Turkish Great National Assembly (Turkish Parliament), various ministers nominated by the Prime Minister and appointed by the President. There is no necessity for the ministers to be the members of the parliament. They can be appointed from inside or outside parliament.

1.3.2.5 The Organization and Structure of Ministries

Each ministry has its own structure but the logic is similar and is related to a central legislative law (Law No. 3046). The first feature of organisational structure is geography. Most ministries have a central organisation, field organisations, missions abroad (if relevant) and affiliated institutions. The central organisation of a ministry usually consists of three main units. These are main service units, consultation and control units and auxiliary units.

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The field organisations are established as Province units under the administration of Province Governors. District units are under the administration of district governors and units connected directly to the central organisation. The missions abroad are established in cases when the situation for public service and relevant policies make it necessary. Except the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which normally has missions abroad, the Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Economy and Ministry of National Defence also send missions to particular countries.

1.3.3 The Autonomous Bodies

Autonomous bodies exist in the general administrative system and act on behalf of the State. The establishment, structural organisation, rights and duties of their personnel are determined by the relevant law. It is stated in law, these institutions are autonomous in terms of their budgets and implementation.

1.3.3.1 The Regulatory bodies

As the economy moved towards a private sector driven structure in the 1980s plus the effects of previous reforms meant regulatory policy became more important. With a view to separating ownership, policymaking and routine regulatory functions in the liberalised sectors such as infrastructure (telecommunications, electricity and natural gas), agriculture, and finance, the following regulatory authorities were established:

Table 15: Regulatory Authorities, Related Legislations and Establishment Years

Regulatory Authority	Legislations	Year EST.
Capital Markets Board of Turkey	Law no.2499	1981
Radio and Television Supreme Council	Law no.3984	1994
Competition Authority	Law no.4054	1994
Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency	Law no.4389	1999
Telecommunication Authority (Changed name and duties in 2008 with Law No.5809 as Information Technologies and Telecommunication Authority)	Law no. 2813 amended with Law no.4502	2000
Energy Market Regulatory Authority	Law No.4628	2001
Sugar Market Regulation Authority	Law no.4634	2001
Tobacco and Alcohol Market Regulatory Authority	Law no 4733	2002
Public Procurement Authority	Law no.4734	2002

Source: Web Sites and Establishment Laws of Authorities, Table crated by Author

1.3.3.2 The Functionally Decentralized Organizations

These organisations constituted another important element of Turkish public administration. As autonomous agencies, these institutions are public corporate entities created to deliver public services requiring specialised knowledge and expertise.

The service fields of such institutions are various: economic, social, scientific, technical and cultural fields. State Economic Enterprises, Universities, Council of Higher Education, Ataturk Higher Institution of Culture, Language and History, Social Security Institution (SGK), General Directorate of State Water Affairs (DSİ), Turkish Radio and TV Corporation (TRT), General Directorate of State Theatres, Scientific And Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBİTAK) and General Directorate of Post and Telegraph Organization (PTT) are major examples of the institutions.

There are common characteristics of these institutions. They are all public corporate entities established by law and all have their own assets, personnel and budget. They are, to some extent, not subject to hierarchical supervision from the central administration and have a degree of autonomy. They are subject to administrative tutelage. They act for the purpose of the public good and are restricted to their fields of expertise.

1.3.3.3 The Public Professional Organizations

This is group of public corporate entities perform in accordance with the needs of certain occupational group members. They are constitutional institutions (Article 135) and all were established by law. They enjoy autonomy restricted within their field of interest and objectives. The Chamber of Medical Doctors, Bar Associations, Chamber of Veterinarians, Chamber of Engineers and Architects, Chamber of Dentists, Chambers of Commerce, Chambers of Industry and The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges are examples of public professional organizations.

The fundamental characteristic distinguishing these institutions from regular occupational NGOs in other countries is the mandatory membership principle. They operate on the basis of mandatory membership. Certain duties or

activities cannot be carried out without being a member of these organisations. To elaborate: A medical doctor has to be a member of the chamber to practice his or her profession. Similarly, a trade company must become a member of the chamber at the establishment stage in order to begin trading.

1.4 The Civil Service

As a large country in terms of geography, population and scope of public services, Turkey has a considerable Civil Service organisation. The fundamental principles regarding this large organisation are laid out in the constitution and legislation. After the establishment of the Republic, the expanding structure of the State and the increasing need for civil servants triggered a long debate about what the civil service policy of the State should be. This debate ended in 1965 with a reform which introduced contemporary standards with the enactment of Law no.657 on Civil Servants (Gözübüyük and Tan 2001). This is the fundamental and most inclusive law governing the field of the civil service which is still in force but with many amendments and other legal or regulative attachments to it. There is additional legislation governing other public service areas such as; the academic personnel system (Law No 2914), military personnel system (Law No 914), judicial personnel system (Law No 2802) and a general labour system (Law No 4857).

According to article 4 of Law 657, there are four types of personnel to carry out the public services; Public Servants, Contracted Personnel, Temporary Personnel and Workers. The amendments and other regulative attachments to the system increased the number of sub types and made the field of civil service very complex and difficult to govern. Legally and traditionally, public servants have been at the core of the civil service. Almost all senior civil service positions are occupied by public servants. Their status is constitutionally assured and can only be regulated by law. Public servants are appointed for life on the basis of competitive examinations and are removed only in exceptional cases. They must remain loyal to the constitution and cannot join political parties. If a public employee wishes to compete in National Assembly elections they must first resign from government service. All disciplinary decisions pertaining to civil servants are subject to judicial review.

1.4.1 The Fundamental Principles and Problems of Civil Service

The law on civil servants includes the status, payment and other rights of public personnel along with the fundamental principles of the civil service system such as career, equality, merit, classification and impartiality. The law regulated the civil service in line with the traditional Weberian rational bureaucracy model (Weber 1922, vol. 2, pp.956-80). Existence of these fundamental characteristics did not create an operative civil service system. Firstly, Turkey does not have a clear employment policy and strategy. Turkey has a very centralised system of human resource management. Delegation of human resource management practice and responsibility is very limited (OECD 2011b, p. 90-91). The centralisation has not created a clear and strong policy. In terms of utilisation of strategic human resources management, Turkey is below the OECD HI average (OECD 2011b, p. 90-91).

In practice it has not been possible to fully implement equality and merit principles. Favouritism and nepotism has always been the reality of civil service system life despite the efforts made to change the situation (Eryılmaz 2010, p.160). Employment and promotions based on favouritism caused the personnel system to become fundamentally corrupt. Although the situation has improved due to recruitment following the introduction of a central examination in 1999, high ranking career position applicants considered to have a bright future has a personal job interview after the central examination which can be employed as a tool for favouritism. Additionally, intra-organisational working and promotion conditions are widely influenced by favouritism. With regard to the principle of merit, every government change results in re-appointments in public office and therefore implementation of this principle is problematic. The problem of the merit-based system and the impact of favouritism are mentioned among the problems of Turkish civil service in the SIGMA reports: “narrowing the scope of the civil service, including a clear elimination of the boundaries between politics and administration; improving the merit-based system for recruitment and management; [...] cutting favouritism and patronage; eliminating the abuse of temporary appointments as a way of circumventing normal recruitment and promotion procedures” (Sigma 2012, p.9-10). This should mean the principle of merit has been gradually eliminated in public personnel and administration and the system for the execution of patronage has become politically

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legitimate. Previous research shows this is the case for the many developing countries. Although their civil services are legally organised in line with the Weberian model, in practice they perform differently than their developed counterparts. Although most developing countries have instituted merit and equality, in practice, political choices and favouritism still continues (Schick 1998, p. 128; Stevens 2005, pp. 2-3, 14-15).

Inefficiency is another problem of the civil service in Turkey. Public service membership is a privileged life long career job. Performance assessment techniques are not common and there is legal protection against investigations, so the risk of job loss is not a motivator for achieving high efficiency. The lack of clear and exact definitions of function, capacity/authority and responsibilities of personnel is another fundamental weakness contributing to the problems mentioned. Moreover, it creates further drawbacks; lack of job ownership and accountability, obstruction of attempts to build an effective control and pay system related to performance. It **is** challenging for personnel to know what tasks need to be done and to draw the boundaries of discretion and responsibility. Wage inequalities among similar positions and unfair wage levels are additional factors worth mentioning about the general situation of the civil service (Kapucu and Palabıyık 2008, p. 223). Establishing a new salary system which is unitary, simpler, transparent and fair; reinforcing the rights and duties of civil servants are among the concerns of the SIGMA report as well (Sigma 2012, p.9-10).

All these reasons make it hard for public service personnel to cope with change and adapt to the global developments. The situation is referred to in many international reports. As an example, inefficient Government bureaucracy is identified as the second most problematic factor for doing business in Turkey (The Global Competitiveness Report 2011–2012, p. 352).

1.4.2 The Senior Civil Service (High-level Bureaucrats)

Some schools and their graduates have traditionally had very high numbers of occupancies in public service career jobs since the establishment of the modern Turkish public service.

The roots of this case can be traced back to the final years of The Ottoman Empire. In an effort to reform the regressing empire using examples from powerful western countries, the Ottoman authorities established new educational institutions to educate public personnel with high qualifications in the second half of 19th century.

Mektebi Mülkiye (Political Science Faculty, established in 1859), Mektebi Harbiye (Military Academy, established in 1835) and Mektebi Tıbbiye (Medical Faculty, established in 1838) are the main examples. The graduates of these schools worked through the final days of the empire either as bureaucrats or politicians, took lead in the Independence War and established the Republic. The institutions and their effect on the country and community were carried into the Republican era. Similar institutions and faculties in Istanbul and the new capital city Ankara joined them at the time. In the process of creating public administration and the civil service of Turkey, these institutions had priorities. Important numbers of the graduates involved themselves in politics after their career in civil service and multiplied their impact as a part of the executive. They created a social class and usually young family members had the same opportunity to join one of these schools and be a part of high ranking civil service owing to family connections.

After the regulation of the civil service based on Weberian principles the legal requirement to become a high-level civil servant required special types of entry examinations and then a period of job experience in the public sector. Throughout this period these schools had an advantage with their high educational standards and their graduates continued to occupy these positions until recently. Unfortunately, there is no clear data or a comprehensive study on the scale of the situation. There is an argument, however, the domination by these 'grand Corp's continued until the late 1980s. The Proportion of graduates of these schools in high ranking public service positions has started to decrease in the last 15 years. Nevertheless they still have substantial influence in some important ministries such as The Ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs and Finance. These graduate groups have a strong solidarity and control over important high-level positions.

1.4.3 The Bureaucrat-Politician Relationships

Since the early years of the Turkish republic, the civil bureaucracy has played an important role in politics. It became the basis of Atatürk's power and was a key instrument of his reform policy. During the 1930s and 1940s, a high percentage of parliament members had a civil service background. However, the power and social prestige of the official elite declined with the emergence of competitive political parties in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Civil bureaucrats generally believed they worked in the service of the entire nation. They tended to view politicians, especially those affiliated with the Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti—DP, right wing party who ruled with single majority governments between 1950-1960) as being too partisan, although it is quite difficult to comprehend the difference between policies beneficial to the nation and those merely serving special interests. The Democrat Party and their successors The Justice Party (Adalet Partisi--AP) did not appreciate this and consequently bureaucrats lost credibility and influence among politicians, who tried, generally with little success, to restrict the autonomy of the civil service.

In order to reduce party centred politics, the 1961 Constitution gave bureaucracy relative autonomy from the executive and increased the authority of the civil service to balance the powers of the government. This process created a crisis of confidence between the two sides and put pressure on governments to control the bureaucracy by alternative methods such as creating their supporters within it and using favouritism. In the second half of the 1960s, politicisation of the bureaucracy commenced and this process intensified. Despite the legislation of Law No. 657 on Civil Servants introducing the system of merit for the civil service favouritism have always been present on appointments and promotions of civil servants (Eryılmaz, 2010, p.150).

From the 1980s on, Neo-liberal policies affected civil service members negatively as well as the working classes. Their real incomes decreased and their status in society diminished. Adding the political conditions of the post-military era (restricted participation and restricted activation policies) they were prevented from pursuing their rights. Worsening living standards made the bureaucracy more dependent on politicians to retain their advantageous positions and locations. Increasing favouritism went along with an increase in the number and impoverishment of the public service personnel. During the

1980s, control on the bureaucracy was seen critical particularly for SEEs due to their large percentage in proportion to the country's economy. This was seen as a way to manipulate the economy and distribute economic interests in line with politicians' desires.

Politicisation and favouritism in the high-levels of the civil service began to spread to middle and low levels from the second half of the 1980s. Economic problems causing difficulties in employment resulted in people seeing the civil service as a guaranteed life time job. It was as a pool of jobs and favours to be distributed by politicians to their supporters. People took positions in the civil service with the help of politicians and tried to protect their interest in their office. In promotions and appointments to high-level positions, political favouritism still plays an influential role. According to the OECD data, Turkey is one of three countries where all positions change systematically in the two top echelons after the election of a new government (OECD 2011a, p. 94).

Despite all favouritism and political effects on the bureaucracy, high-level officials still have considerable influence and autonomy. They have enough authority and technical information in their field to influence their political bosses. The strong connection from their 'corps' structures makes them strong groups in terms of policy decisions and implementation. Decisions of the administrative courts from the middle of the 1990s (which became legal precedents by this time), has changed the dismissal and appointment conditions of civil servants. Accordingly, it is not possible to change the position of a civil service without a valid and legal reason. Some important high ranking civil servants resisted executive decisions to dismiss or change tenure. Increasing examples of these cases urged government to be more careful regarding decisions of dismissals and appointments.

1.5 The Judiciary

According to the Article 9 of the Constitution, judicial power is exercised by independent courts on behalf of the Turkish Nation. The basic principles of the independence of courts and security of judges and public prosecutors are arranged and cited separately under the heading of 'Judicial Power' of the Constitution (Articles 138-160). All offences are prosecuted in the name of the People, by public prosecutors who are representatives of the executive branch

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of Government within the judiciary. In the Turkish legal system, civil, administrative and military justice is regulated separately. They all have high courts for appeals. Above all of these sits the constitutional court which has extensive powers and authority.

1.5.1 The Administrative Jurisdiction

According to the 1982 Constitution, all actions and acts of administration are subject to judicial review (Article 125). Every citizen has the right to appeal to administrative courts challenging the actions of public administration that damages his/her interests using the argument such actions are against the law. The Judicial review is delivered by the administrative jurisdiction system and institutional structure. The system consists of Administrative Courts, Tax Courts and Regional Administrative Courts. Three laws enacted in the 1982, re-organised the structure and functions of Administrative Law and Courts in Turkey. Regional Administrative Courts were established as a second level court of appeal.

The Council of State is structured in the Constitution (Article 155). It is established as a Superior Administrative Court and located at the pinnacle of the administrative justice system. It is the highest court of the system and final arbiter of cases relating to executive power, local or public authorities. Another function the Council of State is an authority for consultation and inspection. In its capacity as an advisory body, it is charged with examining draft regulations of the Council of Ministers and presenting its opinion on, firstly the draft legislation submitted by the Prime Ministry or the Council of Ministers, secondly on the conditions and contracts concerning public services under which concessions are granted, thirdly on matters submitted by the Presidency of the Republic and the Prime Ministry respectively.

1.5.2 The Constitutional Court

The Turkish Constitutional Court was established by the 1961 Constitution. It was modelled on European constitutional justice practices. Like most European Constitutional Courts, it exercises a posteriori control of the consistency of laws within the Constitution. In the 1982 Constitution, the Constitutional Court, being one of the highest constitutional organs, was considered as being

at the same level as the Grand National Assembly and Executive. This placed it as the first judicial organ among "the High Courts". The Articles 146-153 of the Constitution lay down in detail, the composition, duties, working methods of the Constitutional Court and other issues concerning constitutional review. The Constitutional Court has carried out its duties according to the Law No 2949 (dated 10 November 1983) until 2011. The composition, powers and structure of the Court were changed considerably by the amendments in 2010, and a new law was enacted in 2011 in line with the amendment.

The Constitutional Court does not act *ex officio*. It has to work on the basis of relevant applications filed in the Court. The 1982 Constitution defined a strictly limited range of bodies authorised to access the Constitutional Court but the 2010 amendments allowed individual applications as well. Access to the Constitutional Court can be made in various ways and the ones related to the research topic are as follows;

a. The Action for Annulment (Abstract Review of Norms).

The constitutionality of laws, statutory decrees and the Rules of Procedure of Turkish Grand National Assembly or the provisions thereof may be challenged directly before the Constitutional Court through an annulment action by persons and organs empowered by the Constitution. The President of the Republic, a parliamentary group of the party in power, the main opposition party and a minimum of one-fifth of the total number of members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (110 parliament members at the time of writing) have the right to apply for an annulment action to the Constitutional Court.

b. The Contention of Unconstitutionality (Concrete Review of Norms)

Unlike the abstract control of norms, contention of unconstitutionality can be initiated any time by the general, administrative and military courts and any party involved in a case under scrutiny before a court *a quo*. Applications are made by correspondence.

c. The Duties on Political Parties

According to Article 69/3 of the Constitution, dissolution of political parties shall be decided finally by the Constitutional Court, following the filing of a

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suit to that effect by the Office of the Chief Public Prosecutor of the Court of Cessation. While the Court has decided in the past to dissolve a number of political parties it currently refrains from doing so unless a party is involved in terrorist or violent activities.

According to Article 69 of the Constitution, the auditing of the income, expenditure and acquisitions of political parties are within the remit of the Constitutional Court. The Court receives assistance from the Court of Accounts in performing the task of auditing. The judgments rendered by the Court as a result of auditing are final. Such great power and authority has had a real impact particularly on legislation and in this manner, how the reform process has been affected is elaborated in relevant chapter.

1.5.3 The Electoral System

The Turkish Constitution defines fundamental principles of the electoral system and orders elections should be organised in a manner which reconciles two basic principles: 1) fair representation, 2) stability in the executive (Türk 2006, p.102; Constitutional Article 67). This is a challenging task to achieve and in practice the electoral system in Turkey leans towards the principle of stability in the executive.

Elections are held according to a proportional representation system in a single stage in accordance with the principles of general, equal, secret and direct voting, universal suffrage, public counting and tally of the votes (Constitutional Article 67). Every province is an electoral milieu and every district is a precinct. A 10% nationwide threshold is practiced in elections. Those political parties failing to receive at least 10% of the valid votes throughout the country in general elections, and in by-elections cannot be represented in parliament. Such a high threshold and general electoral system challenges the principle of fair representation and is perceived to be negative. Conversely there is a view it contributes stability by providing leading party a relatively higher representation than their vote percentage.

1.6 The Military Administration

Military administration in Turkey is handled by the Turkish Armed Forces under the management of the General Staff which is affiliated to the Prime Ministry. This structure is completed by Supreme Military Council consisting of the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Head of General Staff and Force commanders. The Importance of the military in the administrative system can be understood from the fact offices of commanders and the chief of general staff are regulated constitutionally and given the status of a constitutional institution:

“ARTICLE 117: [...]

The Chief of the General Staff shall be appointed by the President of the Republic following the proposal of the Council of Ministers; his duties and powers shall be regulated by law. The Chief of the General Staff shall be responsible to the Prime Minister in the exercise of his duties and powers.”

Turkey is the only NATO member whose Chief of the General Staff is answerable to the Prime Minister rather than the Minister of Defence.

1.6.1 The General Role of Military

As an administrative cultural characteristic, the military has an exceptional impact on the executive and politics in Turkey. This reality has its roots in the history of Turkish administration. If there is one characteristic on which all researchers of Ottoman and Turkish history seem to agree, it is the assumption the military institution has been one of the most significant forces behind the evolution of the social, economic and political structure of the Turkish State. “It was the military corps that named and military prestige that sustained the leader-once a Sultan Caliph, now a President”, argue Lerner and Robinson (1960) on the role of the military institution in the political development of the Ottoman and the Turkish states.

Some scholars take this further by arguing the military had a modernising role in Turkish political history. As Rustow (1964, p. 352) mentioned: “The political modernisation of Turkey occurred for the most part under a military aegis. The ‘New Order’ proclaimed by Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) when he first undertook a programme of Westernization consisted of the creation of a new

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army. The final victory of constitutional and representative principles came in 1908, as a result of a threatened military rebellion. A decade later, Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) and other generals transformed the Ottoman Empire into a modern nation-state. Thus, for nearly two hundred years, the military has been Turkey's foremost moderniser". Commenting on the Turkish military, Erkanlı (1987) argues in Turkey, the military constitutes a class, just as workers and peasants'. The officer corps is the major group of this class.

The Military has been influential on the politics and executive of the country in two ways. First is the institutional impact in the form of the National Security Council. Second is the interventions, some of which were more direct in the form of coups and memoranda, others are indirect in the form of public declarations on important issues.

1.6.2 The National Security Council

The 1961 Constitution provided the military with an institutionalised channel for access to the topmost political authority and executive by establishing this council. The 1982 Constitution enlarged this channel. The National Security Council (NSC) is an advisory board to the Government on national security issues. Before the constitutional amendments in 2001, the council used to consist of the President of the republic as presiding officer, the Prime Minister, the chief of the general staff, minister of foreign affairs, interior, and defence, and commanders of land, air, and naval forces and the gendarmerie in the original article of constitution.

According to Constitutional Article 118, the NSC would submit to the Council of Ministers its views on decisions and ensuring the necessary co-ordination on issues regarding protection of the existence and independence of the State, the unity and indivisibility of the country, and the peace and security of society. Prior to amendments in 2001, the Council of Ministers was obliged to "give priority consideration" to the decisions of the NSC (Tachau&Heper 2005, p. 28-29). Hence, the NSC, although not responsible to the National Assembly, became, de facto the highest, non-elected, decision-making body of the State for nearly two decades.

The constitutional amendment of 2001 changed the structure and authority of the council. With the amendment of article 118, composition of the National Security Council was changed to ensure its civilian members are a majority, and the new text puts emphasis on the advisory nature of this body's activity and decisions. Depending on the agenda, related ministers and persons can be called to attend the council meetings to voice their views.

1.6.3 The Military Interventions

The military have intervened directly in Turkish politics five times since the establishment of the republic; the 1960 and 1980 military coups, the 1971 and 1997 interventions forcing governments to resign and the 2007 declaration on the Presidential elections. Last one is a very controversial topic among the public and scholars alike on whether it should be perceived as an intervention or not. Each intervention was justified as necessary to re-establish or safeguard democracy and/or the fundamental principles of State.

Apart from direct interventions the military has had an impact on politics and administration through institutional public declarations on important matters of State. During the period of the research covered, particularly on the issues related to fundamental constitutional principles, the military has made public declarations having an impact on the public, politics and bureaucracy. Towards the end of the 2000s, however, the power of the military on the issues not concerned with national defence has declined dramatically. The political and functional position of the military began to become closer to their equivalents in western democratic states. A reform package introduced in 2004 replaced the military representatives in civilian bodies such as the Higher Education Board and the High Audio-Visual Board with civilians (Uğur, and Yankaya 2008, p. 592).

1.7 The Conclusions

The chapter tried to present all the structural and cultural background features which have significant influence on the administrative reform process, in order to provide contextual information and shed a light on the path for the analyses of the research findings. Elaboration of the structural features and their traditional and cultural roots reveals some significant conclusions which are

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linked to the administrative reforms of the country. On the one hand, Turkey is a developing country which has been trying to build its unique organisational structure for some time. This creates strong motivation for planning, launching and implementing administrative reform with contemporary ideas and trends. Conversely, it has historical traditional and cultural aspects rooted in the Ottoman Empire, a multi-continental, multi-cultural and multi-religious global ruler that survived for more than 600 years. Considering the difficulties of leaving aside the cultural heritage of such a powerful history, some factors create obstacles on the path of the administrative reform efforts.

An overall look reveals fundamental distinctive features of the Turkish State and its politico-administrative tradition. Strong reference to the unitary and centralised structure of the State is the first important conclusion of the chapter. This is important for the reform programmes because these two characteristics have the potential to simplify the launch of any policy initiative from the centre and implementation of policies countrywide. Any reform policy planned and launched by the government is implemented in any part of the country in the intended format without requiring further approval from local government owing to the unitary State structure. The centralised philosophy and structure contribute further to the unitary structure by focusing power at central level. Co-operation of these two structural and cultural aspects, *ceteris paribus* facilitates the launch and implementation of administrative reform programmes.

The executive, in the shape of a President, who has more power and authority than other democratic examples, and a Prime Ministry institution, which having power and authority in the personality of The Prime Minister and his office can be evaluated as the second point. The impact of these two powerful elements of the executive works in opposite directions. While the authority and the power of the President have a potentially obstructing characteristic and a check-balance role, the Prime Minister and his/her office have a facilitating profile and role. When these two have different political philosophies, both have the means and ability to slow down or halt the State machinery. If doesn't embrace a particular policy, the President has many ways to slow it down or, if the Constitutional Court agrees, block it. Alternatively the Prime Minister, if has a sufficient majority and a strong political will, can bring about and pursue

vigorous administrative reform policies despite the resistance from various organisations, institutions or groups.

The civil service and related topics, particularly patronage relationships and its implications, are additional important points as the bureaucracy has the potential to impact the reform process as planner, implementer and monitor. Although it was modelled after the Weberian bureaucracy theory, it has deficiencies which prevent it from achieving the necessary standards. Favouritism replaces merit and diminishes the quality of personnel. In adding a lifetime working guarantee, it becomes impossible for executives and high-level civil servants to ensure the lower level civil servants embrace the reform and produce a high performance. In respect of the high-level civil servants, due to the State tradition and administrative culture, they enjoy exercising power in the State machinery. Where they have good relationships with political executives and perceive no threat to their positions, they contribute greatly to the administrative reform programmes. On the contrary, if they have reason, they have the potential to slow down or block the administrative reform process.

The extraordinary impact of two major institutions, The Military and Judiciary, on the political and administrative system is another important conclusion. The traditional role of the Military on political and social life, and its commitment to a traditional State philosophy, creates an atmosphere where military related institutions perceive intervention in politics and policy making as their natural right. This brings to the fore another group needing convincing for the government in their pursuance of administrative reform. The Judiciary, with the Administrative Jurisdiction and Constitutional Courts, is directly linked to the reform process. In a State tradition where legislation is necessary for any reform, particularly the Constitutional Court, with its authority on constitutional review of new legislation has significant importance on the realisation of reform initiatives. The administrative courts and Council of State on the other hand, have authority to review any action of the executive and administration. Considering their commitment to a traditional philosophy, these institutions have a significant potential to impact the reform programmes planned and launched by government.

Appendix 1

As thoroughly examined in the empirical chapters, the diverse aspects of the institutional context causes various impacts on the process varying from triggering and facilitating administrative reforms, to slowing down and obstructing the process.

Appendix 2. Reform Process of Turkey

As detailed in the socio-economic context appendix, beginning with 1980 military coup, Turkey witnessed an economic, social and political transformation. Public sector re-arrangements were the indispensable components of the transformation. In the institutional atmosphere and legalistic politico-administrative tradition of Turkey, most administrative arrangements have been in the shape of new legislation. The hierarchy of the legislation varied from administrative regulations to constitutional amendments. The administrative reform attempts are of primary importance and developments strongly related to these reforms are elaborated in this chapter in relation to the research and theoretical approach.

An overall look at the reform process reveals public administration reform in Turkey originates from an anti-bureaucratic, private sector based New Public Management approach (Eryılmaz 2010, p. 36, 260, Güler 2005, p. 75-108). Adding major governance components such as citizen participation, transparency, accountability, strategic planning and decentralisation, Turkey has established its own institutions in the reform process.

The Post 1980 reform process is analysed from different points of view. It is feasible to divide the period in line with different factors such as structure and nature of governments, philosophy of reform, effects of international organisations or other notable factors and most importantly, the interaction of all these diverse factors. The most stimulating classification is to distinguish different stages in line with different philosophies. Uçar (2009, p.7) states the first wave of administrative reform in Turkey after 1980 (in line with neo-liberal policies), was about minimising the economic and structural scale of the State and deregulation. The second wave beginning after the economic crises at the end of the 1990s was mainly about re-regulation and governance. Similarly but in more detail, a leading scholar (Eryılmaz 2006, p. 6) examines it from the aspect of the stages and nature of reform. This categorisation is similar to the periods used in the overall design of the research.

- First Stage: Legal-Structural Liberalisation in the Public Sector, Abolishment of Subsidies and austerity measures (1980-1985) (Neo-Liberal Approach and New Public Management model)

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- Second Stage: Privatisation of SEEs (State Owned Enterprises), Public Service Efficiency and Effectiveness Policies and Regulatory Boards (1986-2002) (Further NPM style reforms)
- Third Stage: Citizen Centred Public Services, Accountability of the Public sector, good Governance, Decentralisation, transparency in administration, performance management (post 2002) (More Intensive NPM reforms along with Governance and Digital Era Governance)

Categorization of Eryilmaz is parallel to the general social, political and economic development of the country and with respect to the periodic structuring of the thesis, quite appropriate to employ here in order to examine the administrative reform. An important point is the fact that, although some policies seem unrelated with the administrative reforms, policies which resulted in creating participating channels on policy making, narrowing the scope of State intervention on the economy and diminishing the role of the State in public service through privatisation should be considered directly related to the concept.

Before going into the detail of the major administrative reforms, a table of the reforms in relation to the governments and leaders at the time enables a closer look at the issue.

Table 16: 1980-2010 Administrative Reforms of Turkey

Government(s)	Year	Reform Object	Brief Information
<p>Military Controlled Technician Government (Absolute Majority)</p> <p>From 21/09/1980 to 13/12/1983</p>	1980	24th January Economic Stabilisation Programme	New Right policies, aimed to liberalise the economy.
	1982	Law no.2575 on Council of State	The Council of State is established as both a Superior Administrative Court and an authority for consultation and inspection.
	1982	Law no.2576 on Establishment and Duties of Field Administrative Courts, Administrative Courts and Tax Courts	
	1982	Law no. 2577 on Administrative Courts Proceedings	
	1982	New Constitution	The Constitution empowered the Executive and President against the other powers of state and institutionalized the role of the military.

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	1983-1984	Re-Organization of Ministries; No.174 Cabinet Decree with Power of Law and Law no. 3046 on Establishment and Duty Principles of Ministries	These legislations defined basic rules and principles on the establishment of ministries.
<p>Motherland Party Governments (Majority Governments)</p> <p>Turgut Özal From 13/12/1983 until 21/12/1987</p> <p>Turgut Özal From 21/12/1987 until 09/11/1989</p> <p>Yildirim Akbulut From 09/11/1989 until 23/06/1991</p> <p>Mesut Yilmaz From 23/06/1991 until 20/11/1991</p>	1984	Law no. 2983 on Saving Incentive and Expediting Public Investments	This law was the first piece and framework of legislation concerning Privatisation.
	1984	Law no. 3030 on Administration of Metropolitan Municipalities	Establishment of Metropolitan Municipalities and provision of additional financial resources and privileges.
	1986	Privatization Master Plan	SOEs were classified to ease and prioritise their full or partial divestiture.
	1987	Law on General Administration of Cities which dated back to 1913 had been amended by Law no. 3360	The purpose of these changes was to adopt management of Provincial Special Administrations to the needs of the time.

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	1988	Start of Contracting Out for Public Services Sector	Become possible to contract out some assisting duties in public services.
	1988-1991	KAYA (Public Administration Research Project)	Significant master plan for Public Administration Reform.
	1989-1992	Privatization of Cement Industry	In this period, divestiture was nearly almost fully realized in cement industry.
	1990	Health Sector Master Plan	A radical break on the socialization of health services and free medical care, which had been the guiding principles of governments' health policy prior to 1980. (Türel 1999, p.198)
Right Path Party – Republican People's Party From 20/11/1991 Until 06/03/1996 (4 Governments)	1994	Law no.3996, Build-Operate and Transfer Model	The BOT schemes were introduced to be applied to all infrastructure investments and public utilities and contracts will be subject to private law.
Motherland Party – Right Path Party From 06/03/1996 Until 28/06/1996	1998	Commence of E-Government Services infrastructure and e-Service works.	Most remarkable project of first steps was the MERNIS (Merkezi Nüfus İdaresi Sistemi-Central Civil Registration System).
Welfare Party – Right Path Party From 28/06/1996 Until 30/06/1997	1994-2002	Establishment of Regulatory Boards	Apart from a very early example, most of the regulatory boards were established during 1990s and early 2000s.

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<p>Motherland Party – Democratic Left Party – Democratic Turkey Party From 30/06/1997 Until 11/01/1999</p> <p>Democratic Left Party (Minority Government) From 11/01/1999 Until 28/05/1999</p> <p>Democratic Left Party – Nationalist Movement Party – Motherland Party From 28/05/1999 Until 19/11/2002</p> <p>(8 Coalition Governments, 1 Minority Government)</p>		during 1990s and early 2000s.	
	1999	Central Examination for First Time Appointment to Public Sector was Introduced	A central examination for people who will be employed in the public sector for the first time.
	2001	Comprehensive Constitutional Amendments (35 Articles of Constitution had been changed)	Being the most comprehensive amendment of 1982 Constitution, it aimed to enhance the field of basic rights and liberties and to facilitate democracy and rule of law.
	2002	No.4734 Public Procurement Law	Purpose was to determine methods and principles of procurements practised by public institutions and organizations.
	2003	AKP Government (58. Government) Emergency Action Plan	Action plan was designed to streamline the functioning of public administration and government, to promote a more transparent management of human resources in the public service and to strengthen the fight against corruption.
	2003	Law No.4982 on the Right to Information	Aim is to regulate the procedure and the basis of the right to information according to the principles of equality, impartiality and openness that are the necessities of a democratic and

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<p>Justice And Development Party Governments (Majority Governments)</p> <p>Abdullah Gül From 19/11/2002 Until 12/03/2003</p> <p>Recep Tayyip Erdoğan From 14/03/2003 Until 29/08/2007</p> <p>Recep Tayyip Erdoğan From 29/08/2007 Until 06/07/2011</p> <p>Recep Tayyip Erdoğan From 06/07/2011</p>			transparent government.
	2003	Public Financial Management and Control Law No.5018	The purpose of this Law is to regulate the structure and functioning of the public financial management.
	2003	'E-Transformation Turkey Project' has started in the responsibility of the SPO	'E-Transformation Turkey Project' was a fundamental component of Government Issued "Emergency Action Plan".
	2004	The Draft Law on the Basic Principles and Re-structuring of Public Administration (Vetoed by President)	Principles such as continuous development in public management, participation, transparency, accountability, predictability, efficiency, justice, reliability of declarations, localization in services and efficient use of information technologies were accepted as basic characteristics of public administration.
	2004	Law no. 5176 on Establishment of Public Servants Ethic Committee and Modifications on Some Related Laws	Purpose was to define ethical principles for public servants to comply with.
	2004	Law No.5216 on Metropolitan Municipalities	The purpose was to establish the legal status of metropolitan municipality administration and ensure services are provided in a planned, programmed, effective, efficient and consistent manner.
	2005	Privatization of Turk	After long lasting pressures on public telecommunication

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		Telekom	sector to function on free market principles, it was privatised by block sale of %55 shares in 2005.
	2005	Law No.5302 on Special Provincial Administrations	Ultimate purpose was to empower local governments.
	2005	Law no.5355 on Local Government Unions	Local governments were expected to improve their service capacity and quality by establishing unions and in this way localization would have developed faster.
	2005	No.5393 Municipality Law	Principally, financial sources of local governments had been increased with this law and financial dependency to central government had been lessened.
	2006	Law no.5449 on The Establishment and Duties of Development Agencies	The objective of the law was to set out the principles and procedures regarding the establishment, duties, authorities and coordination of the Development Agencies.
	2006	Social Security Reform Law No. 5502 on Social Security Institution(2006) Law No. 5510 on Social Insurance and Universal Health Insurance (2006)	Main purpose of the reforms was to merge three social security institutions and establish an efficient social security and universal health insurance system that aims citizens' satisfaction.
	2008	One point e-government service	First e-government portal of Turkey was established with an aim of providing electronic public services for citizens from one

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		has commenced on 18 December 2008 under “e-turkiye.gov.tr”.	web point.
	2009	Regulation on Procedures and Principles for the Delivery of Public Services	The purpose was to create an efficient, effective, accountable, trustworthy and transparent public service.
	2010	Constitutional Amendment (26 Articles)	Major themes of constitutional amendments were status and privileges of 1980 coup leaders and military personnel, economic and social rights, individual freedoms and judicial reforms.
	2010	Law No. 6085 On Turkish Court Of Accounts	The purpose of this Law is to regulate the establishment of Turkish Court of Accounts.

2.1 The First Stage

2.1.1 The 24 January Stabilisation Programme

Turkey was influenced by the ideas of the new right solutions for economic and social problems. As a fundamental solution to the economic problems, an economic stabilisation programme was put into practise on the 24 January 1980, (later labelled as “24 January Decisions”). The creator of this programme was Turgut Özal, later Prime Minister and President of Turkey in the reform period of the 1980s. The programme, different from others with its reference to the long term was created with the help of The World Bank, IMF and Turkish Capital. The main purpose was to change the institutional structure of the economy by a liberalising and transforming industrialisation strategy from import-substitution policies to export led development. The government pursued these goals by means of a comprehensive package:

- Devaluation of the Turkish lira and the institution of flexible exchange rates.
- Maintenance of positive real interest rates and tight control of the money supply and credit.
- Loosening the tight control over the finance and banking sectors.
- Limiting the power and authority of labour unions and introducing new rules for bargaining.
- Elimination of most subsidies.
- The freeing of prices charged by state enterprises.
- Reform of the tax system.
- Encouragement of foreign investment.
- Introducing generous subsidies for export.

2.1.2 The Re-Organisation of Administrative Law and the Courts

The Fundamental legislation that gives administrative law and courts their power and role is Article 125 of the Constitution which states; ‘Any action or procedure of the executive and administration is subject to law and courts’.

In 1982, three laws were enacted to re-organise the establishment of Administrative Law and Courts in Turkey;

- Law no.2575 on Council of State,
- Law no.2576 on Establishment and Duties of Field Administrative Courts, Administrative Courts and Tax Courts
- Law no.2577 on Administrative Courts Proceedings

In these laws and in the 1982 Constitution, the Council of State was established as both a Superior Administrative Court and an authority for consultation and inspection. Field Administrative Courts were established as a second level court of appeal for Administrative Courts. Law no.2577 organised the procedures for all levels of administrative law and courts. The Three laws reinforced the traditional legalistic State structure of the country. Although the executive was exceptionally empowered by the new constitution, Administrative Courts and the Council of State were very effective in the following period, and this had important consequences on the reform process elaborated in the relevant chapter.

2.1.3 The New Constitution of 1982

After the military coup of 1980, the New Constitution was prepared by the Consultative Assembly, an organ consisting of members appointed by the coup leaders, finalised form by the National Security Council. It was approved in the popular referendum by %91.37 of voters in 7 November 1982 and entered into statute.

The most significant feature of the 1982 Constitution is the reference to ‘state authority’. This feature introduced a dominant aspect to the structure of the constitution: empowering the Executive and the President (Soysal 1984, p.16). The 1982 Constitution included mechanisms abolishing blocks to the decision-making procedures. The increasing importance of the State and authority of the constitution aimed to create a more powerful executive particularly against the judiciary and legislation. The strong executive was key factor for the rapid re-structuring of the State through the 1980s and 2000s when majority governments were in office.

2.1.4 The Re-Organisation of Ministries

General structures of ministries were re-organized in 1983 and 1984, with Statutory Decree No.174, and Law no.3046 Establishment and Duty Principles

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of Ministries. The legislation defined the basic rules and principles for the establishment of ministries. It defined duties and authorities of their organisation at the centre, periphery, abroad and also organised related and affiliated institutions. Re-organisation of the ministries meant a fundamental change for a large part of the State institutions. Considering the traditional State structure in which all executive functions were held by ministries, the entire executive was subjected to this re-organisation. The main purpose of the legislation was to deliver public service in a consistent, fast, effective, efficient and economical manner. (Law No. 3046, Article 1). This legislation was in line with the ideas of the new right and new public management.

2.1.5 The Steps to Privatisation

Privatisation of SEEs (State Economic Enterprise) has always been on the agenda since the early 1980s. In 1984, first step towards privatisation in Turkey came with Law No. 2983 on Saving Incentive and Expediting Public Investments. The fundamental institutional framework of privatisation was established with the first piece of legislation in this field. Privatisation implementation started in 1984 with the transfer of incomplete SSE plants to the private sector for completion. At this juncture, 6 plants were sold to different investors and 9 plants were transferred to municipalities to State enterprises at book value (Privatisation in Turkey, p. 8-11).

To implement a privatisation programme in line with a strategic plan, in 1985, the State Planning Organization (STO, Transformed into the Ministry of Development in 2011) prepared a "Privatisation Master Plan" defining the aims, priorities, extent and schedule for Privatisation. The plan was completed in 1986. The task of preparing the master plan was contracted out to a consortium of international and national companies following an international tender and was financed by The World Bank. This plan also classified SEEs to identify the priorities for their full or partial divestiture.

In the second half of the 1980s, increasing efforts were made on privatisation implementation in spite of serious obstacles from the Administrative and Constitutional Law and Courts. As a result, between 1989 and 1992, divestiture was almost fully realised in some industries like cement, forestry products, dairy products, meat and fodder (Privatization in Turkey, p.8-11).

2.1.6 The Re-organisation of Local Governments

Law no. 3030 on the Administration of Metropolitan Municipalities came into force in 1984 with an aim of solving the problems created by the expansion of the metropolitan areas. This law created Metropolitan Municipalities and provided additional financial resources and privileges to them. The ultimate purpose was to create more effective and efficient local public service system.

In 1987 articles of Law on the General Administration of Cities dating back to 1913 were amended with Law No.3360 and re-organised city general administrations. The purpose of these changes was to adapt the management of Provincial Special Administration to the needs of the time. This was a first step towards a radical change in local government operations.

These two laws were significant steps toward decentralisation. Although they didn't bring about a fundamental change in the strong unitary principle, they did improve the financial and administrative capacity of local government and resulting in a more effective and efficient local public service delivery.

2.2 Second Stage

2.2.1 The KAYA (Public Administration Research) Project

The State Planning Organization (SPO) ordered TODAİE (The Turkish and Middle East Public Administration Institute), a state supported academic institution, to carry out studies and research on public administration. They were tasked to perform a research project in 1988, to act as a guide for the Five Year Development Plan and Annual Programme for better public administration. The related topics were developing and re-organising public administration, evaluating result of hitherto reform, determine shortcomings, problems and mistakes of implementation, specify necessary measures and determining the preparation necessary for administrative compliance to the European Union (TODAİE 1991, p.3; Akın 2000, p.81; Ministry of Interior 2003, p.10). The research report was completed at the end of 1990 and concepts of citizen centred administration and compliance to the EU was on the agenda officially for the first time in Turkey.

The project scope embraced:

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- Re-organising central and local public institutions and local governments to deliver public services effectively, efficiently, speedily, economically and qualitatively;
- Provide public administration with the ability to adapt to fast developing contemporary conditions, define malfunctions, deficiencies and problems in public institutions' aims, duties, authority and responsibilities
- Financial resources and usage of these, their procedures, legislation, communication and public relations (TODAIE 1991, p.3).

There have been a number of critiques of this report but the most important and significant one is, KAYA project, like previous projects for administrative reforms, is based on traditional organizational structure and tried to improve its performance. In the 1980s climate, the aim of the new right ideas was not to improve traditional bureaucratic organisations. On the contrary, the aim was to replace them with private sector-like structures. The Project did not address this change and nowhere near directing the administration to alternative organisation styles (Güler 1996, p.40). Although it received positive feedback at first, the report was not very effective on the reform process as whole and achieved only limited consequences.

2.2.2 The Contracting Out and Health Sector Master Plan

In 1988, with an amendment to Law No.657 on Civil Servants, contracting out some assisting duties in public service was made possible. This amendment had its initial and major impact in the health sector. In 1990, the State Planning Organization (SPO), together with the Ministry of Health, prepared a Health Sector Master Plan, which guided the health and health insurance policies of Turkey in the following decades.

The solution offered by this plan was to separate health insurance from the old age/retirement insurance scheme, establishing a separate, extensive health insurance system and turning hospitals into autonomous bodies offering health services competitively on the basis of agreements made with the health insurance institutions. This 'Thatcherism' model of 'user pays' reform had strong supporters within the government, political parties and members of the medical profession, mostly in private practice. It constituted a radical break from the socialisation of health services and free medical care which was the

guiding principles of governments' health policy prior to 1980 (Türel 1999, p.198).

2.2.3 The Increasing Privatisation Implementations

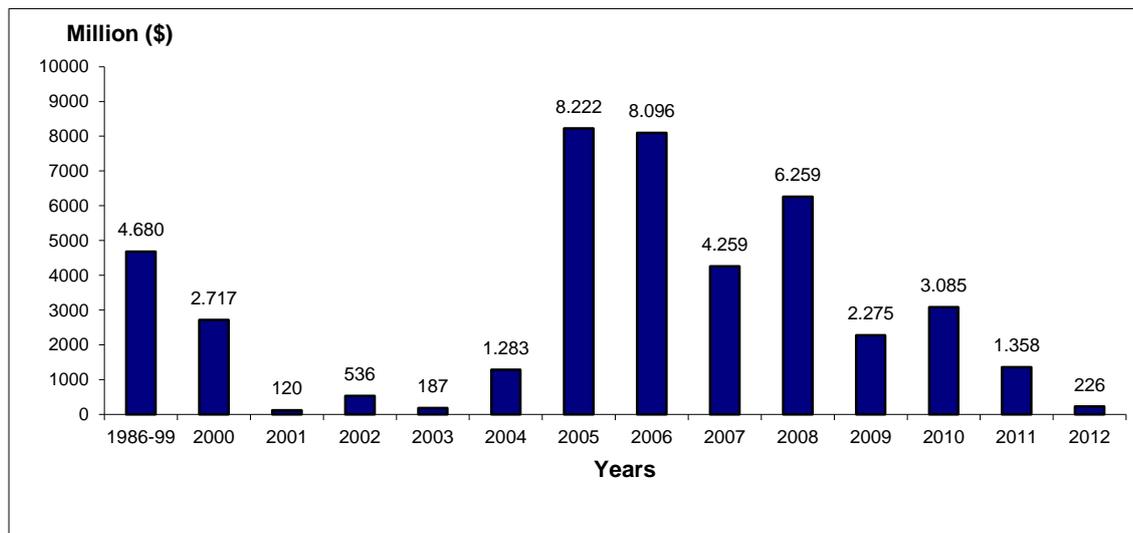
In 1994, with Law No.3996, a new model for privatisation was enacted. This model was called Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) and was amended in 1994 and 1996. It had been implemented to provide alternative financing for big infrastructure projects where resources of the public sector were insufficient and contracts were subject to private law. However the model was adopted and exploited by the local governments for the services they were unable to finance from their own resources (i.e. construction of underground and rail systems, establishment of commercial centres).

Privatisation rates gained speed in the 2000s. Since 1986, 200 companies have been privatised and no government shares exist in 189 of these. Between 1986 and 2010, revenue from privatisation reached around 42 billion USD. Most of this was gained in the 2000s. As an example, the total volume of privatisation revenue reached 8,096 billion USD in 2008 (nearly 1% of GDP). Privatisation during 1985-1999 was slower and less valuable compared with the performance of the post 2003 period.

The State withdrew completely from cement, animal feed production, milk & dairy products, forest products, civil handling and catering services sectors. More than 50 % of the State's shares were privatised in the tourism, iron and steel, textiles, sea freight and meat processing sectors. Importantly, the State has withdrawn from most of the ports, petroleum refineries, petroleum distribution and telecommunication sectors and these privatisations were carried out in the last decade.

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Table 17: Privatization Rates by Years



Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Privatization Administration

Table 18: Total Privatization Revenues

	1985 - 2010 (\$)
Block Sales	20,257,066,639
Facility and Assets Sales	12,429,720,087
Public Offering	7,053,283,819
Stock Exchange Sales	1,261,053,768
Incomplete Facility Sales	4,368,792
Book Value Transfers	713,797,924
TOTAL	41,719,291,029

Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Privatization Administration

2.2.4 The Regulatory Bodies

As the economy was moving towards a private sector driven structure with the impact of the previous reforms, regulatory policy had become more important. Agencies were given the role of the regulatory function of government and gained important authority as a result (Sezen 2005, p. 86). With an aim of separating the ownership, policymaking and routine supervision functions in the liberalised sectors such as infrastructure (telecommunications, electricity

and natural gas), agriculture and finance, many authorities were established (For details see **Table 15**, page 220).

2.2.5 E-Government Services

In the second half of the 1990s, the country witnessed rapid development in telecommunication and computer technologies affecting society and began transforming Turkey into an information community. It was impossible for public administration to be immune to these developments. The increasing struggle to utilise technology for public service is illustrated by observing Turkey from the second half of 1990s, when e-government programmes were launched in central and local government (Yıldız 2003, p. 312).

The e- Government programme began in 1998 with an extensive preparation of the infrastructure and some separate e-service projects. The most far reaching project of the first steps was the MERNİS (Merkezi Nüfus İdaresi Sistemi-Central Civil Registration System) project. This system holds all registered information on Turkish citizens in a central database and provides the opportunity to utilise this database for different purposes by other public bodies. The e-Government related implementation was later co-ordinated and merged under the name of `e-Transformation of Turkey` project. This project was one of the fundamental components of the Urgent Action Plan of the Justice and Development Party. The responsibility for conducting this project was delegated to the State Planning Organisation (SPO) in 2003.

Main purposes of this project were;

- To commence e-Government services in order to deliver public services to citizens quickly and effectively
- To expedite operation of e-Government to accomplish results concurrent with central and local public administration reform.
- To merge various operations being conducted by various public institutions (e-Turkiye, Kamu-Net, etc.) and prepare an action plan specifying a schedule for completion of the project.

After 2003, with the contribution of determined majority governments, rapid development was witnessed in e-government exercises. In 2003 and 2004, two short term action plans were issued. The `Strategy for Information Society` was issued in 2005 which would guide the implementation between 2006 and

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2010, the objective being to create a single point where all citizens can access public services. The project “e-Government Gate” began in 2006. This was to be the first e-government portal of Turkey. The One gate service commenced on 18 December 2008 under ‘e-turkiye.gov.tr’ web portal.

2.2.6 The Constitutional Amendments of 2001

Prior to 2001, in 1987 three articles and one temporary article, in 1993 one article, in 1995 introduction and fifteen articles and in 1999 firstly one article and then further three articles of constitution had been amended. Totally, 25 articles were amended before 2001. In October 2001, 35 articles of Constitution were amended simultaneously. Thus the sixth amendment of the 1982 constitution was the broadest in scope. The Amendments of 1987 and 1983 were very weak in terms of their effects on political life and administration. 1995 Amendments abolished some important obstacles to political participation of citizens. Political activity boundaries on associations, unions and professional associations (chambers) were removed and they had been able to have relations with political parties.

Regarding 2001 amendments, two aspects are very significant. First is its scope. Changing 35 articles in a constitution of totally 177 articles meant a very broad change. As important as its scope is the fact this amendment was made with a consensus of political parties and approved by 474 of 494 participating MPs. This was a wide majority in a radically separated parliamentary composition (an assembly composition of six party groups and several other small party MPs and a coalition consisted of three parties). This may be interpreted as an evidence for level of perceived necessity of these reforms for the country.

The contents of the amendments focussed on: freedom of thought and expression, fundamental rights and liberties, personal liberties and security, the right to privacy, freedom of travel and lodgement, freedom of expression and broadcast of opinions, freedom of the press, freedom of forming associations, the right to congregate and demonstrate, the right to legal remedies, re-organisation of crime and punishment and protection of basic rights and liberties (Law No.4709 on Amendment of Constitution, 2001). All these fields of re-organisation basically meant a significant move forward in

terms of the participation of citizens into politics and decision-making procedures. The 2001 constitutional amendments can rightly be seen as a basis for the fundamental reforms of the 2000s.

2.2.7 Public Procurement

In 2002, the system of public procurement was re-organised with Law no.4734 on Public Procurement and Law No.4735 on Public Procurement Contracts. These laws constitute the legislative framework of Public Procurement. The purpose of law 4734 was to determine methods and principles of procurement practice in public institutions and organisations which are subject to administrative law, under the control of public administration or using public resources (Public Procurement Law, Article 1). Law 4735 on the other hand, aimed to establish the principles and procedures pertaining to implementation of public procurement contracts under the Public Procurement Law (Law no.4735 Article 1). Turkey has adopted a new procurement system with this legislation which meets international, in particular EU standards. It primarily aims to ensure transparency, competition and fairness of public tenders.

The system brought about by this law is radically different from the previous one. One of the most important features is the establishment of the Public Procurement Authority as a public legal entity and is administratively and financially autonomous. The Authority is assigned and authorised to carry out the accurate application of the principles, procedures and transactions specified in this field. Another important feature is the adoption of a new approach in public administration. In this approach, an environmental impact analysis report is compulsory before bidding takes place. This new condition provides for the participation of Stakeholders in the process.

An e-procurement platform (EPAK), initially established in the PPA in February 2010, was officially launched in September 2010 and has developed successfully. By late March 2011, some 22,000 procurement units (several may be within a single contracting authority) and 10,000 economic operators had already been registered in the electronic system. The publication of tender documents in the electronic system has become mandatory, along with contract notices. The EU's Common Procurement Vocabulary (CPV) has been translated into Turkish and incorporated into the electronic procurement

system. Starting with a pilot in March 2011, the technical facilities for submitting tenders by electronic means are being incorporated to be fully functional by the end of 2011. A help-desk with 30 staff was established to provide information and assistance to contracting authorities and economic operators using EPAK (KİK 2011; 2012).

2.3 The Third Stage

2.3.1 58. Government (First Justice and Development Party Government) Emergency Action Plan

Just after coming to power in 2002, the new government decided to put an emergency action plan into practice. The plan was announced to the public by Justice and Development Party Leader, then Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on 15 November 2002 and the Government Programme was submitted to the National Assembly by Prime Minister Abdullah Gül on 23 November 2002.

In the action plan, 205 action fields were designated under the main topics of public administration reform; economic transformation programme, democratisation, law reform and social policy reform. Actions under the public administration reform topic were structured as 28 central administration reform sub-topics, 9 local government reform sub-topics, 1 public personnel reform sub-topic and 7 anti-corruption reform sub-topics (58th Government Emergency Action Plan 2003, p. v).

The main points regarding public administration:

- A new, participatory and liberal constitution would be prepared,
- Participatory and transparent public administration would be established,
- The State's role would be restricted to justice, internal and external security, macro strategies, economic balance and stability, infrastructure, fundamental health and education services, compensation of regional and social inequalities and general auditing,
- The authority of central government would be restricted and defined clearly; the rest would be left to local governments,

- Executive duties, authorities and resources would be left to local governments,
- Ministries' local duties and authorities would be left to Province Governors and Provincial Administrations,
- Regional development institutions would be established,
- A law for collecting information would be enacted,
- Legislation and administrative practices would be simplified,
- Public service units would announce performance reports for public and National Assembly,
- E-government services would be generalized to public sector.

Looking at the emergency plan, it is observed the measures planned represent a particular administration philosophy. The philosophy and the measures mentioned was the core of all public administration reform hitherto and this philosophy is closely aligned to the basic doctrines of the New Public Management model.

2.3.2 The Right to Information

An important part of emergency action plan, the Law on Right to Information was enacted in 2003. The purpose of the law was to regulate the procedure and the basis of the right to information according to the principles of equality, impartiality and openness, considered the necessities of a democratic, transparent and accountable government. Article 4 of the law states everyone has right to information. Foreigners domiciled in Turkey and foreign legal entities operating in Turkey can exercise this right in law, on the condition the information they require is related to them or the field of their activities and on the basis of reciprocity.

2.3.3 Public Expenditure Management and Control

The law governing Public expenditure management and public financial control is Law No.5018 Public Financial Management and Control. It was enacted in December 2003 and is a public finance framework law. It aims to introduce modern budgeting procedures requiring a fundamental change in administrative culture.

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Regarding Public Expenditure Management, the main characteristics of the new budget system aimed at improving transparency and accountability. In particular, it includes:

- Increased responsibilities of line ministries in budgeting,
- The development of a multi-year budgeting approach,
- The preparation of strategic plans, performance programmes that include performance objectives, targets, and accountability reports (i.e. annual activity reports) by line ministries and other public administrations (SIGMA 2011, p.16).

The Public Financial Management and Control Law and other legislation the Law and Regulations on Debt Management were issued during the period of 2002-2005. Various modernisation measures, such as improvements in fiscal reporting and streamlining of the payment system, have contributed to an increased aggregate fiscal discipline.

At central level, financial management functions are shared by the Ministry of Finance, which is responsible for budget preparation, budget execution (including administering payment transactions), accounting and reporting, the State Planning Organisation (SPO), responsible, among other duties, for strategic planning, preparing and monitoring the investment programme, and the Undersecretariat of the Treasury, responsible, among other duties, for cash and debt management. There is close co-ordination between these three institutions.

In 2006, the Ministry of Finance budget offices located within line ministries were eliminated. Strategic Development Units have been created in each ministry and main agency. The Strategic Development Units took over functions previously performed by the Ministry of Finance budget offices for budget preparation and budget execution. They are responsible for strategic management and planning, establishing performance and quality criteria, co-ordinating the preparation of the budget and performance programme, accounting, reporting and internal control, including performing some ex-ante financial controls. Strategic Development Units are staffed with financial specialists to perform their functions in budget preparation and execution to prepare the budget, to co-ordinate with the different departments of their ministry and to prepare the ministry's accountability report on the basis of

reports prepared by the spending units. All these measures and procedures brought in by the law provide a clear impression of the managerial approach and the New Public Management model implementation.

2.3.4 The Draft Law on Basic Principles and Re-structuring of Public Administration

The Draft Law on the Basic Principles and Re-structuring of Public Administration was adopted by parliament in July 2004. Although subsequently vetoed by the president for violating the unitary nature of the State, it created a wide debate on public administration reform issues. This law provided the most comprehensive public administration reform for Turkey to date and this time the bill was elaborated through broad consultation including academic circles, NGOs, high-level bureaucrats and opposition political parties.

The law concerned with the role of government, the tasks of public institutions, authorities and responsibilities of public institutions, ethics and basic principles to be followed by the public sector. Many elements such as the basic principle of administrative partitions, the civil service regime, management of asset and resources used in public administration, task processes and methods, control approach and the system were being re-organised by law. Participatory, transparent, accountable, effective and efficient, respectful of human rights and freedoms, fair, rapid and high quality public administration was the aim of this law. The law revealed the basic principles to be followed by all public institutions. Below were the main reform proposals of this law:

- Activation of the principles of participation, transparency, accountability, activity, respect for human rights, simplicity of bureaucratic procedures and regulations, use of information technologies in public services.
- A new and effective framework regarding organisation structures, horizontal organisation and delegation of authority.
- A statement of resource distribution between ministries and institutions and avoidance of authority duplications.
- Elimination of useless functions and organisations.
- Clarification of sharing of authority and tasks between central administration and local governments, increase effectiveness of central

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administration on strategic level, extent of flexibility and resources of local government. It envisaged far-reaching changes in centre–local government relations introducing ‘subsidiarity’ in place of centralisation.

- Elimination of provincial organization of ministries except the main services of government and strengthening local management units.
- Promotion of strategic management mentality in public services and linking this to the resource allocation mechanisms.
- Promotion of performance based control mechanisms and strengthening internal control.
- Strengthening public inspection including an ombudsman mechanism (Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003, pp.140-141).

Despite the fact it was not legislated, the draft law had an important place in the administration reform process of Turkey particularly in terms of revealing the administrative philosophy of the Justice and Development Party Government and the wide debate it generated among the public and academic world. The basic philosophy of draft law is very similar to contemporary public administration models. Many of the principles and components of the draft law were legislated separately later (Arikboğa 2007, p. 43), stated below in detail.

2.3.5 The Public Service Ethic

Law No.5176 on the Establishment of Public Servants Ethic Committee and Amendments in the Related Laws was enacted in 2004. This law is the legal framework for ethics in Public service. The purpose of the law was to define ethical principles for public servants to comply with. These principles were fundamental characteristics defined by the administrative agenda of post-1980: transparency, impartiality, rectitude, accountability and service for the public interest. The Public Servants Ethics Committee was established to supervise the practice. The duties, methods and principles of the committee are also defined by law.

2.3.6 Faster Privatisation Implementations

Privatisation was one of the most successful activities of post-2002 government and rates reached to historical peaks in the period. In eight years, total privatisation income was 33,666 million US\$. The peak figures were 8,222 in 2005, 8,096 in 2006 and 6,259 in 2008 (million US\$). Huge SEEs in

important sectors contributed to these high figures. Privatisation processes are still underway at the time of writing. Despite all the effort made in last three decades on privatisation, there still exists a very big and powerful economic enterprises and companies owned completely or partly by State particularly in the banking sector. The table below presents the major privatizations of late period.

Table 19: Major Privatizations in the Period 2003 - 2010

Year	State Economic Enterprise	Proceeds (Million US\$)	State Share	Privatization Type
2005	Turk Telecom	6,550	55%	Block Sale
2006	TUPRAS (Turkish Petroleum Refineries Company)	4,140	51%	Block Sale
2006	ERDEMIR (Steel Manufacturing Industry)	2,770	46%	Block Sale
2008	PETKIM (Petrochemical Production Industry)	2,040	51%	Block Sale

Source: Data retrieved from Prime Ministry Privatization Administration and World Bank. Table prepared by author.

2.3.7 The Further Reforms on Local Governments

The reform initiative began with The Justice and Development Party government in 2002 aimed at restructuring the public administration system in accordance with the administration philosophy proposed. It considered decentralised service provision as the core principle, and proposed the transfer of services, not needed to be performed by the State, to local government along with the resources. The most important features of the reform were the legislation issued with regard to local governments and effective implementation afterwards. Within this context, the fundamental legislation on local governments was amended totally in an attempt to harmonise the local government system with international norms particularly the European Charter of Local Self-Government.

In this framework, a number of laws were enacted between 2004 and 2010;

- No.5393 Municipality Law.
- No.5216 Metropolitan Municipality Law.

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- Law No.5302 on Special Provincial Administrations.
- Law No. 5355 on Unions of Local Governments.
- Law No.5366 on Renovating, Conserving and Actively Using Dilapidated Historical and Immovable Assets.
- Law No. 5286 on Abolishing General Directorate of Village Services and Amending Various Laws.
- Law No. 5747 on Establishing District within Boundaries of Metropolitan Municipalities and Amending Various Laws.
- Law No.5779 on Appointments from General Budget Tax Revenues to Special Provincial Administrations and Municipalities.

Apart from these, an important amendment in Metropolitan Municipality Law was introduced at the time of writing and there is progression on the preparation of a new Village Law. Additionally, many regulations were issued in order to assist the implementation of primary legislation, namely: Regulation on Business Licences, Regulation on Municipal Council Proceedings, Regulation on General Provincial Council Proceedings, Regulation on Voluntary Participation in Services of Special Provincial Administrations and Municipalities, Regulation on Local Governments Budgeting and Accounting, Regulation on Citizen's Assembly, Regulation on Principles and Standards of Job Positions in Municipalities and Affiliated Entities and Unions of Local Governments and Regulation on Expenditure Documents of Local Governments.

The Major theme of the changes brought about by the legislation and implementation has been empowering local government. The administrative tutelage of central government on local governments was restricted and a central-local relationship based on co-operation rather than tutelage was created. The staffing procedures for local government were eased; requirement of approvals from central government on staffing was abolished to a large extent. Executive competence of special provincial administration and municipalities was extended. Law no 5747 increased the revenues of special provincial administrations and municipalities by means of increasing the share allocated from the general budget tax revenues. New criteria such as development level, surface area, number of villages and rural population were added to the criterion, and it was made possible to allocate more resources for those local governments having a greater need. The table below outlines the

increase in the share allocated to local government from general budget tax revenues and overall revenues of local governments after the legislations.

Table 20: Revenues of Local Governments by Years (in 1000 Turkish Lira)

Years	Share from General Budget Tax Revenues	General Budget Tax Revenue/ Local Share Ratio	Total Revenues of Local Governments	Total Local Revenue/Tax Share Ratio
2003	5,361,209	6.35%	14,599,121	36.7%
2004	7,940,522	7.9%	18,699,428	42.4%
2005	10,139,851	8.5%	24,446,704	41.5%
2006	10,906,193	7.9%	31,724,905	34.4%
2007	13,285,378	8.7%	35,474,232	37.4%
2008	16,008,103	9.5%	38,841,851	41.2%
2009	17,318,588	10.04%	42,477,177	40.8%
2010	20,988,962	9.97%	53,582,118	39.2%

Source: General Directorate of Public Accounts

A more participatory decision-making mechanism was established in local government in the shape of specialist commissions. District governors, heads of public entities in the provinces, public professional organisations, universities, unions, village and neighbourhood heads, representatives of non-governmental organisations, were given the opportunity to participate and deliver opinions (not vote) in commission meetings, where related matters of their duties and activity areas were discussed. It was mandatory to seek the opinion of universities, non-governmental organisations and professional chambers in the preparation of strategic plans. The province governor was dismissed as chair of general provisional councils, and the councils were given the opportunity to elect their own president. Both general provincial and municipal councils were authorised to convene monthly and work more effectively. The executive committees were relieved of their decision-making

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role and assigned to an executive structure and the councils were conferred new duties and powers.

Additionally, a legal framework was established for the working principles and procedures of citizens' assemblies through which citizens could offer suggestions and ideas to municipalities on the development of a vision of a city's future and on community citizenship. Lastly an independent law on unionisation in local governments enabled municipalities to collaborate with the union mechanisms.

2.3.8 The Development Agencies

An important part of the emergency action plan Law no.5449 on The Establishment and Duties of Development Agencies was enacted in 2006. The objective of the law was to set out the principles and procedures regarding the establishment, duties, authorities and co-ordination of the Development Agencies which organised for the purpose of accelerating regional development, ensuring sustainability and reducing interregional and intraregional development disparities in accordance with the principles and policies set out in the National Development Plan and Programmes. This was to be through enhancing the co-operation between the public sector, private sector and non-governmental organisations, ensuring the efficient and appropriate utilisation of resources and stimulating local potential. Many agencies were established in a very short time following the legislation. The number of regional development agencies is 26 at the time of writing.

2.3.9 A Step towards More Participation

A regulation issued in 17/02/2006 in order to determine the procedures for the preparation of new legislation created opportunities for more participation by different groups and NGOs in the decision-making process. The aim was to regulate the procedures in preparing drafts of laws, statutory decrees, regulations, Cabinet Decrees and other regulatory official documents. Article 6 of the regulation details the obligation of officially accepting opinions of local governments, universities, trade unions, NGOs while preparing new legislation. It opened new channels of opportunity for all groups to participate in the decision-making process.

2.3.10 Social Security Reform

The main purpose of the reform was to merge three social security institutions and establish an efficient social security and universal health insurance system which satisfies citizens. Social Security reform had two important steps. First The Social Security Institution was established by Law no. 5502 in 2006. It combined The Pension Fund (for civil servants), The Social Insurance Institution (Workers) and The Self-Employed Institution (Self-employed persons) as a completely new institution. For workers (Self-Employed and Civil Servants), equality of rights and liabilities with regard to pensions, cash and benefits in case of incapacity to work and health was a consideration.

Secondly, general conditions for social insurance and health insurance were introduced by Law No. 5510 in 2008 shortly after. The purpose of the law was to provide individuals with social insurance and universal health insurance, to identify individuals who would benefit from these insurances and the right to be granted it, conditions for benefiting from such rights, and the methods of financing and cover. The law also regulated the procedures and principles regarding the implementation of the social insurance and universal health insurance system.

2.3.11 The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

Causing huge loss of life and large scale devastation, the Marmara Earthquake was a painful reminder of the necessity to review Disaster Management in Turkey. The need to redefine the disaster management powers and responsibility of the institution where co-ordination should be ensured made it necessary to have competency and co-ordination combined under a single entity for disasters and emergencies.

In line with these discussions the Directorate General of Civil Defence operating under the Ministry of Interior, the Directorate General of Disaster Affairs operating under the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, and the Directorate General of Turkish Emergency Management operating under the Prime Ministry were all closed down. All authority and responsibility thereof were given to one organisation. The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency reporting to the Prime Ministry was established in 2009 with Law no 5902.

2.3.12 The Public Service Standards

The cabinet issued a Regulation on Procedures and Principles for the Delivery of Public Service in 2009. The purpose of this Cabinet Regulation was to create an efficient, effective, accountable, trustworthy and transparent public service. In order to provide public service of high quality, quick, basic, at low cost, the regulation defines the procedures and principles for the public sector to follow.

Public authorities were responsible for preparing service standards tables. These tables should contain detailed information on which services are provided, necessary documents for application, necessary procedures to follow, time limits for each service and offices for complaints. The tables are very similar to the citizen charters in the UK and were important extensions of the New Public Management reforms initiated by the Thatcher government.

2.3.13 The Constitutional Amendment of 2010 (26 articles)

In 2010, the Turkish parliament adopted a series of constitutional amendments. The main opposition party was not interested in amending the constitution on a large scale so refused to collaborate and take part in the Constitutional Commission. The amendment package did not manage to receive the required two-thirds majority (67%), votes for immediate legislation. They did receive a majority of 330 votes (60%), sufficient to present the amendments to the electorate in a referendum. The referendum was held on 12th of September 2010 and 57.88% of voters were in favour of change with a voter turnout of 73.71% (Supreme Election Board 2012b).

The constitutional amendments aimed at bringing the constitution into compliance with European Union standards in terms of democratic governance. The status and privileges of the 1980 coup leaders, military personnel, economic and social rights, individual freedoms and judicial reform were major themes of the amendments.

The Provisional Article 15 of the Constitution providing protection to coup leaders was abolished. The amendments allowed the leaders of the 1980 coup to be sent to court. Military officers who commit crimes against the state, such as preparing coup plans, would be tried in civilian courts. Military personnel

who are dismissed from the Turkish Armed Forces would have the right to appeal to the judiciary, the right to legal remedies and the right of defence.

The right to collective bargaining for government employees was granted. The same right would be granted to retirees. Government employees who believed they had been punished unfairly would be able to go to court.

Restrictions on the right to strike were also removed. Restrictions on politically motivated strikes and lockouts were removed to advance workers' rights. The Economic and Social Council (ESK) comprising representatives from unions, associations and confederations is given constitutional protection.

Problems between the State and citizens would be resolved by an ombudsman without having to go to court. With this amendment the ombudsman was given a constitutional position (A law on ombudsman, named as public inspection authority, was enacted later in 2012 and the institution has been established). If citizens are not satisfied with judicial decisions, they will be able to directly petition the Constitutional Court. In terms of personal information such as names, photographs and ID will remain private.

Regarding the judicial amendments, closing down political parties by the constitutional court in future would not be as easy as it used to be. Deputies would not be banned from politics if their party is closed down and they will keep their seats for the rest of the term. The structure of the constitutional court was also changed. The number of Constitutional Court members is increased, Parliament appoints three members and the president appoints the other fourteen. The Constitutional Court will have a more democratic structure, consisting of two parts and functioning as a general assembly. The structure of the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) was also changed and a more democratic system was implemented.

2.3.14 The Court of Accounts (Law No. 6085 on Turkish Court of Accounts)

The purpose of this Law was to regulate the establishment of the Turkish Court of Accounts. It includes the functioning, audit and judicial procedures, qualifications and appointments of its staff, responsibilities and competences, rights and obligations and other matters pertaining to personnel, the election

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and security of tenure of the President and members of the Court. The duties of the court are;

- To perform audit activities on behalf of the Turkish Grand National Assembly,
- To take the final decision on the accounts and transactions of those responsible,
- To carry out the duties of examining, auditing and taking the final decision stemming from laws, in the framework of accountability and fiscal transparency in the public sector,
- To ensure that public administration functions effectively, economically, efficiently and in compliance with laws,
- To ensure the public resources are acquired, preserved and utilized in accordance with foreseen purposes, targets, laws and other legal arrangements.

The New structure of the Court of Accounts is in the prime position in terms of auditing financial decisions and accounts of public services. Transforming auditing system of the 2000s reforms left the Court of Accounts as the only external auditing and inspection institution for public authorities.

2.4 The Conclusions

The appendix covers the main policy efforts identified as administrative reform and associated developments. The reforms that followed the 1980 military coup marked the beginning of a process that continues. To begin with, a development strategy based on import substitution, a mixed economy and comprehensive State intervention in the economic sphere was abandoned. A different regime based on the neo-liberal understanding and relied on a free market economy, exports and the primacy of the private sector was embraced. The Motherland Party cabinets reinforced policies of economic and financial liberalisation and deregulation commenced by the military era government after 1983. In the first half of the 1980s, public monopolies were abolished and the privatisation of state enterprises began. As already mentioned, some policies seem unrelated with the administrative field at the beginning but they had significant impact by changing the role and working style of the State in public service delivery. Such liberal policies were maintained in the coalition

period of 1990s. Although there had been great efforts and significant developments in the 1980s and 1990s, the general volume of administrative reforms were less when compared with the post 2002 reform of the single party period. After 2002, the Turkish State and administration went through a rapid transformation via administrative reforms that completed the mission of earlier reform efforts.

Appendix 3. List of Interview Respondents

Table 21: List of Interview Respondents

Prof Dr. Ömer Dinçer	Undersecretary of Prime Ministry (2003 - 2007), Minister of Labour Social Security (2009 - 2011), Minister of National Education (2011 - 2013)
Dr. Işın Çelebi	Minister of State (1987 - 1989) Minister of State Responsible for Economy (1989 - 1991) Minister of State Responsible for Economy (1997 - 1999)
Doc. Dr. Mehmet Ulvi Saran	District Governor, Deputy Governor, Chief Inspector of Ministry of Interior (1985 - 2003) Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Health (2003 - 2009) Governor of Malatya Province (2009 - 2012) Undersecretary of Public Order and Security (2012 - ...)
Mustafa Çetin	District Governor, Deputy Governor, Chief Inspector of Ministry of Interior, Deputy Chairman of Ministry of Interior Inspector's Committee Governor of Gumushane Province (1996 - 1999) Deputy Undersecretary of Prime Ministry (2002 - 2007) Member of Parliament (2007 - 2011) Board Member of Ziraat Bank A.S. (2011 - ...)
Seyfullah Hacımüftüoğlu	District Governor (1985 - 2005) Deputy President of State Personnel Presidency (2005 - 2007) (2007 - 2009) Governor of Rize Province (2009 - 2012) Undersecretary of Ministry of Interior (2012 - ...)
Özer KONTOĞLU	President of Prime Ministry Presidency for Improving Administration (2007 - 2009) Deputy Undersecretary of Prime Ministry (2009 - ...)
Dr. Emin Zararsız	Deputy Undersecretary of Prime Ministry (2003 - 2007) Undersecretary of Customs (2007 - 2009) President of Social Security Institution (2009 - 2011) Undersecretary of Ministry of National Education (2011 - 2013) Advisor to Prime Minister (2013 - ...)
Dr. Mehmet Cangir	District Governor, Deputy Governor, Chief Inspector of Ministry of Interior (1997 - 2010) Deputy General Secretary of General Secretariat of EU Affairs (2010 - 2011) Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of EU Affairs

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	(2011 - 2013)
Dr. Kasım Turgut	District Governor, Deputy Governor, Chief Inspector of Ministry of Interior (1994 - 2011) Deputy Chairman of Ministry of Interior Inspector's Committee (2011 - ...)
Ahmet Yaman	Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Development (2009 - ...)
Birol Ekici	Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of National Education (2011 - ...)
İlker Sert	President of Prime Ministry Presidency for Improving Administration (2011 - 2012) Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources (2012 - ...)
M.D. Orhan Fevzi Gümrukçüoğlu	Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Health (2005 - 2007) Undersecretary of Ministry of Health (2007 - 2009) Mayor of Trabzon Province (2009 -)
Aslan Avşarbey	District Governor, Chief Inspector of Ministry of Interior (1994 - 2011) President of Prime Ministry Presidency for Improving Administration (2012 -)
Mustafa Yıldız	Deputy General Director, General Directorate of Local Authorities, Ministry of Interior (2011 - ...)
M. İlker Haktankaçmaz	Head of Department, General Directorate of Local Authorities, Ministry of Interior (2011 - ...)
Dr. Erguder Can	District Governor, Deputy Governor, Chief Inspector of Ministry of Interior (1994 - 2006) General Secretariat of Izmir Regional Development Agency (2006 - ...)
Dr. Recep Kızılıık	Deputy General Manager, General Directorate for Laws and Acts, Prime Ministry, (2005-2007) Governor of Batman Province (2007-2009) Governor of Trabzon Province (2009 -)
Çetin Oktay Kaldırım	District Governor, Deputy Governor (2000 - 2009) General Secretariat of East Blacksea Regional Development Agency (2009 -)
Dr. Fatih Akbulut	District Governor, Deputy Governor (2000 - 2012) General Secretariat of East Marmara Regional Development Agency (2012 -)

Appendix 4. Code Book

Origin of the Code	Code	Number of Sources	Number of References
Socio-Economic Forces			
Predefined	Economic Conditions	16	20
	Sub-Codes	Economic Models are Effective	3
		General Economic Conditions are Effective	11
Derived	Economic Crises	16	19
	Sub-Codes	Related and Effective in General Terms	15
		Related and Effective in Specific Points	8
		Related and Effective as Opportunities	1
		Interrelation between Crises and Administration	3
Derived	Supranational Organizations (European Union)	19	22
Derived	International Organizations (IMF, WB and OECD)	19	37
	Sub-Codes	World Bank	10
		OECD	11
		They are not very effective	7
		IMF	12
		General Impacts	13
Derived	Emerging Economic Forces	17	20
	Sub-Codes	Existence of Emerging Economic Forces	6
		General Impact on Policy Making and Reforms	15
		Their Relations with NGOs	4
		Mechanisms of their	4

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		Participation		
Predefined	Pressures of Citizens		9	13
	Sub-Codes	General Effects	6	6
		Internal Migrants are Effective	2	2
		Effects Increased Lately	3	3
Derived	Effects of NGOs		18	19
	Sub-Codes	General Impacts of NGOs	8	10
		Impacts increased lately	3	3
		Impacts are Generally Negative and Ideological	9	10
		There are artificial NGOs	4	4
Predefined	Socio-Demographic Pressures		18	19
	Sub-Codes	It is Effective and Sometimes Impeding Reforms	1	1
		It is Effective with Only Urbanization aspect	2	2
		It is Effective with both Migration and Population aspects	16	17
		It is a Problem of Developing States	1	1
Structural-Cultural Features				
Derived	Constitutional Framework			
Predefined	State Structure		17	29
	Sub-Codes	There are Check and Balance Systems	2	2
		Unitary and Centralized Structure is Effective on Reforms	2	3
		Unitary and Centralized Structure has Negative Effects	4	4
Derived	Fundamental Organizations			

Derived	Power of the President		19	20
	Sub-Codes	Veto of Public Administration Basic Law	7	8
		President Period Clearly Mentioned	11	11
		Civil Servant Appointments are Important	4	4
		Character and Attitude are Important	7	7
Derived	Power of Prime Ministry		16	16
	Sub-Codes	It is Effective by Positive manner	12	13
		It is effective on Both Ways	4	4
		Department of Administrative Development is Important	4	4
		It role has Cultural and Traditional Aspect	2	2
Derived	Power of Military		18	19
	Sub-Codes	Military is Effective	7	7
		Military Effective and its effects are Traditional	6	8
		Military is not Effective	2	2
		Impacts are Diminished Lately	11	11
		National Security Council was effective	2	2
Derived	Power of Judiciary		19	21
	Sub-Codes	General Evaluation of Judiciary	16	18
		Constitutional Court	10	11
		Administrative Judiciary	8	8
		General Evaluation with Positive Impacts	2	2
Predefined	Nature of Executive Government			

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Predefined	Nature of Governments (Single Party or Coalition)	20	31	
	Sub-Codes	Single Party Governments are Advantage	10	13
		It is related with Political Culture	2	2
		Political Stability is an Important Point	5	5
		Coalitions are Disadvantage	9	10
		Both types have Advantages	2	3
Derived	Elections and Representational System	6	10	
	Sub-Codes	Election System Leads to Majority Governments	3	4
		Election System Leads to Coalitions	1	2
		Unfair Representation Leads to Failures of Reforms	3	3
Predefined	Civil Service			
Derived	Structure and Culture of Civil Service (Recruitment, Traditions, Groups and etc.)	17	23	
	Sub-Codes	General Structure and Career Organisation are Important	6	6
		Culture of Bureaucracy is Important	8	8
		Bureaucracy is Conservative	2	2
		Civil Servants are Powerful and Effective	4	4
		Bureaucracy Resists to Reforms	7	11
Predefined	Bureaucrat-Politician Relations (Including Powers and Balances)	20	30	
	Sub-Codes	Close Relations with Politicians	12	12

		Power of Government is Decisive	8	10
		Philosophy and Culture are Important	4	4
		Bureaucrats have Relative Power	8	8
Predefined	Political and Administrative Culture		17	55
	Sub-Codes	General Effects	7	7
		Legalistic Tradition	6	6
		State Tradition	11	14
		Obstructive Effect	3	3
		Culture is not Transparent	1	1
		Culture is not Participative	5	5
		Culture is Conservative and Resistant to Change	10	13
		Change of Philosophy is Required	4	8
Functional Features				
Derived	Political Will and Determination		16	23
	Sub-Codes	It is Effective	13	17
		It is Effective but this is not Right	1	1
		Effective and there are Concrete Examples	5	5
		Longer Period decrease the will	1	1
		Bureaucrat Will is also important	2	2
Predefined	Party Politics		4	4
Predefined	New Management Ideas and Trends		14	16
	Sub-Codes	Some Policies are not compatible	5	6
		There is Policy Transfer from	3	3

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		International Organizations		
		These are Originating from a Need	1	1
		There are Many Universal Ideas	4	4
Predefined	Implementation, Monitoring and Feedback		18	26
	Sub-Codes	Lack of Systematic Monitoring-Feedback	10	10
		Only Individual Monitoring and Feedback Exists	4	4
		Pace of Reforms is a reason	2	2
		Monitoring and Feedback is Necessary	1	1
		Lack of Feedback is related with the Administrative culture	4	4
		Implementation Problem is quite effective	4	5
Derived	Reach of Reforms to Lower levels		15	15
	Sub-Codes	Reforms Reach to Lower Levels	2	2
		Reforms Don't Reach to Low due to Structural and Cultural reasons	9	9
		Reforms Don't Reach to Low Levels due to the Problems of Bureaucracy	3	3
Predefined	Decision-making Process and Determinant Institutions		18	24
	Sub-Codes	Various Leader and Determinant Institutions	17	20
		Nature of Decision-making Process	8	10
Predefined	Content of Reforms and Compatibility with National Context		12	17
	Sub-Codes	Contents are not Compatible	2	3

	with the Context		
	Contents of Reform are Important	10	12
	Compatibility of contents is Important	6	6
Predefined	Chance Events	15	16
	Effective-Reveals the Weaknesses	5	5
Sub-Codes	Effective-Big Earthquakes and Related Organisations	8	9
	Effective but not enough alone.	1	1

Note: Predefined Codes originated from the Public Management Model of Pollitt and Bouckaert. Derived codes were produced in the research process by the author with the contribution of the research data and findings.

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