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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL, HUMAN AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES

Department of Politics and International Relations

The Changing Roles of Governors and District Governors in Turkey, 2000-2014

by

Ozan BALCI

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2015

ABSTRACT

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This thesis explores how and to what extent the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s have affected the roles of governors and district governors in Turkey and to identify the intended and unintended consequences of the public administration reforms and their implications for roles of governors and district governors. This topic is important because in 2001, Turkey was hit by a large economic crisis which affected the country negatively. After that economic crisis, many public administration reforms, which were inspired by some of the ideas of the New Public Management, were introduced in the 2000s in Turkey in order to ensure the effectiveness, efficiency, productivity, transparency, openness and accountability of the public administration and the delivery of public services by reconstructing how the public administration operates. The public administration reforms have changed the structure, roles, and responsibilities of both the central and local governments, as well as the traditional understanding of the public administrators. After these reforms were implemented, the main administrative structure of the provincial administrative system was shaken, with the roles, powers, responsibilities, and even the reason for the governors and district governors' existence being called into question.

This research is done by conducting both a survey (with 304 out of the 1426 responding) and semi-structured elite interviews with 65 governors, deputy governors, and district governors.

The major findings of the research are, firstly, that the classical traditional and historically important roles and powers of the governors and district governors have been eroded with local governments gaining power and roles at their expense. So, secondly, the mayors are now more prominent than the civil administrators. Three further effects on governors and district governors are found. One is that their roles have become increasingly politicised and the other is that they have had to shift their philosophy from the state-centric view to the citizen-centric one. And lastly, new roles have emerged.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Ozan BALCI

declare that this thesis entitled “**The Changing Roles of Governors and District
Governors in Turkey, 2000-2014**”

and the work presented in it are my own and has 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;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- 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 [Delete as appropriate] [or] Parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

Signed:

Date:

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Abbreviations

BIMER	Basbakanlik Iletisim Merkezi (Communication Centre of the Prime Ministry)
GCM	Greater City Municipalities
KOY-DES	Koy Altyapisini Destekleme (Project for Supporting Village Infrastructure)
NPM	New Public Management
NPMT	New Public Management Theory
PAS	Provincial Administration System
PSA	Provincial Special Administration
SODES	Sosyal Destek Projesi (Social Support Project)
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TPAS	Turkish Public Administration System
UNICEF	The United Nations' Children's Fund

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A story about the roles of the governors during the Ottoman Empire time is told. According to that story, the Ottoman governors had the power of death. This power that the Ottoman governors had, however, was later removed. It is said that the Ottoman governors then wondered how they would ever be able to carry out their other roles without the one that had been taken away from them. Interestingly, they had said that, without the power of death, the profession of governorship could not be able to be carried out efficiently. However, governors and district governors have continued to perform their duties for more than 151 years. Today we find a similar story. Many of our colleagues say that, after the public administration reforms, which were introduced during the 2000s, it will not be possible to perform the profession of governorship and district governorship competently. (Galip Demirel, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior of Turkey, 20/06/2014)

1.1 Introduction

There have been many public administration reform efforts and initiatives in the history of the Turkish Republic. They have been nicknamed the “unfinished symphony” by academics in the Turkish public administration system, referring to efforts to reconstruct the way state organisations and public administration functions throughout the Turkish Republic's history. At the beginning of the 1980s, Turkey changed its economic development model from that of import substitution to the export - oriented model. This was done in order to solve problems in its economy and to integrate its economy to other world economies. In this sense, they opted to liberalise the economy by adopting and implementing neo-liberal economic policies and countless public administration reforms. The fruits of these reforms, however, have not yet come to maturity. Nevertheless, the economic and public administration reform efforts have not only changed the country's economic policies, but also the roles and responsibilities of

the state and its public administration system and the concept that the public administration has of it.

In the beginning of the 2000s, however, Turkey experienced an enormous economic crisis that affected its entire society significantly. The crisis revealed many problems in the public administration system, with many academics, politicians and citizens complaining that it had not operated effectively, efficiently and productively in the period before the crisis. Furthermore, some claimed that the existing public administration structure and its philosophy did not meet the needs of the country's citizens and that it did not meet the required standard for a country that aspired to have an information-based society and a modern state. Moreover, critics judged that the existing administrative system was overly strict and traditional. The Turkish public administration system until that time adhered to the state-centric structure and philosophy; in the modern world, however, new concepts and approaches have been developed for providing better public services. This has, in turn, increased the power-shift to local governments. In this context, politicians, academics, bureaucrats and citizens alike all thought Turkey's traditional public administrative structure and philosophy could not handle the new developments of the 21st century. Giving more roles, powers, and resources to local government have all, consequently, become part of the Turkish government's new agenda.

With the public administration reforms, the government's aim was not only to restructure the public administration system but to also change the traditional public administrative philosophy from the state-centric to the citizen-centric view. Given a number of factors including pressure from citizens, the impact of the European Union, and both internal and external factors, the Turkish government implemented public administration reforms during the 2000s in order to improve the public administration system, to find solutions to the accumulated problems of the administration, and to adapt to new developments both in the world and in Turkey. These public administration reforms ranged from the restructuring of the central government to the local governments, from the financial management system to the health system, and from the type of public service delivery to the restructuring of the ministries.

The impact of the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s was to shake the pillars of the main administrative model. Moreover, the roles and powers of the governors and district governors, the main representatives of the provincial system and the backbone of the Turkish public administration system in the provinces and districts, have been affected and now, debate over their roles has begun. The governors and district governors have a 151 year history, originating in the Ottoman Empire. Seeing as they are the representatives of the state and the government, and seeing as they are responsible for controlling and coordinating many public services in the provinces and districts, they play an important role in the Turkish public administration and society. Their functions range from representing the state and the government to playing an active role in the economic and social developments of the provinces and districts, from ensuring public order to encouraging cooperation between state and non-state organisations and the citizens. In this context, the public administration reforms and the change of mentality behind them have radically affected the roles, and responsibilities of the governors and district governors. A debate has even begun about whether the civil administrative profession is needed or not in academic circles, amongst politicians, and between members of the profession itself.

1.2 The Purpose of the Study and the Research Question

The public administration reforms were introduced in the 2000s for the purpose of finding solutions to the problems brought about by the economic crisis in 2001. The reforms were implemented in order to ensure the efficiency, effectiveness, and productiveness of public services, to increase citizen satisfaction with public services, and to help the public administration system keep pace with the economic developments which have affected not only the structure but also the traditional philosophy of the public administration. The reforms triggered the transition from the traditional state-centric to the citizen-centric philosophy of public administration.

A group affected by the reforms is the local governments. Due to the reforms they have been strengthened and given more powers and roles. Moreover, other organisations and ministries have been restructured. Consequently, the traditional provincial administration system has been eroded. Therefore, the roles of the main agents of the

traditional administrative system have been eroded. Furthermore, some have claimed that, even though in the past they adhered to the traditional administrative structure and philosophy, the reforms have forced them to change their own roles and philosophy.

As mentioned earlier, debate has begun about the roles of governors and district governors. There is, however, much confusion and no solid consensus in academic, political and administrative circles about what their new roles should be. Moreover, no research has been conducted regarding what the impacts of the reforms are or how and to what extent the public administration reforms which were introduced in the 2000s have changed the governors and district governors' roles.

The main purpose of this research is to analyse the impact that the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s in Turkey have had on the roles of governors and district governors by conducting both a survey and a set of semi-structured elite interviews. In short, this research will help to identify the changes which have occurred to the roles of the governors and district governors. It will serve the purpose of clarifying these changes and so help remove the confusion that the governors, district governors, and politicians have in their minds.

Thus, the main question of this research is:

“How have the public administration reforms which were introduced during the 2000s affected the roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey?”

In answering this question, this research will attempt to analyse the impacts that the reforms had on the roles of the governors and district governors in detail from the different governors and district governors' points-of-view. The primary objectives of the research are as follows:

“To find out how and to what extent the public administration reforms which were introduced during the 2000s in Turkey have affected the roles of governors and district governors;”

“To identify the possible unintended and intended consequences of the public administration reforms introduced in Turkey in the 2000s which were inspired from some of the ideas of the NPM;”

“To identify what the governors and district governors think their roles have become after the reforms made in the 2000s;”

“To determine what the governors and district governors think about the impacts of the public administration reforms which were made during the 2000s on their historically important roles of helping the economy, modernising the state and being a father figure for the citizens”.

The secondary objectives of the study are:

“Identifying whether or not there has been a change in the traditional administrative philosophy of the governor and district governor professions after the reforms;”

“Determining whether there has been any resistance to the reforms from the governors and district governors or not following the reforms;”

“Finding out which public administration reforms have been the most influential on the roles of the governors and district governors;”

“Identifying the new emerging roles of the governors and district governors.”

As the traditional administrative structure as well as the traditional administrative philosophy have changed, the findings of this research will help academics, politicians, and administrators to identify the governors’ and district governors’ new roles.

1.3 The Significance of the Study and Contribution to the Field

This topic of this thesis is significant in that the public administration reforms which were introduced in the 2000s have changed the structure, roles, and responsibilities of the central government, local government, and traditional understanding of the public administrators. The reforms have shaken the main administrative structure, and the roles, responsibilities, and even the purpose of the governors and district governors have become a subject of debate for academicians, politicians, and civil administrators.

Regarding the aims of this thesis, some studies have tried to explain the changes to the roles of the governors and district governors indirectly, such as by attempting to explain the erosion of the provincial system, the empowerment of the local governments, and

the changes in the traditional administrative philosophy. Nevertheless, no studies have analysed the changes made to the roles of the governors and district governors directly caused by the public administration reforms. In the literature, a majority of studies attempted to provide general reasons such as socio-economic and political developments for why the roles have changed. However, when one carefully examines the literature, one finds that no related studies examine how and to what extent the roles of the governors and district governors have changed or what new roles have emerged.

Moreover, although some of the studies examined were based on secondary evidence, few studies were based on fieldwork (such as surveys and interviews) or primary documents. This thesis's research question requires a much more in-depth examination of the topic. Furthermore, some of the studies have become obsolete because of the rapid rate and great number of public administration reforms which were passed during the 2000s. In other words, no studies simply analysed the change in the roles of the governors and district governors in detail based on fieldwork, like survey and elite interviews, after the public administration reforms were introduced during the 2000s in Turkey. Doing so would have provided the governors and district governors' perspectives. There is a gap in the literature and this study will attempt to fill it.

This study is expected to contribute to the field in a few ways. First of all, it will contribute to Turkish academic literature by filling a gap in our knowledge about governors and district governors' changing roles. Secondly, it will identify the future roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey and provide ideas to politicians and bureaucrats for future public administration reforms. Finally, it is anticipated that this research will contribute to the international literature as the changes to the roles of the governors and district governors were affected by external as well as internal factors in the 2000s. Also, the conclusions that this research makes will be useful for other developing countries with similar administration systems.

1.4 The Status of New Public Management Theory in the Thesis

In Turkey, many public administration reforms were introduced during the 2000s for the purpose of reconstructing governmental organisations and in order to deliver public services to the citizens better, as well as for the purpose of keeping pace with the

economic, political, and administrative developments both in the world and in Turkey, One of the reasons why these changes occurred is because of the Turkish government's being influenced by NPM Theory. Elements of NPM are present throughout the entire Turkish public administration system now, whether implicitly or explicitly. It can therefore be said that the public administration reform process during the 2000s in Turkey was clearly inspired by some of the ideas of NPM theory. In this context, mentioning NPM theory in this research will better help us understand the impacts of the public administration reforms on the changing roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey during the 2000s.

1.5. Main Findings and their Importance

The Turkish public administration reforms which were introduced in the 2000s have affected the roles of the governors and district governors. The changes which have occurred are as follows:

- the erosion of the classical traditional and historically important roles and powers of the governors and district governors;
- the local governments' having gained power and more roles;
- the mayors becoming more prominent than the governors and district governors;
- the increased politicisation of the governors and district governors;
- a shift from the state-centric view of governors and district governors to the citizen-centric view;
- the emergence of new roles.

Detailed explanations regarding these findings will be provided in the analysis chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8, with the results finally being summarised in the conclusion chapter. As will be mentioned in Chapter 4 (theory and methodology), every public administration reform creates both unintended and intended consequences. In this sense, it can be said that, apart from the new emerging roles which shall be mentioned in the analyses chapters, the other key findings regarding the roles of the governors and district governors made by this research are the consequences that the government intended for the public administration reforms to have.

1.6. Outline of the Research

After the introduction, for the purpose of better grasping the findings of the main survey and the semi-structured elite interviews conducted with the governors, deputy governors, and district governors (which will be presented in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8), Chapter 2 will first briefly examine the Turkish administrative structure and the way in which the provincial administration system works in Turkey in general. Then it will examine whom the governors, deputy governors, and district governors exactly are (i.e. their roles and duties, their place in the system, and how the public perceives them).

In line with this study's research question ("How have the public administration reforms which were introduced during the 2000s affected the roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey?"), the literature review chapter (Chapter 3) focuses on those studies which have attempted to analyse the changing roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey. That chapter is organised under the major themes remarked upon by the authors of these studies and the surveys that some of them had conducted in collaboration with academics and civil administrators. Before focusing on those themes, the first section of that chapter will provide general background information about the surveys, as well as about a congress which was conducted about the provincial administration system, its functioning problems, and the roles of the governors and district governors. Then, the following themes are examined, respectively: the socio-economic and political factors' impacts on the civil administrators' roles; the rise in the number of the local government roles and the consequent decrease in the governors and district governors' roles; the politicisation of the governors and district governors; the changes made to the traditional philosophy of the country's administration system and how that has impacted the roles of the civil administrators; and the modernised and paternal roles of the civil administrators. Finally, the gap which was found in the literature review is recapped before explaining how this research attempts to fill those gaps.

The fourth chapter deals with the theory and methodology underpinning this research. Therefore, this chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, the traces of the New Public Management Theory (NPMT) and its effects on the Turkish public administration reform process will be explained. Then, the NPMT, its main elements,

and the theoretical frameworks that it is based upon shall be explained. The second part of the chapter, on the other hand, explains the methods used in this study. First, the chapter explains why the mixed method research approach was considered most appropriate for this study. Then, this study's main data collection tools — a survey, semi-structured elite interviews, and archival work on primary Turkish government documents — are examined. The chapter describes the survey, its role, design, and response rate, as well as the processes of piloting and administering the main survey. Next, the chapter analyses the semi-structured elite interviews and the issues which arose when they were conducted. Then, the chapter describes the methods of analysis. Following that, the main documentary sources and their limitations are described. Finally, the chapter reviews the main ethical considerations of this research.

Chapter 5 analyses the findings of the survey conducted with a group of governors, deputy governors and district governors. The goals of the survey were: (i) to learn about the general opinions and experiences of the governors, deputy governors and district governors concerning the Turkish public administration reforms and their impacts on their roles; and, considering the limited depth that the survey would be able to provide in answering the research question, (ii) to use the results of the survey to form the basis of the semi-structured elite interviews.

In order to understand how and to what extent the roles of the governors and district governors have changed in detail, Chapter 6 firstly examines how the governors and district governors, who were interviewed for this study, defined themselves. Secondly, it identifies what they believe their profession's most traditional roles are (i.e. those of representing the state and central government, guaranteeing the security and safety of the public, and ensuring their coordination). Thirdly, it assesses how and to what extent these traditional roles have changed. Fourthly, it evaluates how the reforms of the 2000s have impacted the governors and district governors' historically important roles, economic component, the paternal state philosophy and modernisation component.

In order to understand how and to what extent the public administration reforms have affected the governors and district governors' roles in detail, Chapter 7 firstly examines how the traditional administrative philosophy of the governors and district governors has changed after the public administration reforms were introduced. In this regard, note

shall be made of the fact that, due to the reforms made during the 2000s, there has been a shift from a traditional state-centric view of the governors and district governors to a citizen-centric view of the governors and district governors. Secondly, this chapter analyses whether or not the governors and district governors have any motivations for preserving their traditional philosophy in spite of the massive public administration reforms which were passed during the 2000s. Finally, before concluding, the civil administrators' emerging new roles such as arbitrating between groups, implementing government social policy (like supporting disadvantaged groups and helping the poor), supervising and controlling the state's police and gendarmerie forces, having close relations with civil society and non-governmental organisations, protecting the country's cultural and artistic values, defending basic human rights and freedoms (and removing barriers to them) and managing disaster and conflict situations.

According to the information obtained from the elite interviews, the most effective and influential public administration reforms which changed the governors and district governors' roles were those in the area of local governments. Therefore the effects that those local governmental reforms have had will be examined in Chapter 8. Firstly, the way they changed the roles of the governors and district governors is explored. Secondly, how they affected the Provincial Special Administration (PSA) and their own effects on the roles of the governors and district governors. Thirdly, the effect that the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities (GCM) has had on the governors is also examined. Finally, some issues that arose after the establishment of the GCM and the removal of the PSA are assessed, which also impacted the governors and district governors' roles.

In the conclusion, a general overview of the study, the main findings which were obtained from the analysis of the survey and the elite interviews, the contributions which this study has posited, the new emerging roles of the governors and district governors, and new questions for future studies are mentioned.

CHAPTER 2: THE TURKISH ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, THE GOVERNORS AND DISTRICT GOVERNORS

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the structure of the Turkish administration in brief and the main roles of both the governors and district governors for the purpose of shedding light on the research question “what are the effects of the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s on the roles of the governors and district governors?”.

The chapter will first explain briefly the Turkish administrative structure. Next, the PAS and the principle of deconcentration will be described. Then, the main administrative units, like the province and district, will be mentioned. Afterwards, the chapter will discuss the role, powers, and appointment procedures of the governors, deputy governors, and district governors. Finally, their importance of the PAS and its place regarding the roles of the governors and district governors in the eyes of society will be examined before the conclusion is given.

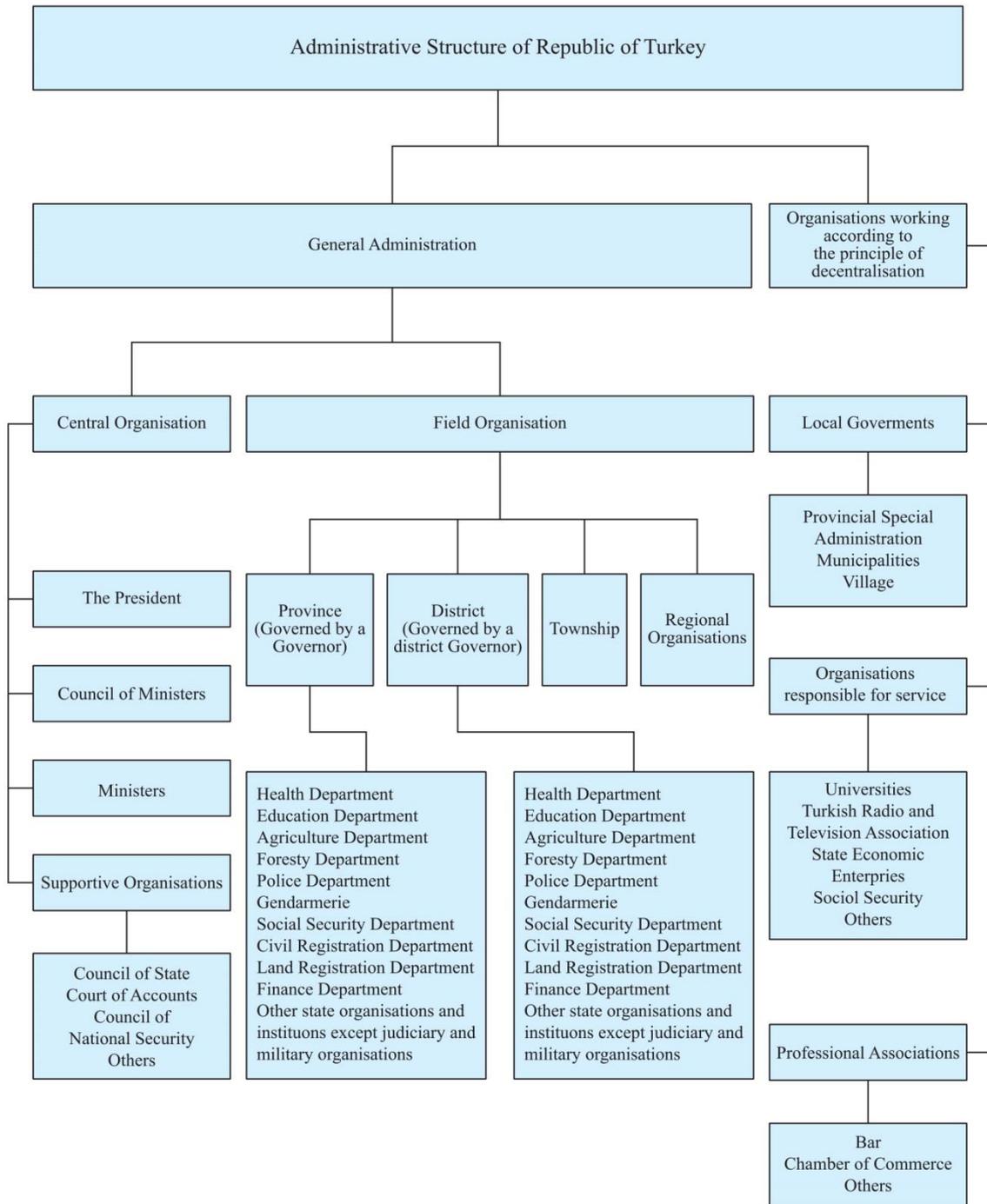
2.2. The Turkish Administrative Structure

In Turkey, the main administrative duties and roles of the state are executed by a number of state organisations and institutions which, themselves, constitute “the general administration”. This general administration is composed of a “central organisation” and “the field organisations of the central government”. These field organisations, in turn, carry out the duties appointed to them by both the nation’s constitution and its legislation. The central organisation of the general administration consists of the president, the prime minister, the council of ministers, the ministries, and the central institutions which help them. Moreover, the general administration also has a field organisation which is separate from the central organisation. The field administration of the central government consists of provinces, districts, townships, and other regional organisations (Gozubuyuk 2005, pp. 67–68).

The field organisations are extensions of the general administration and are spread all over the country for the purpose of providing public services in the provinces and

districts. As mentioned above, the field organisation of the general administration is made up of civil administrative units, like provinces, districts, and townships, as well as other regional organisations. The civil administration's units (i.e. provinces and districts), which are regulated by the Law of Provincial Administration (Law no. 5442). According to this law, the provinces are divided into districts. Whereas the provinces are governed by governors, the districts are governed by district governors (Gozubuyuk 2005, p.99). The general outline of the administrative structure of Republic of Turkey is illustrated in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1 Administrative Structure of Turkey



Source: Adapted from Gozubuyuk, 2005

2.3. The Provincial Administration System (PAS)

Examining the functioning of the PAS will help to understand the place and importance of the governors and district governors in Turkish public administration system and structure. Respectively, they govern the provinces and the districts of the Turkish public administration system. Since the PAS functions primarily through the hands of the governors and district governors in Turkey, they could be considered the cornerstones of that system.

In essence, the PAS was first implemented during Ottoman when the Province Administration Regulation was passed in 1864 (Ortayli 1976). For Ortayli (Fisek et al.1976, p. 19), “this regulation is the key regulation which shaped the Ottoman Empire’s entire provincial administrative system”. After the Ottoman Empire fell, and with the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Turkey has continued to use the PAS which they inherited from the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, Gozubuyuk (2005, p. 99) points out that “today’s field organisations have emerged as a result of Turkey’s adopting the Ottoman administrative system during the early years of the Turkish Republic”. Nevertheless, as (2003) notes, “there have been several, both small and large, changes made to the system ever since that time” (Coker, 2003, p. 45).

In terms of the constitutional basis of the system, the PAS as it has been formulated in modern times, is based on the Turkish constitution of 1982. Article 126 of the constitution states that “Turkey, in terms of the central administration’s establishment, is divided into provinces and the provinces are divided into other units according to its geographic situation, economic conditions and the public services requirements” (1982 The Turkish Constitution, Art. 126).

In Turkish academic circles, as well as in the literature, there are different kinds of definitions and explanations of the PAS. Polatoglu (1985, p. 28), describes the PAS as follows:

In the PAS, the country is divided into units called provinces from the administrative point-of- view. The central government establishes field organisations in the provinces. There is an administrator who heads the province, who represents the central government, and who is

responsible for the performances and activities of the central government's field organisations. The field organisations of the central government are supervised by administrators like governors. These administrators use some powers which, in reality, belong to the central government. This is because they work on behalf of the central government.

Gozler (2006, p. 157) likens the provincial administration to “the hands of the central government”. According to him, the “central government needs ‘hands’ in the territories (provinces and districts) in order to provide the country with public services. In this sense, these hands constitute the field organisation of the central government.” Another academic, Keskin (2009, p. 117), stipulates that it is an:

Organisation of the state with its own territory and that it is composed of governorship and district governorship units for the purpose of governing the ministries’ provinces and district organisations. A vertical hierarchical relationship has been established between these two units. Thus, the governor, being the head of the general administration and being the proprietor of the tutelage powers over the local governments in the provinces, holds a strong position from whence he or she can perceive the province as a whole.

In addition, Keskin (2009, P.117) also mentions that the “district governor also has the power of management which endows them with the ability to perceive the districts (with all of its general local dimensions) as a whole.”

In brief, according to the PAS, the country is divided into units named provinces and districts. The core of the PAS is governors and district governors, who represent the central administration and who are responsible to the central administration for the activities of the field organisations. Consequently, the governor has the authority to supervise all public institutions and organisations — with the exception of the provincial military and judiciary organisations.

2.3.1. The Principle of Deconcentration

As mentioned above, the PAS is carried out by governors and district governors. In other words, in Turkey, whenever civilian authority is mentioned, the profession of the governors, deputy governors and district governors automatically comes to mind. This profession administers the field administrations on behalf of the central government based on the “principle of deconcentration” (Emre et. al 2002, p. 71). Yayla (2009, p. 235) defines the principle of deconcentration as “the giving of authority consisting of making and implementing decisions passed down by the high administrators or high top officials who are at the head of the organisations and institutions located both at home and abroad without going to, or consulting with, the central government”. Emre et. al. (2002) points out that the PAS makes the application of the central government’s principles throughout the entire country possible. In addition to this, he also mentions that the principle of deconcentration removes certain inconveniences from the administration (being, as it is, built upon by the central government) and softens the system (Emre et. al. 2002). In other words, lawmakers want to alleviate the negative aspects of the central administration’s model of governance and aims to strengthen the provincial administration with the help of the principle of deconcentration. This is why the 1982 Turkish constitution states that “the administration of the provinces is based on the ‘principle of deconcentration’” (1982 Constitution). In this manner, it can be said that the PAS is based on the principle of deconcentration and that, moreover, this principle is an indispensable element of the PAS.

In order to understand the place of governors and district governors in Turkey’s public administration, the administrative units, such as the province and district, should be defined in general.

2.4. The Province

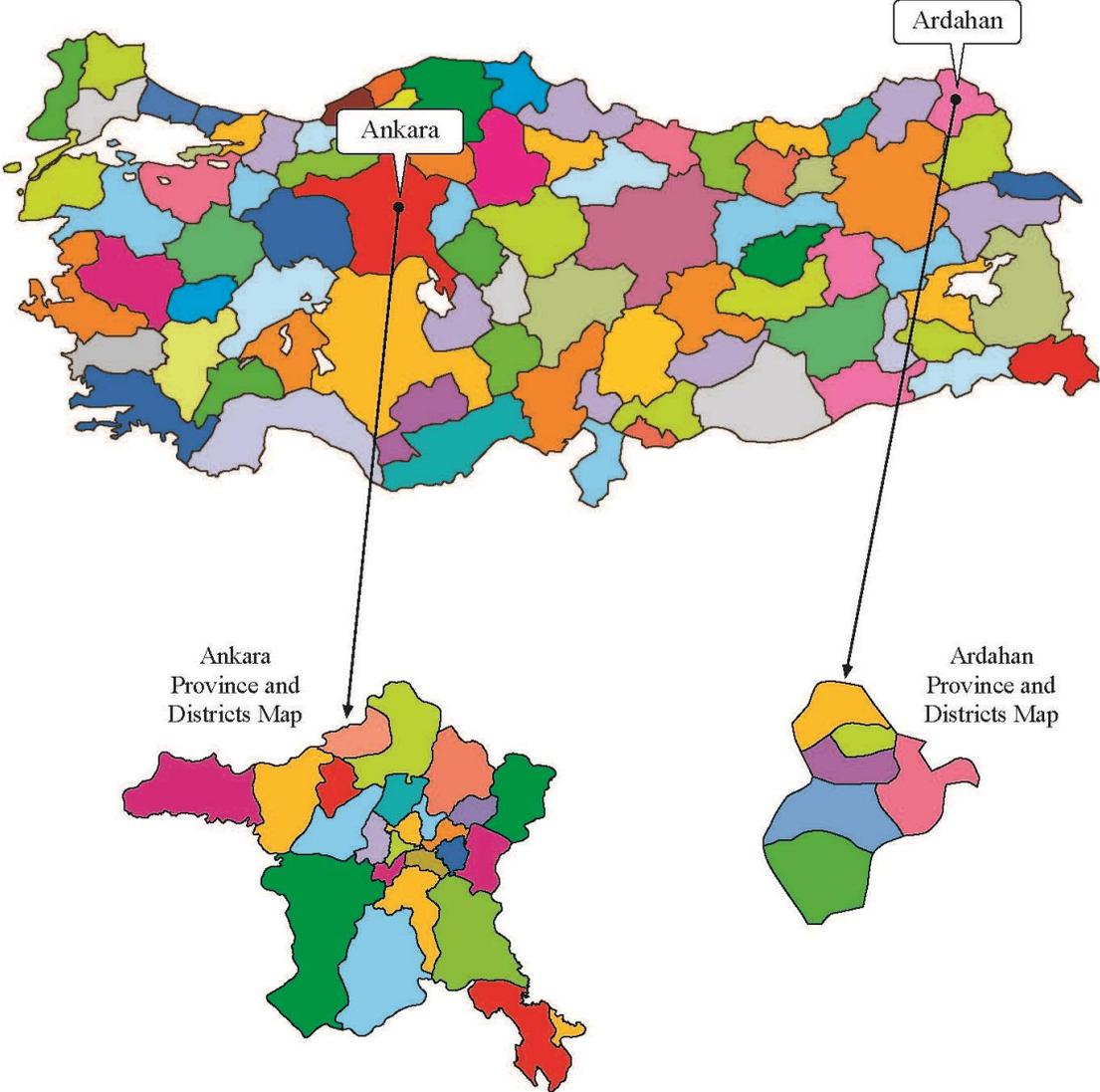
The province is the largest field organisation of Turkey's central administration system (Gözler 2006, p. 158). Bozkurt et al. (1998, p. 110) defines the province as “the basic administrative level of the government” and that it “is headed by the governor.” In Turkey, there are 81 provinces that are governed by governors.

The province was brought initially into the system with a regulation which is dated from Ottoman times (i.e. 1864). Afterwards, all of the constitutions (i.e. of 1921, 1924, 1961 and 1982) made during republican times have mentioned the “province” and has protected its originally outlined structure.

2.5. The District

In the Turkish administrative system, the district is the second civil administrative unit in importance after the province and is defined as being one of the basic organisational models of Turkey’s provincial administrative system (Bozkurt et al. 1998, p. 114). There are around 957 districts in Turkey. The number sometimes changes because of the government’s incorporating new districts. The district administration, having an old tradition, is important both for ensuring that public services will be delivered to the public and for the improvement of both societal and economic conditions. Each district is headed by a district governor (Law no. 5442). The division of Turkey’s 81 provinces, with the dividing up of the two provinces of Ankara and Ardahan into districts, for example, is illustrated in Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2 Turkish Provinces Map



Source: Designed by the Researcher, 2015

As can clearly be discerned from the provincial map of Turkey above, Turkey has been divided into 81 provinces, each one being administered by its own governor. Each province, in turn, is divided into districts (Turkey has 957 districts) with each of them being governed by a district governor. They are responsible for administering the districts in the name of their respective governor. In this sense, the provinces of Ankara and Ardahan with their districts are given as examples. (Source: Designed by Researcher 2015).

2.6. The Governors

In order to understand the effects that the public administration reforms which were introduced in the 2000s had on the roles of the governors and district governors, the Turkish administration's structure, the provincial administrative system's historical background, its legal basis, and the concepts of "province" and "district" were examined. As mentioned above, however, the PAS is primarily administered by the governors and district governors. Regarding this point, understanding who the governor is, what legal roles and duties they hold, and what the governor signifies for the Turkish public administration will all be examined in the present section seeing as their explication will help to better understand this study's research question.

The governors are the highest ranking officers in the Turkish PAS. They have an important place in this system because of their having significant roles and duties being bestowed upon them by different laws and regulations; furthermore, they have a long administrative tradition originating from Ottoman times. The governor is the head of the province's administration system; this system constitutes the first stage of the PAS in Turkey. In Turkey, where the PAS has been adopted as an administrative model, the governor, being the head of the provincial administration, is the representative, not only of the state, but also of the government, as well as every ministry within the province (Law no. 5442).

In every province, there is a governorship headed by the governor. The governorship is a basic element of the province in that a governorship is established directly when a province is founded. The governorship is executed by the governor who is responsible

for both the general and special administration of the province—excluding, though, the judicial and military authorities (Law no. 5442/Art. 4; Law no. 5302/Art. 29).

2.6.1. Appointment to the Governorship

The governor in the Turkish administrative system is appointed by the nomination of the Minister of the Interior, by decision of the Council of Ministers, and approved of by the President, respectively (Law no. 1700, 5442, 657). According to the law, they are regarded as civil servants. They also have exceptional rights according to the law and are not ordinary members of the bureaucracy because the process of their appointment and dismissal are different from that of ordinary civil servants (Law no. 657); furthermore, they are also excluded from the general appointment rules envisaged for other civil servants (Ozer, 1993). According to Laws 657 and 5442, the governor can be appointed from citizens who have graduated from secondary school and who carry the minimum requirements envisaged by the relevant laws and related authorities mentioned above. At this point, it is important to note that there is a saying in Turkey that “becoming a district governor is more difficult than becoming a governor.” This is because, as will be mentioned later, in order to become a district governor, the candidate should satisfy many conditions, pass many different kinds of exams, and successfully complete a training programme (Law no. 657, 1700, 5442). In order to be appointed to a governorship, on the other hand, candidates should have graduated from at least secondary school and have satisfied the minimum conditions. In legal terms, this might be easy, but in practice, being appointed to a governorship is very difficult. All district governors want to be governors, but only a small number of them are ever appointed to that position (Gozubuyuk 2005). Moreover, the governorship is a status position, but the district governorship could simply be seen as a profession. The reason behind it being enough for a governor to only have graduated from secondary school in order to become a governor is due to the fact that, as mentioned above, the governor is not an ordinary civil servant — they are exclusive civil servants. The lawmaker wishes to bestow discretionary power to the government by appointing and selecting governors since governors undertake important roles in implementing government programmes and since they represent the government’s policies by enacting them (Emre et. al. 2002).

Therefore, the government appoints those who will be able follow and implement government policies to the letter. When the government appoints them to a governorship, the government examines their official personal files (that are in the Ministry of Interior Affairs' archive) which consist of their personal history in the profession, their performance in the districts as district governors, in the provinces as deputy governors, and all of their strengths and weaknesses. Governors are appointed mainly from the profession of civil servants, especially from deputy governors, district governors, and inspectors of the Ministry of the Interior — who are, in essence, themselves district governors (Emre et. al. 2002).

Today, 81 governors are employed in all 81 of the provinces. In this sense, almost all of them used to work as district governors in their professional working lives. The only one who did not work as a district governor in their previous professional history was a female governor. She worked as the undersecretary of the Ministry of National Education before being appointed to her governorship (TIAV 2014). In other words, it can be said that 80 out of 81 governors used to be district governors.

In essence, as mentioned above, the government has the legal right to appoint anybody who has not been a district governor to a governorship, but the government appoints the governors from amongst the district governors. Since district governors usually work from 15 to 20 years (or even more) sometimes in the districts as district governor and sometimes in the provinces as deputy governors, they know the functioning of the provinces and have accumulated in-depth experience about the running of the districts and provinces. The district governors working in different parts of Turkey have an opportunity to know and learn about both the central government, the field administration of the central and local governments, their functioning and their problems, their strengths and their weaknesses. When they work as district governors, they sometimes meet the president of the country, the prime minister and the ministers, as well as the high officials and meet or deal with businessmen, non-governmental organisations, and other different kinds of people coming from different socio-economic and educational levels. Moreover, as mentioned above, all state organisations and institutions except the judiciary and military work under the supervision and direct control of the district governors. Therefore, they have the opportunity to learn many

things for the ultimate purpose of running and governing the provinces (Emre et. al 2002)

The governors are subject to Public Servants Law no. 657 in terms of their salary and rights and excluding the rules regarding their being appointed to and dismissal from stations of status. There are no differences between individual governors in terms of their not having the same amount of status, roles, or powers, no matter whether they work in small or large provinces or not. They are equals amongst themselves. For instance, there is no difference in terms of the roles and powers had between the governor of Istanbul (the largest province in Turkey) and the governor of Mus (one of the smallest provinces in Turkey). There are no hierarchical levels amongst the governors. They are all equal (Gunay 1999, p. 312).

2.6.2. The Main Roles and Powers of the Governors

As mentioned above, the governor is the highest and most powerful of the provincial administrators in the field administration of the central administration because he or she is appointed by the central government in line with the principle of deconcentration for the purpose of being the head of the provincial general administration. At the same time, the governor is also the head of the PAS which is, itself, a kind of local government. With this position, the governor ensures the coordination, communication, and balance between the central administration and the local government system unique to Turkey (Gunay 1999; Law no. 657, 1700, 5442, 3152).

In order to understand the role, power, function and importance of the governor in the Turkish PAS, it shall be useful to reflect upon certain academics' opinions and ideas regarding governors. According to Tumer (1969):

The governor is a typical example of a general administrator. There are many organisations structured according to the different kinds of services and activities given primarily by special laws for ensuring public services throughout the country. Moreover, there are organisations headed by a person who has technical and professional knowledge. In order to ensure

their cooperation, a general administrator above them, like a governor, is required...

Tumer (1969) also mentions that “the ability to represent the state is given to the governor because of their importance in the functioning of the state.” For him, “the governor is a person who has climbed to the highest point reachable in the state. Moreover, the governor is a person to whom important roles are given.”

As mentioned above, the status of the governor is described in different Laws (Law no. 657, 1700, 3152, 5442) but is never identified in the constitution. The detailed roles and responsibilities of the governor are described especially in Law 5442. Regarding this point, it shall be useful to mention the roles, duties and responsibilities of the governor mentioned in that law in order to better understand their place in the Turkish PAS.

As Law 5442 stipulates:

The governor is the representative of the state and the government and is the representative of every ministry, as well as being their administrative and political executive organs. With this role, they are responsible for the general administration of every ministry's running field organisation. The ministers can give orders and directives to the governors related to their ministries' affairs...The governor is the highest authority of all civil servants who works in the field organisation of the ministries and are the general directorates having a legal personality, excluding, of course, military and judicial organisations (Law no. 5442/9, 13).

As can be seen, the governors represent the state, the government, and every ministry in the provinces. Therefore, every minister can give orders and directives to the governors in line with the laws about the affairs of their ministries' field organisational affairs and functions because the governors are also representatives of all of the ministers and ministries in the province. In other words, unless the orders and directives contradict the law, the governors have to carry out the orders and directives given to them by the ministers. Moreover, according to the above article of Law 5442, the governors are the highest authority of all civil servants working in the province and the governors can

give orders and directives to all civil servants working below them to better perform the affairs of the provinces. In other words, except the personnel or members of the judiciary and the military forces, all civil servants work under supervision and control of the governors in the provinces.

Apart from these roles and duties, most laws, including the Provincial Administration Law numbered 5442 in particular, give various authorities, functions and responsibilities to the governors. These are enumerated as follows:

- to ensure the security of the citizens and the general public order;
- to guarantee the coordination and cooperation of different government and non-governmental organisations and institutions;
- to declare and implement legislation and governmental decrees;
- to supervise all provincial/public institutions and organisations (except for the judicial and military authorities);
- to collect taxes and other state revenues;
- to preside over official ceremonies as a chief representative of the state;
- to contact consuls and accept their applications and visits;
- to prevent offences by using the police and gendarmerie forces due to their security-related power;
- taking security measures in civil airports, ports, and border gates in order to provide border and coast safety;
- appealing for help from military forces directly in the case of security-threatening event which are not able to be prevented by law enforcement forces originally under their authority;
- being the head of the social assistance and solidarity foundations of the province. These foundations were established in order to ensure that the government helps the poor people in every governorship and district governorship in the provinces and districts of Turkey;
- to be the head of the investment monitoring and coordination unit which operates for the purpose of monitoring and coordinating public investments and public services of provincial/public organisations under the authority of the governor (with the exclusion of the judicial and military authorities). It also

mediates the provincial duties of the ministries on condition that their allowances be transferred (Law no: 657, 1700, 3152, 5442, 6360);

- having hierarchical authority over different ministries' civil servants who provide public services in the province (excluding the personnel of the judiciary and the military);
- to permit judicial investigations concerning the formal roles and duties of the civil servants and municipal staffs.

Apart from the above roles and duties, as Chapter 3 mentions, the governors have dealt with the socio-economic and cultural development of the provinces, even though this role has not been given to them legally. In this manner, they play an active role in order to find solutions to the education and health and infrastructure matters of the provinces. However, and as has also been mentioned in Chapter 3, this role has been eroding.

In respect to the municipalities, the administrative tutelage authority of the governor over the municipalities was substantially reduced after the decentralisation reforms of 2004. Before making the reforms, the governor approves of the budgets and council decisions of the greater city or provincial capital municipalities and of the town municipalities in the central districts (Law no: 1580/Art. 71, 122). Today, the decisions of the municipal council relating to the naming of streets, roads, squares, parks, premises and other places, as well as that of determining the logos and pennons to be used by headmen during presentations and other official activities, are put into force with the approval of the highest administrative authorities (i.e. the governor in the case of the province and the district governor in the case of the district) (Law no: 5393/Art. 81; Law no. 4483/Art. 3). As has been shown, governors have many roles and duties given them by law, but today, it is not easy to say whether they are effective or simply not in the system.

2.7. The District Governors

The district governor is the representative of the government in the districts and is the head of the general administration of a particular district. The district governor is accepted as the cornerstone of the profession of the civilian authority even though the

governorship is technically to be found at the top of the hierarchy (Duran 1973). They are the representatives of the government in the districts and are responsible for the running of the general administration of the district. The district governor, who is the highest administrator of the state organisation in the district, is different from the governor, who represents both the state and central government in the provinces. In other words, the district governors represent the government not only in a legal sense, but also in practice, and in the eyes of the citizens, the district governors represent not only the central government but also the state. The district governor is under the control of the governor. They are responsible for their performance and activities to the governors. The governor can intervene in the affairs of the district governor if they attempt to contradict the nation's laws in some way (Ozer, 1988). Furthermore, as Duran (1973) notes, they are accepted as being "small governors" even though the district governors are under the direct control of the governor.

2.7.1. The Main Roles and Powers of the District Governors

The general legal status, duties, and powers of the district governors are regulated by the Provincial Administration Law no. 5442, whereas many of their other roles and responsibilities are appointed to them by other laws and regulations. Their main roles, duties, and responsibilities can be summarised as follows:

- being a representative of the central government;
- ensuring the security of the citizens and the general public order;
- preventing offences by using their security-related powers (i.e. the police and gendarmerie forces);
- being the highest authority responsible for the district general administration (excluding the organisation of the judiciary and the military);
- supervising, and promoting the coordination and cooperation of, all provincial/public institutions and organisations (except for the judicial and military authorities);
- controlling the district with the help of the ministries' district directorates;
- working with districts in a hierarchical relationship based on the principles of cooperation and coordination;

- having the authority to evaluate, supervise, or control the districts and to mete out both disciplinary punishments and rewards (Law no. 5442);
- announcing and implementing the laws and decisions taken by the government;
- carrying out the governors' orders;
- controlling and checking all public organisations and institutions;
- regulating the general administration of the district in all respects;
- collecting taxes and other state revenues;
- presiding over official ceremonies as a chief representative of the state;
- having hierarchical authority over the different ministries' civil servants who, themselves, provide public services in the provinces (with the exception of judicial and martial personnel);
- permitting judicial investigations concerning the formal roles and duties of the civil servants and municipal staffs;
- being the head of the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (this organisation helps poor people implement certain social policies dictated by the government, like giving money, coal, and food, as well as ensuring shelter and support for disabled and widowed poor people);
- being head of the Union for Village Services Delivery;
- providing infrastructure activities to the villages (like building primary schools, ensuring them fresh drinking water), as well as making and maintaining roads (Law no. 5442, 3294, 5355).

Apart from the aforementioned main roles and duties, the district governors, like the governors, have to deal with the socio-economic and cultural developments of the district closely, even though that role is not one which is given to them legally. In this manner, they have played an active role in finding solutions to the education, health, and infrastructure matters of the provinces. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, there has been erosion in these roles after the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s.

Furthermore, there also exists an administrative tutelage relationship between the district governor and the local governmental units (such as the municipality and the

village). Before mentioning this, however, it is necessary to note the units of the provincial special administration in the districts. District governors have the power to command and control these units even though they have no tutelage relationship with the provincial special administration. The district unit of the provincial special administration works under the control and command of the governor, with the district governor being responsible for carrying out the affairs of the governors (Law no .5302). From the point-of-view of the villages, the district governor has a certain role and tutelage power over the local governments of the villages. For instance, the district governor approves the budget of the village, supervises the affairs of the village, and gives orders to the heads of the village regarding the central government's affairs (Law no. 442).

In terms of the municipalities, the district governors had important tutelage powers over the municipalities until the local government reforms of 2004 and after. Before these reforms, the district governors had the authority to approve the budget and other decisions of the council. After the 2004 reforms, on the other hand, the tutelage powers of the district governors over the municipalities were mostly removed. The municipal council's decisions regarding giving names to streets, boulevards, parks, and certain other kinds of institutions, as well as introducing new district emblems, pennants, or flags all have to first be approved by the district governor. And, in addition to the district governors' being the head of all of the general and private law enforcement officers in their respective districts, the district governors also have the right of appointing municipality police.

The district governor is the projection of the governor in the district. They share basic roles and duties which the governor has, although they do not have as wide a scope of authority as the governors. As mentioned above, many roles and duties are given to the district governor primarily by the Provincial Administration Law no. 5442, as well as many other different laws and legal and administrative regulations.

2.7.2. The Differences between the Governors' Roles and the District Governors' Roles

In order to understand the governors and district governors' place in the Turkish PAS well, it will be useful to mention certain important differences between the governor and the district governor. While the governors benefit from the principle of deconcentration, the district governors do not. Whereas the governor is the representative of both the state and the government in the province, the district governor is just the representative of the government and not the state in the legal terms. Nevertheless, and as mentioned above, in practice, the district governors also represent the state, not only in their eyes but also in the eyes of the citizens. Moreover, the governor has the right to issue general orders while the district governor cannot. And, while the governor has the right to establish relationships with the authorities of foreign countries' consulates as well as with border authorities (given that some provinces have borders with foreign countries, the district governor cannot establish certain kinds of relationships with authorities above the district level. Furthermore, whereas the district governor is a complete civil servant, the governor has an exceptional status, as was mentioned above (Duran, 1973).

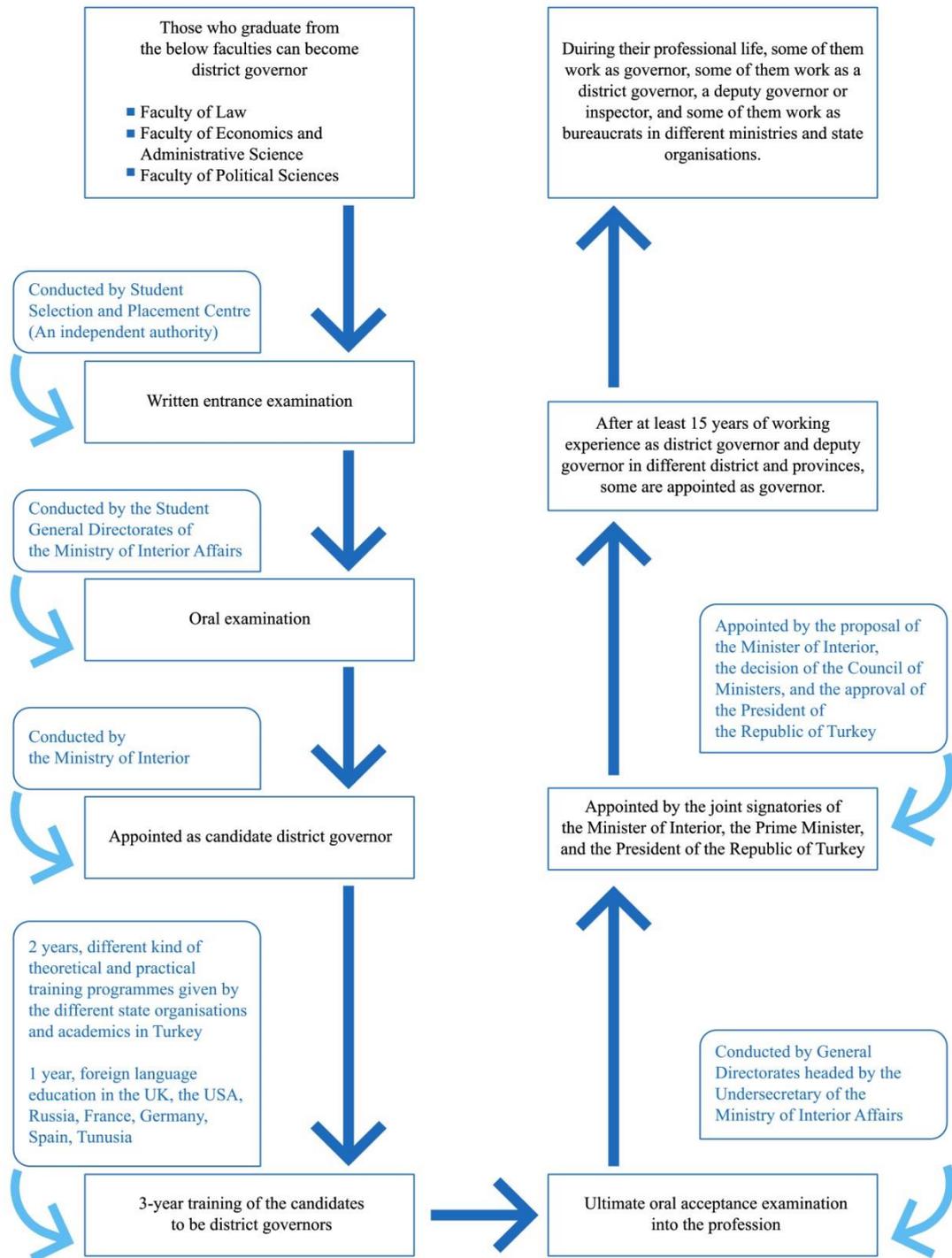
2.7.3. How Can One Become a District Governor?

The necessary conditions of becoming a district governor are identified in detail in law no. 1700. First of all, candidates who want to be district governors should have graduated from the faculty of law, the faculty of political sciences, or the faculty of economics and administrative sciences and should have passed the written entrance exam held by the student selection and placement centre on behalf of the Ministry of Interior Affairs. In the exam, topics in many fields, such as economics, law, history, general culture, and the political economic developments of both the country and the world in general are asked. After passing the written entrance exam, the candidates take an oral exam. If the candidate is successful in both exams, they may be appointed as a candidate district governor by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. A rich educational programme involving both a practical and theoretical education is taught to the candidates. After three years of education, the candidate district governors participate in

an oral exam which is arranged by the council, including the high general directorates of the Ministry of Interior Affairs which, itself, is headed by the undersecretary of the Ministry. If they successfully pass that exam, they are appointed as district governors after certain legal procedures are conducted. A district governor is then elected by the Council of the General Directorates of the Ministry of Interior Affairs. This election then needs to be approved both by the Ministry of Interior Affairs and by the President of the Republic (Law no. 1700).

In the past, however, only the graduates from the any faculties of law or political science at the University of Ankara had the right to be elected as a district governor after passing the necessary exams and completing the requisite legal procedures. Apart from these graduates, nobody who graduated from the faculty of political science at the University of Istanbul had the right to be district governors — even though their educational programme was almost exactly the same. With pressure from the graduates of the faculty of political science of Istanbul University, though, the related articles of the necessary laws were changed in 1986, thereby allowing the graduates of that university's faculty to be elected as district governors as well. Then, after another change to the relevant laws was made in 1991, the graduates of other universities' faculties of economics and administrative sciences were given the right to become district governors. Thus, the monopoly on having the right to become a district governor held by the graduates of the faculty of law and the faculty of political science at Ankara University was broken. The door to the district governorship was opened to different graduates from all tertiary educational institutions in Turkey. Additionally, a second important change was made with regards to women. Until 1992, female graduates, no matter where they had graduated from, did not have the right to be district governors. When, in that year, a change was made to the article of the relevant law, women gained the right to become district governors as well. Today, there 34 female district governors and deputy governors and two female governors working in the nation's districts and provinces. The steps which one (most of the time) has to complete in order to go from being a candidate district governor to being a governor are illustrated in Figure 2.3 below.

Figure 2.3 The steps one has to take in order to go from being a candidate district governor to being a governor



Source: Designed by the Researcher, 2015

2.8. The Deputy Governors

Deputy governors are appointed to the provinces for the purpose of helping the governors, as well as for the purpose of being the governor's surrogate whenever the governor is outside of the province. Deputy governors are appointed from amongst all district governors who have worked as district governors for at least six years; moreover, the district governors should have worked in the less developed districts of Turkey in order to become a deputy governor. The deputy governor is similar to district governors in that they are civil servants who are members of the same profession (i.e. the civilian authority) but are not regarded as being of an exclusive position like that of the governorship (Law no. 5442/Art. 5).

The number of deputy governors working under each governor in the provinces changes according to the size of the city. For instance, in Istanbul—the largest province of Turkey —, around 25 deputy governors are employed, whereas in Bayburt—the smallest province of Turkey —, only 2-3 deputy governors are needed. These numbers, however, often change.

It is difficult to give an exact definition of the deputy governors' roles and duties because their roles and duties are not identified in any great detail in the county's laws (e.g. contra the case of the governors and district governors). In practice, the roles of the deputy governors are determined by the governor because the deputy governors, in effect, are extensions of the governors given that they are given what duties and powers that they have by the governors (Karasu 2002). For Ozer (2000), the closest helpers of the governors in the provinces are the deputy governors and district governors. These three types of governor, as it were, are inseparable from each other, sharing not only similar powers but also a similar destiny. In legal terms, there is no hierarchical relationship between the deputy governors and the district governors. The deputy governors are not superior to the district governors even though they use their duties and powers on behalf of the governor.

The deputy governor is given the authority to sign documents given by the governor; furthermore, important organisations and institutions are under the responsibility of the

deputy governor. In other words, the deputy governor's importance is contingent upon the importance given to them by the governor. In practice, some governors provide them with many powers and roles and give great importance to deputy governors, whereas others do not.

In the eyes of society, one's being appointed to the position of the district governor is accepted as being a promotion onto the path of becoming a governor, whereas being promoted to the position of the deputy governor is more unclear in terms of their future roles and duties (Kahya 1992). For Karasu (2002), one's being appointed to the status of a deputy governor is not perceived as preparing one for becoming a governor. In practice, district governors can be appointed as deputy governors and deputy governors can be appointed as district governors.

2.9. The Importance of the Governors and District Governors in the Public Administration System and Their Place in the Eyes of Society

As mentioned above, the affairs of the state are carried out by the government in the central administration and by civilian authorities, such as the governors and district governors, on the behalf of the state and the government in the field administrations of the central government. The concept of civilian authority represents the powers and attitudes of the government and symbolises the state's authority on the local level (Gulec 1995).

It will be beneficial to identify the traditional roles of the civilian authority in order to better understand what the civilian authority is in the eyes of the public and how the public perceives their traditional roles within the context of the country's historical development. As mentioned above, the civilian authority has benefited from a 151-year tradition. The civilian authority has gained many traditional and important roles throughout its historical development, even though some of them have eroded throughout time.

As identified by the Association of Turkish Administrators, these traditional roles are as follows:

- to represent the state and the government;
- to ensure the common peace and security, personal immunity, and the public's well-being;
- to conduct general acts of coordination and cooperation among the various state organisations and institutions of the central government located in the province and the districts (excluding judiciary and military organisations);
- to implement the country's laws and regulations;
- to provide communication between the central administration, the field administration, and the public;
- to deal with all kinds of citizen requests and complaints and to quickly proffer solutions to them on behalf of the state and the government;
- to perform tutelage power over the local governments;
- and to develop first-response planning and programmes for general and natural disasters (Fisek et al 1976).

There are debates amongst academics and civilian authorities today whether these traditional roles are applicable, whether they are not effectively implemented in today's Turkish PAS, or whether these roles have eroded or not. Answers to these questions will be attempted to be provided in the analysis made to the survey and elite interviews in Chapters 5,6, 7 and 8 respectively.

According to Emre (2002), the most important roles of the civilian authority in the field administration of the central government is to ensure that public services will be made available on behalf of the central government efficiently and effectively, to use public personnel and public resources efficiently, and to ensure the proper coordination and cooperation of the public institutions and organisations. For Ozsen (1987), the civilian authority, apart from having the above mentioned traditional roles, undertakes the duty of finding solutions to the problems of the social and economic development of the public. Moreover, they have been a pioneer in developing the country in terms of economic and social perspectives. Furthermore, Kazanci (1976) points out that the

civilian authority, as the representative of the state and the government in the field, come to the forefront in the eyes of the public who wait for solutions to their problems by the state.

The public's evaluation of the civil authority is different from other profession as a result of historical context. Gunay (1999) points out that the public sees the civilian authority as the state, government, a practitioner of the laws, a problem solver and an authority who solves problems when they meet problems. According to Coker (1995), the civilian authority, as the highest authority of the state and the representative of the state in many fields, is accepted as the closest and most trusted group of people solving the public's problems. On the other hand, Karasu (2002) claims that the definitions of the roles that the civilian authority play belong to a time when the civilian authority was the pioneer of modernisation and development. Nowadays, however, both of these claims could be called into question.

With time, the civilian authority has performed different duties from the ones resolved by independent courts to the council of ministers (Eke and Aksoy, 1977). For Gursoy (1999), for instance, there are no other civil servants who have the roles and duties like governors and district governors. In other words, in the field administration of the government, most roles and duties are given to the governors and district governors. Apart from the abovementioned traditional roles, governors and district governors have nearly 1000 additional roles and duties stipulated by other laws and regulations (stating that they should, e.g., ensure the sustainability of the environment, guarantee services from health to education etc.) These responsibilities were given to the civilian authority in virtue of its being the highest authority in the field organisation system of the state and government (Karasu 2002). Today, however, the effectiveness and practicability of these roles in the Turkish PAS are matters of debate by both academics, as well as the civilian authority itself. As mentioned in Chapter 6, these criticisms arise because of the public administration reforms which have affected the roles of governors and district governors. After the public administration reforms passed in the 2000s — especially those made to the local government —, the roles of both governors and district governors have become seriously debated among academics, politicians, governors, and district governors alike. The change in the governors and district governors' roles after

those reforms made in the 2000s will be analysed in detail in the analysis given of the survey and the elite interviews in Chapters 5, 6,7 and 8.

As mentioned above, the civilian authority, being the highest authority of the state and the sole authorised representative in many affairs, is the closest and most trusted body as perceived by the public (Ceylan 1977). Ceylan (1977) states that no other state organisation is as effective over the public as the civilian authority is, even though they did not receive their authority based on trust or respect. Saylan (1996) explains the position of the civilian authority as follows:

During the period when the bureaucracy was called part of a one-party system, the concept of the provisional administrative system comes to mind; and when they were called bureaucrats, governors and district governors come to mind. From this point of view, the one-party period was the “golden age of bureaucrats”, especially for the governors and district governors in terms of their powers, authority, status, and dignity.

And, according to Gursoy (1998), Turkish people have overcome a number of problems and have found a remedy with the help of the civilian authority. Therefore, the reputation of governors and district governors in the eyes of the people is high. Thus, the governors and district governors have played an effective role in solving many of the people’s problems. When civil administrators are mentioned, the mental image that is created in their minds is that of an administrator who has high social prestige. In this respect, the profession of civil administrators can be identified as being unique (Ceylan 1977).

Furthermore, Mardin (1992) explains the role and importance of the key bureaucrats (i.e. the governors and district governors) in different ways during the one-party period of the Turkish Republic from 1923 to 1950. This explanation helps one to understand the roles and place of the civilian authority in Turkish PAS. For him, the transition from traditional to modern society in Western societies took many years. The historical process that the West lived through had not yet been experienced by non-Western societies. Therefore, those societies needed a modernising programme which would help them complete their social and economic development during a short period of time. In this manner, this requirement raised the need for a bureaucracy of

modernisation. In such countries, the absence of entrepreneurial classes was compensated by a group of bureaucrats who had passed through western educational mechanisms. During the nation's one-party period, the bureaucracy in general — with the governors and district governors being the representatives of the central government — was integrated with the power of being the founder of the state and was served by using their power directly. In other words, the political and bureaucratic elites were integrated with one another. When they separated from one another, the bureaucracy came under the power of the political elite. The main aim of this revolution (which was made during the Republican period) was the creation of a new nation. The most important body which realised this target was the bureaucratic middle class who created and protected modern Turkey's institutions. The two basic characteristics of this middle class were that they were extremely loyal both to Turkey's basic state philosophy and to the principle of republicanism (Mardin, 1992).

The most important feature of the one-party bureaucracy's having such a great amount of prestige was the spread of the modernising revolution throughout the public. In this respect, the most important duty belonged to the civilian authority in that they were the ones who spread the revolutions into the public sphere seeing as they directly represented the government in the field. In other words, they were undertaking a mission of modernisation. During this period, the bureaucracy's adopting an agenda of modernisation increased the bureaucracy's influence. The most important representative of the modernisation process during the one-party period lost its effectiveness due to the new political understanding that opposed this mission during the multi-party period. For Emre (2002), for instance, during the historical process, the civilian authority's influence decreased because the civilian authority had lost its modernising mission, even though the governors and district governors were important tools of modernising the country in the early years of the Republic.

As has been seen, the roles and duties of the civilian authority — which is the highest authority of all of the ministries' field organisations' top officials in the province and districts and are the representatives of the government and state — are of capital importance for the central government and territorial organisation's administration. The governors and district governors who undertake the leadership role in executing public

services in the field and who work as the representatives of the state and central government at the provincial and district levels have thus increased their effectiveness and importance (Capar, 2011).

Having detailed the structure of the PAS and its members' roles and duties, a brief summary of this chapter's contents will be presented before moving on to the next chapter.

2.10. Conclusion

The governors and district governors, who themselves have a long, 151-year tradition and history coming from the Ottoman times, have played important roles in the Turkish PAS even after the establishment of the new Turkish Republic in 1923. These civil administrators were made responsible for administering the provinces and districts because of their being the heads of the provinces and districts. Therefore, all state organisations and institutions and civil servants except the judiciary and the military work or run under their supervision and control of the provinces and districts. The governors and district governors are considered the cornerstones of the Turkish provincial and public administration systems; they are representatives of the state and government, ensure the security of the citizens and the general public order, and provide coordination and cooperation between the governmental and non-governmental organisation in the provinces and districts. Apart from these traditional roles, they have carried out some historically important roles as well. In this sense, they have played both the roles of not only modernising the state and the society but also that of developing the socio-economic attributes of the provinces and districts. They have responsibilities in many areas, from education to health, from organising infrastructure activities to cultural and sports events, from protecting the public order to protecting artistic values. However, after all of the external and internal socio-economic, political and administrative developments throughout the history of the Turkish Republic — and especially after the public administration reforms of the 2000s — their roles and places in the public administration have become debateable in the academic, political, and civil administrative circles. Furthermore, their image has been eroding in the eyes of the

citizens as well. In the following chapter, the results of the survey will be presented, along with its analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER 3: THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

3.1. Introduction

In Turkey during the 2000s, many public administration reforms were introduced, all of which were influenced either by internal or external factors. Naturally, these reforms have affected both the civil administrators as well as the civil administration as a whole. The reforms have, in turn, significantly shifted the basis of Turkey's provincial administration system and the roles of its governors and district governors.

In line with this study's research question, "How have the public administration reforms that were introduced during the 2000s in Turkey affected the roles of governors and district governors?", this literature review will focus on those studies which have attempted to analyse the changing roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey.

When the literature was examined by the researcher, some themes immediately began to emerge. This literature review is thus organised in line with those themes, yet before describing them, the first section of this chapter will give general background information about the surveys and about a congress that evaluated the provincial administration system (PAS). They will also describe problems in how the PAS functions and the roles of the governors and district governors in it. Then, it will examine the impacts of socio-economic and political factors on civil administrators' roles followed by the rise in the number of the local governments' roles and the consequent decline in the governors and district governors' roles. Next, this section will mention the politicisation of the governors and district governors and evaluate the changes that have been made to the traditional understanding of the country's administration system and how they have impacted the civil administrators' roles. Following this, the studies on the modernising and paternal roles of the civil administrators will be discussed. Finally, the gaps found in the literature review will be recapped before explaining how this research will attempt to fill those gaps.

3.2. Sources of Literature

After searching for literature, the researcher discovered five surveys and one congress, throughout the history of Turkish Republic, which focussed on the functioning of the PAS and the change in the roles of the governors and district governors. They not only focussed on the changing roles of the governors and the district governors but on the PAS, factors that have affected the PAS and its problems too. However, in order to address the research question in this study, it is helpful to acknowledge conditions today are different to the ones behind the main results of these surveys and congress. This section mentions some background information regarding the surveys and the congress.

In 1956, a group of thirty academics, in collaboration with New York University's Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Services, the University of Ankara's Faculty of Political Sciences, and the Turkish Interior Ministry, conducted a survey with the country's civil administrators. This is the first survey ever conducted about the PAS and the roles of the governors and the district governors in the history of the Turkish Republic. Its main aim was to examine the general functions of the province and district administrations and to identify difficulties that they face, as well as the problems faced by the civil administrators in performing their roles (Soysal et al. 1957, p. 1-3).

The surveys were sent to all of the country's governors and district governors. At the time of the survey, there were 66 provinces and 493 districts in Turkey. 349 out of 493 district governors (70%) and 45 out of 66 governors (68%) participated in the survey, so the response rate to this survey was 69% (Soysal et al. 1957, p.4).

Then, in 1976, a comprehensive survey concerning the review of the PAS, its problems and its main actors, the governors and district governors, was conducted in collaboration with a group of academics and the Association of Turkish Administrators (Fisek et al.1976).

The survey was sent to all the governors, deputy governors, and district governors in Turkey at that time. 469 recipients out of 836 participated in the survey. The response rate was (56.1%) (Fisek et al., p.v).

The next significant project to study the functioning of the PAS, the roles of the civil administrators and the problems they faced was undertaken in 2000-2001, a quarter of a century after the first. That piece of research was organised by a group of academics headed by Emre in association with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the study, a survey was sent to all of the governors, deputy governors, district governors and bureaucrats who worked as district governors for the Ministry of Internal Affairs at that time. 1140 governors, deputy governors, and district governors out of 1776 participated in the survey, giving a response rate of 64% (Emre et al. 2002, p. 29).

Apart from the above pieces of research, in 2001, a group of academics — again in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of the Interior — conducted a project with citizens from different regions of Turkey about their attitudes towards the civil administration and its civil administrators. The aim was to discover the way that the public perceived the Turkish PAS and its civil administrators, as well as its changing role in society (Emre et al. 2003).

The academics conducted both a survey and semi-structured interviews as data collection methods. The survey was conducted with 1,586 citizens. Moreover, 158 semi-structured interviews were conducted with people from different professions, as well as representatives of some non-governmental organisations and local government administrations (Emre et al. 2003, p. 2).

The last comprehensive fieldwork was conducted by a group of academics in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs in 2013-2014. Its main aim was to investigate how different segments of society perceived both the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the civil administrators. In order to achieve that aim, the survey was sent to different segments of society, including civil administrators, citizens, the heads of villages, and retired mayors and parliamentarians, as well as to representatives of non-governmental organisations in 35 provinces in Turkey. The survey was not conducted with all of the civil administrators in Turkey. Instead, it was sent to 848 of them who worked in 35 out of the 81 provinces in Turkey, with a total of 496 individuals participating in the survey. The response rate achieved was around 60%. Moreover, the survey was also conducted with 3050 citizens, 362 village headmen, 330

lawyers, 261 representatives of non-governmental organisations, 83 retired mayors, and 56 retired parliamentarians (TIAV 2014).

Apart from the fieldworks previously mentioned, a congress was also held in order to examine and understand how the PAS functioned, the changing roles of the civil administrators, and the problems faced by both. This congress was conducted in collaboration with a group of academics, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Association of Turkish Administrators and took place in 2002. Around 281 participants, including governors, deputy governors, district governors and academics, took part in the discussions (Icislari Bakanligi 2002).

3.3. The Impacts of Socio-Economic and Political Developments on Roles

This subsection will explain the main findings of the previous surveys and the other types of literature about the impacts of socio-economic and political developments on the roles of the governors and district governors so that it can be understood how this work fits with previous studies. A significant number of studies in the literature have attempted to explain the changing roles of the governors and district governors in terms of the socio-economic and political factors that Turkey has faced over the years.

One of them was the first survey conducted in the history of Turkish Republic in 1956. One of its main findings concerning the impacts of socio-economic and political developments on governors and district governors' roles was that there were problems in the way the PAS functioned which, in turn, had eroded the roles of governors and district governors. It found that these problems resulted from certain political, socio-economic and administrative developments in Turkey that will be mentioned below (Soysal et al. 1957). In 1946, Turkey adopted a multi-party system. In 1950, for the first time during the history of the Turkish Republic, the Democrat Party came to power after free, democratic elections took place. Furthermore, after this, intense economic development projects, such as great infrastructure constructions (including roads, dams, and sugar and cement factories) both in rural and urban areas, began. To accelerate economic development, regional directorates and state economic enterprises were established. According to the survey's findings, however, the civil administrators

claimed that “they had no authority over these regional directorates and state economic enterprises” (Soysal et al. 1957, p. 115). Moreover, according to the findings of the survey, the establishment of regional directorates was accepted as a kind of “escape from the PAS and the control and authority of the governors and the district governors” (Soysal et al. 1957, p.1-3).

The survey conducted in 1976 is also informative about how the socio-economic and political developments changed administration roles. It found that there had been major socio-economic and political developments after the Turkish Republic was established that had affected the PAS’s ability to function effectively and which, in turn, damaged the governors and district governors’ roles. Deadlock from these socio-economic and political developments weakened the roles of many governors and district governors (Fisek et al.1976).

The ways the socio-economic and political developments changed the civil administrators’ roles were summarised by Fisek, who was the head of the research team, as follows:

The increasing number of regional organisations and state economic enterprises which were founded for the purpose of ensuring rapid economic development on the regional, instead of the provincial, level decreased the number of roles played by the governors and district governors¹ (Fisek et al. 1976, p.231).

Another study conducted in 2001 was about impact of the establishment of the regional organisations and their tendency to escape from the control and supervision of both the provincial system and the governors and the district governors. It found that

The formation of regional institutions and organisations outside the supervision of the civil administration, and the change in the structure of the traditional field administration, as well as the by-passing of the

¹ The quotes have been translated from Turkish by researcher.

civil administrators have all led to a loss of the power and effectiveness of the civil administrators (Emre et al. 2002, p. 209-210).

It was not only the surveys mentioned above that identified the importance of the socio-economic and political developments in changing administrator roles, but some academics also mentioned them. One of these includes Ortayli (Fisek et al. 1976). According to him, the emergence of organised groups (such as cooperatives, associations, and unions) weakened the traditional roles of the civil administrators. Fisek et al. (1976) argued that the country's transition to a multi-party system during the Turkish Republican period at the end of the 1940s led to the rise of political and local power groups that restricted the civil administrators' powers.

With respect to the impact of the socio-economic developments on civil administrator roles, Saylan and Kazanci (Fisek et al., 1976) claimed that further factors that reduced their power were, after 1945, the increase in urbanisation, advances in the level of technology used by the state, and the increased establishment of regional organisations in Turkey.

Tutum (Fisek et al., 1976), pointed out that the civil administrators also lost their independence. According to him, an impossible tension existed between the high expectations that the public had of them and state regulations that prevented them from meeting those expectations. This, he argued, led to the civil administrators losing their powers. Moreover, for Tutum, seeing as the civil administrators were those in charge of performing traditional services, they could not effectively coordinate the organisations responsible for economic and social services to the public because they did not have the requisite duties, powers and personnel. So the expectations of society and developments in the socio-economic structure, therefore, affected the roles of the civil administrators.

Fisek, Ortayli, Saylan, Kazanci and Tutum (all part of the same research group) tried to explain the changes to the roles of the governors and district governors from different points-of-view. Although they approached the issue differently, they all agreed that the socio-economic and political developments, both at the state and society level, caused changes in the roles of the governors and district governors. Though the problem required an in-depth examination, they all found that in general terms, the socio-

economic and political developments were compelling reasons for why the civil administrators' roles changed. However, they did not provide a detailed answer to the question of how and to what extent the roles of the civil administrators changed.

In agreement with the studies mentioned above, the congress held in 2002 found that the PAS and the powers of its administrators had been eroded. The congress found that the socio-economic and political developments in Turkey and in the world subverted the PAS. The congress summarised the socio-economic and political development as follows:

The socio-political developments -both inside and abroad- affected the PAS. Among its internal factors included developments in agriculture, like the increase in mechanisation, migration from rural areas to urban areas, the development and improvement of mass communication and the revelations of the unqualified working force. The external factors included such developments as globalisation, democratisation, and the protection of the environment and the promotion of human rights. All of these factors affected the PAS and the roles of its civil administrators (Iciseri Baknaligi 2002).

Cimen (2012) pointed out that significant developments occurred, such as in the citizens' economic and social lives, as well as at the country-level that were made for the very particular purpose of applying for European Union membership. Due to all of these developments, the state changed its organisational structure and regional organisations became more prominent, and the ways state institutions delivered services in the provinces and districts were altered. All of these factors affected the civil administrators' roles.

Another academic, Keskin (2009), claims that the PAS began to lose its powers after 1980 with the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies by the government. Powers and roles were transferred to the local governments, the regulatory and supervisory bodies, and regional organisations. Likewise, Capar (2015) examines the changes in the civil administration system in terms of the historical stages of the capitalism and its developments.

Further, another author, Mustafa Okmen (2014) stated that the civil administration in Turkey was designed to meet the requirements and conditions of the Turkish Republic just after its establishment. For instance, in 1927, the population of Turkey was around just 13 million, with approximately 75% of them living in rural areas and the other 25% in urban areas. Today, however, these numbers have been reversed, forcing the civil administration and civil administrator roles to change. Similar to Okmen, Esen (2012) elaborates upon this issue, stating that the governors and district governors played roles designed to serve the needs of an agricultural and industrial society. Today, however, the information age is changing all that. Thus, their roles have been affected by the information age and globalisation too, which have affected Turkey. The reforms passed in the 2000s, then, forced these roles to adapt to those changes.

Okmen and Esen's views, mentioned above, are consistent with the findings of the survey conducted in 1976. At the time of the research, two-thirds of the Turkish population lived in rural areas, but the government policy of rapid economic development meant that the population has increasingly migrated to the cities. To cope with these demographic developments, the government established regional organisations (Fisek et al. 1976, p.250). The survey found that:

The existing administrative structure could not meet the problems of the country's citizens because of its being designed for the conditions of its time — i.e. that of an agricultural society. However, with the impact of those new infrastructure works and the efforts towards industrialisation, the population moved from rural to urban areas. This is why the administrative structure could not solve the citizens' problems (Fisek et al.1976, p.251).

Likewise, Gul and Tasdan (2014) have pointed out that urbanisation, innovations in technology, the increasing expectations of the public regarding the quality and efficiency of public services, and the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies after 1980 in Turkey have all required changes in the understanding public administration and the roles played by its governors and district governors.

Saran (2010, p. 59) pointed out that the sorts of socio-economic and political developments already noted (which he notes have been taking place not only in Turkey but all across the globe) have affected the concept of public administration, its structure, the roles that its civil administrators play, and the provincial administration system as a whole. For him, “both the civil administration system and its administrators are products of Turkey's society and politics” (Saran 2010, p.59). Indeed, he states that “the provincial administration system is not independent of socio-economic conditions, the level of technological development, and the structure of the information and communication which is provided” (Saran 2010, p.59). Thus, he clearly examines the changes being made to the governor and district governor roles from a socio-economic point-of-view.

As mentioned above, researchers and academics linked socio-economic developments with the changes made to the PAS and the changing roles of its governors and district governors. These scholars did not deal with the impact of other factors on the roles of the civil administrators. Many of them did not base these conclusions on interviews or other in-depth research methods, though some fieldwork mentioned above was based on a survey given to the civil administrators. Instead, they approached the issue in general terms, without any great detail, and the questions of how and to what extent the roles of governors and district governors changed were never posed.

3.4. The Local Governments and the Roles of the Governors and District Governors

A significant number of researchers and academics concluded that the PAS and the roles of its civil administrators were undermined for a long time because of the local government reforms of the 2000s. For them, the reforms shifted both roles and financial resources away from centrally appointed governors and district governors to the elected local governments.

Basa and Yildiz (2008) claim that the civil administration system, which was established in the early years of the Turkish Republic, lost its prominence and prestige during the 1990s and 2000s. In other words, they claimed that the increasing impact of

the local governments undermined the PAS and the roles of its main agents. According to them, comprehensive changes were not made to the Law for Provincial Administration no. 5442 dated 1949 (which regulates the main roles and responsibilities of governors and district governors and the administration of provinces and districts); rather, new regulations and reforms have been made more recently to regulate local governments instead. They thus try to explain the changes evidenced by the shifting roles of the civil administrators in terms of the increasing importance and prestige of the local governments. So, according to them, even though the governors and district governors are the main actors of the PAS, the recent public administration reforms undermined that system and decreased the roles of its civil administrators by shifting powers to the local governments. It must be conceded, however, that, even though their arguments shed light on one dimension of the changes made to the roles of the governors and district governors, their arguments are not based on any primary sources or fieldwork.

Just as Basa and Yildiz (2008) discovered, both Cangir (2011) and Ciner and Karakaya (2013) draw a link between the implications of decentralisation and the changes made to the roles of the chief civil administrators. They also claimed that decentralisation affected the roles of governors and district governors by giving more powers and financial resources to the local governments.

Other researchers, including Uslu (2014) and Boztepe (2013), examined how the public administration reforms passed in the 2000s affected the roles of the civil administrators. They also indicated that the public administration reforms made in the 2000s, especially in the area of local governments and the restructuring of the state, transferred some of the roles and powers of the central government to the local governments and so the governors and district governors have lose some of their functionality.

Akin to the above views, Gokce et al. (2014) stated that the strengthening of the local governments generated a debate regarding the roles, functions, and prestige of the civil administrators. According to them, in order to restructure the state, some local government reforms were made. However, these reform efforts have affected the PAS and its main agents significantly. Therefore, they claimed that the balance between the

local governments and the PAS has broken down and that the local governments have become more prominent.

Likewise, according to the survey conducted in 2013-2014, the local government reforms have broken down the existing balance between the local governments and the governorships, district governorship in terms of roles and powers. According to the findings, “within the scope of the decentralisation policies, the government has dissolved the balance between the local governments and the PAS in favour of the local governments” (TIAV 2014, p. 107-108).

Interestingly, when the main findings of the surveys and the congress (1957, 1976, 2000-2001, 2002 respectively) are analysed, there is not much additional evidence for the transfer of roles and powers to local governments from governorships and the district governorships. However, the findings of last survey conducted in 2013-2014 clearly illustrate that a transfer of powers and roles has occurred. In other words, there has not been a significant impact on the roles of the governors and the district governors except from the local government reform within the public administration reforms in the 2000s, which is the main finding of the survey.

In summary, all of the studies mentioned above stated that the increase in the powers, roles and financial resources of the local governments have been at the expense of the governors and district governors, which have subsequently decrease. The strength of these studies is that they all shed a light on how the roles of the civil administrators were impacted by the local government reforms (as part of the public administration reforms) made in the 2000s. The weakness of the abovementioned studies is that many of their explanations and claims — except for some exceptions mentioned above — are based on secondary sources. Only a few of them are survey-based, such as Uslu (2014) and Gokce et al.(2014) studies. What is more, even though an in-depth examination is needed to fully assess the changes in the roles of the governors and district governors, as well as how and to what extent their roles have been affected by those reforms, the abovementioned studies did not examine those changes in detail. Rather, they simply mentioned that the reforms had decreased the roles played by the governors and district

governors. They also did not mention other possible reasons why the civil administrator roles might have been affected.

Generally, then, the above studies claim that civil administrators began to lose their powers after the local government reforms. According to those studies, the PAS was undermined with the municipalities and mayors gaining influence at its expense.

3.5. The Politicisation of the Governors and District Governors

The literature reviewed uncovered that all the surveys mentioned above considered the politicisation of the governors and the district governors to be a true issue. Mayors become more powerful. Therefore, the power of the governors and district governors has eroded. In other words, those studies found the politicisation of the governors and the district governors to be a reality.

The governors and district governors who participated in the survey conducted in 1956 declared that the “political intervention into the administrative affairs of the governors and district governors increased after the transition to the multi-party system that resulted in the politicisation of them” (Soysal et al.1957, p.53).

Similar to the one in 1956, the survey conducted in 1976 also mentioned the politicisation the governors and district governors. The research also found that, the transition to a multi-party system with the democratisation process in general, there had also been a shift from the administration dominating the political structure to the political structure dominating the administration (Fisek et al. 1976, p.333). In this sense, one of the main findings of the survey was that, “after transition[ing] to the multi-party system, the intervention of the politicians into their affairs, roles and duties has increased” (Fisek et al. 1976, p.278).

Interestingly the 1956 and 1976 survey linked the politicisation of the governors and district governors to the transition to the multi-party system.

Regarding the politicisation of the governors and the district governors, the surveys made in 2001-2002 and 2013-2014, also noted the politicisation of the governors and the district governors. According to the findings of the surveys the politicisation process of the governors and the district governors has increased gradually. The survey conducted in 2000-2001 found that:

The profession of civil administrators, being a profession with historical weight and societal prestige, has lost much of its authority, both in the eyes of society and in the eyes of bureaucrats when compared to other professional groups. With the process of politicisation, this resulted in the reduction of both the administrative productivity and societal effectiveness of the civil administrators (Emre et al. 2002, p. 209-210).

The findings of the survey conducted in 2013-2014, the governors and the district governors revealed that

In the PAS, the governors and district governors have gradually entered under the control of central government or taken hold of the central government. Thus, politicisation and the tendency towards nepotism have risen (TIAV. 2014, p. 107-108).

In short, the surveys conducted from 1956 to 2013-2014, agree that the politicisation of the governors and the district governors is a reality.

3.6. Changes in the Roles and Traditional Understanding of Administration

In the literature, some authors mentioned that the traditional understanding of administration has been undermined as well as the roles of the governors and district governors. For them, the new style of public management has subverted the traditional understanding administration most.

According to Uslu (2014), Cukurcayir (2014), and Sobaci (2014), the neo-liberal economic policies which were passed, such as privatisation, free trade, deregulation, and reduced public expenditure on social services, transformed, from the beginning of the 1980s, not only the economy but also public administration in Turkey. Private sector

management techniques were introduced to help run the public administration. Therefore, the new public management system has, in turn, affected the traditional administration system, its main actors' roles, and the traditional understanding of administration. Uslu (2014), Cukurcayir (2014), and Sobaci (2014), in particular, hold this view.

Two papers that agree with Uslu (2014), Cukurcayir (2014), and Sobaci (2014) are Turgut (2014) and Avsarbey (2014) and they point out that, with the effects of the public administration reforms, certain NPM elements (such as openness, transparency, accountability, efficiency and participation) have become more prominent in Turkey during the 2000s. Thus, the governors and district governors have been expected to promote participation, openness, transparency, accountability and governance as part of their roles. Moreover, new actors (such as those of the private sector and non-governmental organisations) have joined the arena of delivering public services and the local governments became more important in matters of governance. Whereas before the governors and district governors were the sole representatives of the central government, certain new agents like politicians, mayors, and non-governmental organisations are now active in public administration as a result of the new reforms. Thus, the traditional understanding of administration, as well as the roles played by the governors and district governors, has been changing.

Okmen (2014) provides an alternative set of causes that the dynamics of globalisation, regionalism, and localisation after the 1980s affected how the traditional public administration and its agents were perceived. Indeed, under the new model, the public services were to be thought of as being efficient, effective, productive, and citizen-oriented, while the government and administration were to be interpreted as being transparent, open, and accountable. These elements have become more prominent in the public administration reform process and have affected the traditional understanding of the provincial administration system. Therefore, the concrete effects of globalisation, regionalism, and localisation on the state and public administration systems, as well as its transition from the traditional administrative approach to a new form of public management, have all affected the provincial system and its main actors' roles.

As has been explained, all of the aforementioned authors have tried to explain why the new public management policies were adopted in Turkey. Most opined that they were implemented due to the neo-liberal economic policies that the government had been introducing since the 1980s. Furthermore, they believe there exists a close relationship between the implementation of the new public management system and the in the roles of the governors and district governors. Most of the studies mentioned above, however, tried to explain these changes in general terms (Avsarbey, 2014; Cukurcayir, 2014; Sobaci, 2014; Turgut, 2014; Uslu, 2014). Furthermore, most of them were not based on any fieldwork (e.g. surveys and interviews). They simply provided the implementation of the new public management system as one reason behind the erosion of the traditional understanding, of the traditional structure, and of the roles of its governors and district governors. However, in order to fully comprehend whether or not the new public management policies have affected the traditional understanding of public administration, understanding the structure of that system and the roles played by its agents would be beneficial. Moreover, an in-depth analysis of this issue — as was the case with the other studies — is missing. They did not examine how and to what extent the roles of the governors and district governors have changed due to the new public management policies, nor did they provide data on how the traditional understanding of administration has, itself, been changing.

3.7. The Role of Modernisation and its Impact

In relevant literature, a significant number of authors mentioned the fact that, after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the governors and district governors were given the new role of helping the central government modernise both the state and society. Therefore, they came to be adaptable agents due to the nature of the modernising aspect of their role.

In this sense, Saylan (Fisek et al. 1976, p.48) emphasised that military and civilian bureaucrats who led the war of liberation for Turkey held the highest posts in the state after the establishment of the Republic, especially between 1923 and 1946. According to him, this period of time could be defined as “the golden age of bureaucracy” (Fisek et al. 1976, p.48). According to him:

Before the Democrat Party's coming to power in 1950, the traditional bureaucrat — especially the governors and district governors — was accepted as a progressive, secular person whose knowledge was based on science and who presided over the unproductive conflicts of society while also being accepted as the person who brought happiness and well-being to their community. In this sense, the governors and district governors were attributed with the role of modernising the nation (Fisek et al. 1976, p.48).

Furthermore, for him, the Democrat Party's rise to power in 1950, and its implementation of social and economic development programmes eroded the modernising role given to the governors and district governors (Fisek et al. 1976).

Aruoba (Fisek et al., 1976, p. 89) echoed had a similar idea to Saylan, stating that, “during the early years of the Republic, the civil administrators were proffered a high level of prestige in the Turkish bureaucracy because of their modernising role and their responsibility of constructing the new state and its principles in its provinces and districts”. This high level of prestige gave them the ability to represent the respectability of the government in the field. Thus, “they earned a higher salary than the other bureaucrats for holding the top position in the state's bureaucracy” (Fisek et al. 1976, p. 89). In the following years, however, their being affected by the conditions of society led to a decrease in their salaries contrary to those of other technical bureaucrats. For Aruoba, then, this also demonstrates the diminution of civil administrators' roles. He thus draws a negative correlation between having a modernising role and earning a higher salary (Fisek et al.1976, p. 89).

Emre (2002, p. 237) proffered a similar view to those of Saylan and Aruoba, claiming that, “until Turkey began transitioning to the multi-party system in 1946, the civil administrators played significant roles in modernising society. Those who helped realise the establishment of the Republic of Turkey were given positions in the new nation's bureaucracy as civil administrators”. According to Emre, however, “the modernising role of the governors and district governors eroded with the effect of the socio-economic and political developments which occurred in Turkey, though this role

continued to be played by them to some extent even after 1946 in some parts of Turkey” (Emre 2002, p. 237).

With respect to the modernising role that the governors and district governors play, and in agreement with Saylan and Emre, Keskin (2009) points out that the founding fathers of the Turkish Republic wished to strengthen the country’s foundations by spreading the state’s ideology’. To achieve that purpose, the field administration system was strengthened, with more roles and powers being supplied to the governors and district governors. Thus, the PAS and its actors played a crucial role in establishing the Turkish Republic. Yet, according to Keskin (2009), the effect of the socio-economic developments has gradually reduced their modernising role.

Consistent with the above-mentioned authors, Gokpinar (2014) claims that, at the very establishment of the Turkish Republic, the civil administrators became very effective because they were given the role of implementing the requisite reforms modernising both Turkey's society and state. According to Gokpinar (2014), the state perceived the governors and district governors as being the most effective tool for establishing the nation state. However, the internal and external factors that the Turkish government had to contend with after 1990 and in the 2000s, meant many reforms were passed in the area of local governance, which further eroded the civil administration role of modernisation. Like the authors above, Saran (2010, p. 62) points out that:

During the early years of the Republic of Turkey, a centralist administrative structure was adopted. In this system, the civil administrators were conceived of as being the key administrators governing the central government's organisations in the field. In this system, the civil administrators undertook a modernising role for the purpose of further directing and shaping their society for a long time. In this system, in order to perform the traditional roles of the state over society, the state should have been given effective powers of control. However, developments in the global economy, including an increasing amount of international competition and the integration of the markets, decreased the tendency to expect the state to ensure socio-

economic advancements by means of passing protectionist policies. In other words, civil administrators are not only agents responsible for transforming society culturally, politically and economically in the system.

The aforementioned authors agree that the modernisation role of the governors and district governors' was the key when the Turkish Republic was first founded; they helped modernise the country's society and state and implement new reforms and principles within society. Nevertheless, these authors agree that, with all of the socio-economic, political and administrative developments in Turkey — this modernisation role has lost significance through time. Nevertheless, this role will continue to some extent in the underdeveloped regions of Turkey. However, in order to understand how the governors and district governors' roles have changed, more will be needed despite helpfulness of the explanations and analyses provided in the literature of these roles. The questions of “how and to what extent have the traditional roles of the governors and district governors changed?” have yet to be answered in any detail.

3.8. Changes in the Paternal Role

Some authors, in the literature, pointed out that the citizens see the governors and district governors as representatives of the paternal state. Therefore, some of the authors studied the issue of the changing roles in terms of changes in the role of the paternal state. Eke and Aksoy (Fisek et al. 1976, p. 116), for instance, stated that the civil administrators were considered to be “the official representatives of the state in the eyes of society”. This is because they permitted to tackle every problem arising in society seeing as they represented the state. The other reason that he provided was that the public had wanted the state to be active in finding solutions to their problems for a long time — maybe even for centuries. Moreover, some governors and district governors played the role of being investors and economic pioneers as well, even though these were not their primary duties. Therefore, the public came to believe that the real roles of the civil administrators were socio-economic ones. According to these two researchers, then, given the nature of the developments that they faced, the paternal role of the governors and district governors began to erode.

Similarly, Soysal (Fisek et al.1976, p. 135), who was also a part of the same research team, argued that “the concept of the civil administrator during the times of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic were not much different in the minds of the public than they were in the 1970s”. In other words, the citizens accepted them as representing the state and therefore wanted them to provide them with many public services because of they perceived them to be a kind of father figure. However, according to Soysal (Fisek et al. 1976, p. 135), “the economic life of the 1970s and the political and societal developments which — we have seen — affected the roles of the governors and district governors were much more different from the Ottoman Empire's and the early years of the Republic's”. According to him, then, there exists a close correlation between how the roles of the civil administrators changed and the economic, political and social developments which occurred in the country from the 1970s onwards.

With respect to the changes made to the civil administrators' paternal role, a more recent survey was conducted by a group of academics in collaboration with the Ministry of Internal Affairs between 2013 and 2014 (mentioned above). According to the findings of that survey:

With the impacts that the economic, political and social developments had on their lives, the citizens' perceptions of the state have been changing. The state was hitherto generally been called names such as the “father” and the “sacred” by its citizens. This perception, however, has been under some strain. The state is accepted as being a tool for providing services to citizens. With these changes, the citizens' perceptions regarding the state here have been transformed into a more accountable, transparent one (TIAV 2014, p. 115).

Since the citizens saw the civil administrators as representatives of the state, they demanded that the civil administrators provide them with solutions to their education, health, social policy, and security problems (TIAV 2014, p. 114-120). However, there have been changes to how the civil administrators are perceived, citizens care less about the governors and district governors compared to the solutions they can provide. The

study argues that the diminution in citizen expectations of civil administrators was due to the fact that many of their powers and roles were transferred to the local governments. Consequently, mayors have become more important in the eyes of the citizens. Furthermore, the strengthening of the local governments has also increased the importance and effectiveness of the mayors (TIAV 2014, p. 114-120).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the paternal conception of the state was prevalent in the traditional understanding of public administration and the Turkish state. Due to the aforementioned socio-economic and political developments, however, the paternal role of the state, and, ergo, that of the governors and district governors, has been eroded. With respect to the paternal role of the governors and district governors, citizens' perceptions of them in an economic sense have decreased, with mayors now more prominent in meeting the economic needs of citizens, thereby diminishing the paternal role of the governors and district governors. Moreover, the citizens have stopped perceiving the state, as "sacred" or as a "father" and now view it as a "tool" for providing them with public services.

The weakness of the above studies about how the role of the paternal state has changed is that the aforementioned authors did not explain how and to what extent that role had been changed. They simply examined it in general terms, though some did utilise fieldwork surveys. On the other hand, while most of the authors examined the issue from the governors and district governors' points-of-view, the last study mentioned considered the perspective of citizens as well. No matter from which point-of-view the topic is analysed, however, they all concluded that there had been a decrease in the importance of the governors and district governors' paternal role.

3.9. Conclusion

The literature review turned up some weaknesses of current studies. Firstly, some studies tried to explain the changes made to the roles of the governors and district governors in an indirect way, such explaining the impacts of the socio-economic and political developments on the roles of the governors and district governors through their effects on the PAS. The factors that the literature considers are the erosion of the PAS,

the empowerment of the local governments, and the changes in the traditional administrative understanding. A second weakness in the literature is that the majority of studies only provide general reasons for why roles changed. When one carefully examines the literature, the studies did not examine how and to what extent the roles of the governors and district governors changed in detail and they did not identify what new roles emerged. Thirdly, the literature did not examine how the traditional administrative understanding of the governors and district governors has been changed and also whether there has been any resistance to this change or not. Fourthly, in the literature few studies utilised fieldwork such as elite interviews and surveys except the few mentioned above. The nature of this thesis's research question, however, requires a much more in-depth examination and a deep understanding of the topic.

This study specifically focuses on how the public administration reforms made in the 2000s have affected the roles of governors and district governors' and examines the changes in the roles in detail. This piece of research does not only try to explain the causes of the changes in roles, but also how and to what extent roles have been affected. Lastly this research also tries to explain whether or not roles and the understanding of them have changed and whether or not there has been any resistance to these changes.

In order to address the need for addressing the changing roles of the civil administrators in depth, both a survey and a semi-structured elite interview with 65 participants were conducted (See Chapter 4). Lastly, there has not been a comprehensive study that includes both surveys and elite interviews that examines the effects of the public administration reforms made in the 2000s on the changing roles of the governors and the district governors except the one conducted in 2013-2014 that indirectly examined the changing roles. In other words, there is not a study in the literature that examines the impacts of the public administration reforms introduced in 2000s on the changing roles of governors and district governors. Therefore, there exists a gap in the literature which this study attempts to fill. Thus, for maximum comprehensiveness and validity, this research is based on a survey, a comprehensive semi-structured elite interview, and archival work on primary Turkish government documents.

The literature review uncovered some common themes in previous studies.

- Firstly, authors agree that there is a close relationship between the socio-economic and political developments and the changing roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey. In other words, the socio-economic and political developments throughout the history of Turkish have affected the roles of the governors and district governors Republic.
- Secondly, studies concur that the socio-economic and political developments have caused a deadlock in the PAS that has eroded the roles of the governors and the district governors.
- Thirdly, their modernising role has lost importance through time because of the socio-economic, political and administrative developments in Turkey. The paternal role of the governors and the district governors has been eroded while the mayors have becoming prominent in meeting the needs of the citizens.
- Fourthly, with the influence of the new public management understanding, the traditional administration understanding, its structure and the roles of the governors and district governors have been eroded. The traditional administrative understanding of the governors and the district governors has shifted from a state centric view of governors and district governors to citizen centric view of governors and district governors.
- Fifthly, the local government reforms of the 2000s have affected the roles of the governors and district governors significantly as some of their powers have been transferred to the mayors. Mayors have been gaining influence. The provincial system has been undermined by the local government reforms.
- Lastly, the politicisation of the governors and the district governors and the intervention of politicians into their affairs have increased. While mayors are becoming more powerful, the governors and district governors' power and roles have eroded.

CHAPTER 4: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the theory and methodology used in this research and is divided into two parts. In the first part of the chapter, the impacts that the New Public Management Theory (NPMT) has had on the Turkish public administration reform process in the 2000s will be explained. Then, the NPMT and its main elements will be explained. Next, the unintended and intended consequences of the reforms will be explained. In the second part of the chapter, the methodology which was used in the research will be covered. It will firstly explain why the mixed method approach was chosen for this study. Then, this study's main data collection tools — a survey, semi-structured elite interviews and archival work on primary Turkish government documents — will be described. It also describes the survey, its role, design, and response rate, as well as the processes of piloting and administering the main survey. Next, the chapter assesses the semi-structured elite interviews and the issues that arose when they were conducted. Then, I describe the ways in which the survey and the semi-structured elite interviews were analysed. Following that the main documentary sources and their limitations are described. Finally, the chapter reviews the main ethical considerations and challenges of this research.

4.2. The Traces of the New Public Management Theory in the Turkish Public Administration Reform Process

In Turkey, many public administration reforms were introduced during the 2000s. One of the reasons that these changes occurred is because the Turkish government was influenced by the NPMT. The influence of the NPMT is evident after examining that reform process.

Before describing the NPMT, however, it will be helpful to mention its influences on the Turkish public administration reform process. In Turkey, at the beginning of the 2000s, for the purpose of reconstructing governmental organisations and delivering public services to the citizens better, as well as for keeping pace with the economic,

political, and administrative developments both in the world and in Turkey, many public administration reforms were introduced by the government. According to a report (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003) produced at the request of the government by a reform group before the reform process began, the structure of Turkey's public administration would not be able to keep pace with international and domestic political, economic, and administrative developments. This issue was clearly pointed out in the report as follows:

The changes that have occurred throughout the world can be summarised as a transition from the conditions of globalisation and an industrial society to that of a knowledge society in general. The production of new solutions suitable for the new situation is beyond the existing administration's structure and theoretical capacities. In this manner, not only the existing administration's structure, but also its administrative understanding has to be changed... The reconstructing of the public administration in line with the developments occurring in the world and the desires of the country's citizens is based on the need for increased efficiency in governance (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, pp. 11-12).

Furthermore, the report also states that, besides the developments and changes made to administrative theory both in the world and in Turkey, there have also been debates regarding the roles and functions of the public administration and the structure of public organisations. Consequently, they have given more importance to the desires of the citizens, as well as to the concepts of participation, accountability, transparency, openness and governance. Moreover, the report envisaged the public services being proffered to the private sector, as well as the strengthening of the government's regulatory bodies and public-private partnerships (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 24). The report also mentioned that the role and function of the state had been shifting from the production of public services directly to an organisation that regulates and control the markets (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 26). In this sense, the role of the state has been changing, with privatisation and decentralisation becoming more prominent (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 27).

According to the report, requirements for the new administrative understanding and implementation in Turkey should be:

- using free-market tools;
- providing opportunities to non-governmental organisations and citizens under the protection of the rule of law;
- making local governments more prominent;
- using strategic management and on performance and quality (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 30)
- implementing information technologies in all parts of the administration;
- promoting a programme-based work ethic rather than that of simply working more;
- favouring simple, short legislations;
- requiring a horizontal organisational structure and the delegation of power and roles;
- constructing mechanisms that require the participation of the administration;
- making public administration accountable and promoting a belief that everybody has the right to take part in forming public administration;
- giving importance to and strengthening team-working (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 31).

In line with its main principles, the report argued that the aim of the public administration reforms should be “a fair, efficient, effective and productive public services and also speedy and qualified public services” (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 137-8).

Moreover, in the public sector, “participation, transparency, accountability, efficiency, effectiveness, productivity, output-oriented, respecting basic human rights and freedoms, reducing bureaucratic processes and transactions, and benefiting from information technologies should all be given more importance”. (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 26, p. 140) Furthermore, according to the report, the main reasons which drove the reconstruction of the Turkish public administration were based on the aforementioned NPMT elements (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 31).

As seen from the report, it is clear that those elements are dominant, whether implicitly or explicitly. It can therefore be said that the reforms process was clearly inspired by elements of the NPMT.

4.3. The New Public Management Theory and its Main Elements

During the latter part of the 1970s, the traditional bureaucracies in the Western governments received severe criticism (Pollitt, Van Thiel, Homburg 2007, p. 1). Consequently, when the 1980s began, many countries around the world began adopting the NPMT for their public management systems. According to it, the organisational character, role and function of the state should be sensitive to market forces and the private sector. Initially it was applied by developed countries, but then developing countries followed their lead (Larbi 1999, p. 1). This was due to many reasons, including the plight of the Keynesian welfare system, economic crises, dissatisfaction with the rigidity of administrative processes and a decline in trust from the public. These resulted in a desire to differently order the delivery of public services and reshape the state to provide more freedom to the free market and the voluntary sector (Larbi 1999, p. 1; Pollitt, Van Thiel, Homburg 2007, p. 1).

Besides being known as the “new public management” (NPM) (Hood 1991), the theory is also known as the “new managerialism” (Zifcak 1994). Other academics have used other names for it as well, including the “management revolution” (Wilson and Hinton 1993), the “reinvention of government” (Osborne and Gaebler 1992), the “liberal revolution” (Caiden 1988), and simply the “revolution” (Gray and Jenkins 1995; Holmes and Shand 1995). A number of academics (Dunleavy 1997; Gruening 2001; Hood 1991; Osborne and Gaebler 1992; Pollitt 1995) have provided definitions of NPMT. For instance, Dunleavy (1997, p. 17) states that the “new public management is the domesticated, de-politicalised version of new right or market liberal policy analysis, made somewhat technical, consensual and generic...NPM has become a generic label for a group of policy and administrative solutions emphasizing competition, disaggregation and in incentivization”.

NPMT is multifaceted and consists of seven interconnected components that are by Hood as follows (Hood 1991, pp. 4-5):

- Hands-on professional management in the public sector. This entails the “active, visible, discretionary control of organisations from named persons at the top” and is justified in that “accountability requires [the] clear assignment of responsibility for action, not [the] diffusion of power.”
- Explicit standards and measures of performance. This necessitates one to identify the organisation’s “goals, targets, indicators of success, preferably expressed in quantitative terms, especially for professional services” and is, in turn, justified by the fact that “accountability requires [the] clear statement of goals; efficiency requires a ‘hard look’ at objectives”.
- Strong emphasis on output controls. This entails “resource allocation and rewards linked to measured performance; breakup of centralised bureaucracy-wide personnel management.” It is typically justified with the “need to stress results rather than procedures”.
- A disaggregation of units in the public sector. As Hood notes, this implies the “breaking up formerly ‘monolithic’ units, unbundling of U-form management systems into corporatised units around products, operating on decentralised ‘on-line’ budgets and relating with one another and with the centre at an ‘arms-length’ basis.” This stems from a “need to create manageable units” and “gain efficiency advantages of use of contract or franchise arrangements inside as well as outside the public sector”.
- A shift to greater competition in the public sector. This involves a “move to term contracts and public tendering procedures”, which is typically justified with the view that “rivalry as the key to lower costs and better standard”.
- A stress on private sector styles of management practice. This entails a “move away from military-style public service ethic, with greater flexibility in hiring and rewards; greater use of PR techniques.” Given the seeming success of corporations, the theory suggests a “need to use ‘proven’ private sector management tools in the public sector”.

- A stress on greater discipline and parsimony in resource use, which means “cutting direct costs, raising labour discipline, resisting union demands, limiting ‘compliance costs’ to business.” A newborn desire for accountability to taxpayers consequently provokes the “need to check resource demands of the public sector and do more with less” (Hood 1991, p.4-5).

An alternative, though complementary, view of the NPMT is posed by Pollitt (1995) who identifies its essential elements as follows: shaving costs, introducing caps on budgets, and attempting to achieve a greater amount of transparency in terms of allocating resources. The latter entails breaking up traditional administrative institutions into distinct agencies only connected to parent agencies either by contracts or quasi-contracts; the decentralisation of public agencies; divorcing the role of delivering public services from that of buying them; implementing market and quasi-market tools for nurturing competition; obliging staff to achieve performance goals; shifting the foundation of public employment from that of having a permanent job, providing customary national salaries and conditions towards that of having employment terms based on conditional contracts, a salary which is determined by the particular branch’s management; and increasing the importance of the quality of the services provided, the standards expected, and customer responsiveness.

Moreover, Osborne and Gaebler (1992, pp. 19-20) categorise particular elements of NPMT in their renowned book *Reinventing Government*. What they identify can be briefly enumerated as follows: steering rather than rowing; empowering rather than serving; injecting competition into service delivery; transforming rule-driven organisations; focusing on outcomes not inputs; meeting the needs of customers not on bureaucracy; earning rather than spending; preventing rather than curing; switching from a hierarchy to participation and team work, and leveraging change through the markets.

4.4. The Unintended and Intended Consequences

Given that Turkey was inspired by many of the elements of the NPMT, the question is what were the intended and unintended consequences of the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s in Turkey? Before analysing these consequences, I will describe the concept of unintended consequences.

The concept of unintended consequences has fascinated historians ever since Thucydides (Hood, Margetts, and 6 2010, p. 12). Many political philosophers, historians, and, more recently, social scientists have invested great time and energy into trying to better understand the unintended and unanticipated effects of decisions made by politicians (6 2010, p. 45).

In the social sciences, unintended consequences (sometimes unanticipated consequences, unforeseen consequences, or accidents) are outcomes that are not the ones foreseen and intended by a purposeful action (Wikipedia). Hood, Margetts and 6 (2010) posit that the unanticipated results of any given policy are the ones which were not premeditated by the lawmaker but which nevertheless occur. Likewise, an unintended outcome is one caused by a particular action whose aim was something not achieved or contrary to the observed. Finally, an undesirable outcome is one which is regarded by lawmakers as being antithetical to the desires of the original intention of passing the law (Hood, Margetts, and 6 2010, p. 51).

The notion of unintended consequences was originally made popular by sociologist Robert Merton in the early twentieth century. In his paper, “The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action,” (Merton 1936), Merton identified four primary reasons for unintended consequences to occur. These are enumerated as follows: ignorance of facts or lack of information; having a lapse of judgement; personal interests that make people blind to risks; and “self-defeating prophecies” (this occurs when an action is made in response to a warning which, in turn, guarantees that that which was foreseen will occur) (Hood, Margetts, and 6 2010, p. 45; Hood, and Peters 2004, p. 269).

It is often argued that a better appreciation of unanticipated and unintended outcomes will enable policymakers to minimise the chances of them occurring or, at least, their severity (Grabosky 1996; King 1995; Streets and Glantz 2000). A number of political scientists (Hood and Peters 2004 and Rhodes 2000, 2005), on the other hand, opine that unintended and unanticipated consequences are unavoidable, proposing that neither their occurrence nor their severity can be diminished. Accordingly, Hood and Peters (2004) claimed that, in administrative reform programmes, one cannot avoid such unintentional outcomes given that human knowledge is finite and human institutions are complex—not to mention the obvious difficulty of experimenting with society — all restrict the ability of policy makers to avoid surprise consequences (Hood and Peters, 2004, p. 277). Furthermore, Fine (2006, p. 2) states that the problems of society are often multifaceted, dynamic, and interwoven with one another. “Solving” such complications generates both opportunities and restrictions, which, in turn, produce other similar conundrums (i.e. unintended outcomes) (Fine 2006, p. 7).

After mentioning unintended consequences, the intended consequences of these reforms shall now be examined. It is possible to determine the intended consequences of the reforms by analysing the abovementioned report produced by the reform group (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003). The report firstly diagnosed the problems and general method of the public administration and then mentioned its intended consequences. As stated in the report, “the main reasons behind the Turkish public administration’s having problems are that the Turkish public administrative philosophy and structure do not meet the requirements of the contemporary developments which have been made and the demands of the Turkish citizens” (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 81). Therefore, “the Turkish public administration’s having a philosophy which does not keep pace with contemporary political, economic, technological, cultural and administrative developments is an obstacle rather than a driver of change and produces, rather than solves, problems, and produces uncertainties rather than removing them”(Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 81).

Moreover, it was pointed out in the report that the existing administrative structure and philosophy “is not based on participation, is not respectful towards basic civil rights and

freedoms, and is not based on transparency, openness, accountability, and the principles of good governance” (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 82).

Furthermore, another aim of the public administration reforms was that of having the central and local governments to share roles and powers. As the report states, “While the powers and roles of the central government will be increased at a strategic level, the flexibility and resources of local governments at the operational level will be increased, the powers of local governments will be strengthened, and the strategic management understanding will be advocated in the public sector” (Dincer and Yilmaz 2003, p. 140).

This research aims to identify the possible intended and unintended consequences of the public administration reforms introduced in Turkey in the 2000s which were inspired by some of the ideas of the NPMT by conducting both a survey and semi-structured elite interviews with governors, deputy governors, and district governors. In the rest of this study, Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 will present the responses of governors and district governors to the questions asked (e.g. "how have the roles of the governors and district governors changed?", "what were the outcomes of the reforms?", "what were the unintended consequences of the reforms?", and "why were there unintended consequences to the reforms?") and will, furthermore, attempt to analyse those answers.

4.5. Research Design: A Mixed Methods Approach

In Turkey, many public administration reforms were introduced during the 2000s significantly affected the roles of the country’s governors and district governors. Accordingly, the research question of this study is “what are the effects of the public administration reforms made in the 2000s in Turkey on the roles of governors and district governors?” In order to address the research question effectively, several research methods were considered, including qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. After considering the nature of the research question, the mixed methods approach was chosen. Before examining the reasons why this approach was selected, it will be helpful to provide some definitions of it which were made by different academics at different times. Creswell (2014, p. 4) defines the method as follows: “mixed methods approach is an approach to inquiry involving collecting both

quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption ... is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding ... than either approach alone.” Creswell and Teddlie (1998), Bryman (2008), and Biber and Leavy (2011) concur with the last author, adding that the method is normally used in one study or sequentially in two or more studies.

Now that the chosen method has been defined, its selection for this study will be explained. As Biber and Leavy (2011, p.278) state, the research method should be chosen because of its appropriateness in answering the study’s research questions seeing as “some methods are more effective than others for answering certain types of questions and specific dimensions of a research question”. Helpfully, Creswell (2014) outlines the benefits of choosing a mixed methods approach, stipulating that it is appropriate to utilise it whenever the use of quantitative or qualitative research alone is insufficient for grasping a given problem. This was certainly the case for this study since “[u]sing only one method may be insufficient because of the inherent weaknesses of each approach” (Creswell 2014, p. 14-15). Hence, he implies that there is an overall complementary relationship which exists between the quantitative and qualitative approaches utilised by the mixed methods approach; for, while the “[q]uantitative research [method] does not adequately investigate personal stories ... or ... the perspectives of individuals”, the “[q]ualitative research [method] does not enable us to generalise from a small group of people to a large population” (Creswell 2014, pp. 14-15). Indeed, Biber and Leavy (2011) explain how the elements of the quantitative and qualitative approaches actually work better together when synthesised in the form of the mixed methods approach. And this is one of the reasons why I was drawn to the mixed methods approach (i.e. it synthesises the positive attributes of the quantitative and qualitative approaches).

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p. 8) also explain that “[w]e know that qualitative data provide a detailed understanding of a problem while quantitative data provide a more general understanding of a problem. Limitations of one method can be offset by the strengths of the other method.” Furthermore, they continue, “one data source may be

insufficient ... a second method is needed to enhance a primary method, and an overall research objective can be best addressed with multiple phases. Thus, another reason why I chose the mixed methods approach was because the quantitative method provides the researcher with an overall picture within which to conceptualise the governor's experiences and understanding. In other words, this quantitative framework will help the researcher place the study's qualitative findings in the larger context. Therefore, given the aims of my research, the most appropriate research method for this study is the mixed methods approach seeing as it compensates for the individual weaknesses of each method (Bryman 2008; Biber and Leavy 2011; Creswell 2014).

Taking all of this into consideration, and in light of this study's research question, it was decided to adopt the mixed methods approach. Thus, a survey was conducted that targeted all of the governors, deputy governors and district governors in Turkey. The survey aimed to understand how they felt about the way the public administration reforms of the 2000s affected their roles in general, as well as how they evaluated those reforms and their impacts on their roles. Moreover, the survey was also intended to discover, not only the governors and district governors' experiences and opinions regarding how the reforms had affected their roles, but also which ones had affected them the most. However, a survey alone would be insufficient for addressing the research question. Therefore, in order to obtain a broader and more in-depth body of knowledge from the participants, semi-structured elite interviews were conducted with a particular group of governors, deputy governors and district governors. It was also hoped that the semi-structured elite interviews would shed more light on the most important topics which arose from the survey. Thus, the research's methodology was designed in this way in order to manipulate the complementarity of the quantitative and qualitative methods noted above so as to provide a fuller assessment of the research question.

4.6.Data Sources and Data Collection Activities

4.6.1. Survey

As the survey method was one of the main data collection instruments used in this research, it will be useful to consider it in a bit more detail. According to Groves et al. (2009, p. 3) surveys are a popular tool that can further research in the social sciences regarding, for example, social behaviour. Burnham et al. (2008, p.136) consider surveys and the information that they provide as being particularly important; as they state, “in political science, surveys and the data they generate are a crucial part of political analyses”.

Furthermore, Gillham (2007, p. 2) states that “questionnaires are just one of a range of ways of getting information from people (or answers to our research questions), usually by posing direct or indirect questions”. Also, Oppenheim (1996, p. 108) believes them to be a key part of “a researcher’s toolkit” (see also: Neuman (2014, p. 317) and Babbie (2013, p. 262). Since it was impossible to conduct semi-structured elite interviews with all of the governors and district governors in Turkey, the survey was essential for obtaining the opinions and evaluations of a broad swathe of the target population.

4.6.1.1. Questionnaire Design

To ensure the main survey was as effective as possible, a pilot survey was conducted. Relevant literature was consulted (see Chapter 3) to find questions for the pilot survey. Afterwards, the first draft was produced. Next, the questionnaire was presented to the researcher’s supervisor, who evaluated how well it was designed. The pilot survey was redesigned several times before finally being conducted. Conducting the pilot survey allowed the researcher to make the necessary amendments to the main survey by following the pilot respondents’ suggestions and comments. During the design phase, the goals of the survey were: (i) to learn about the general opinions and experiences of the respondents concerning the Turkish public administration reforms; and, considering the limited depth that the survey would be able to provide in answering the research question, (ii) to use the results of the survey to form a basis for the semi-structured elite interviews.

As mentioned above, the survey was combined with semi-structured elite interviews, the general aim being that of reaching the whole target population of governors, deputy governors and district governors. Indeed, this consideration influenced the design of the questionnaire. The reason for wanting to target the whole population was to maximise the representativeness of the information gathered (i.e. that they were the true opinions, ideas, and reactions of the target population). Ergo, the final questions, topics, and themes that were explored in the main questionnaire were determined after careful analysis of the pilot survey (See Appendix 2).

Four main issues were taken into account when designing the questionnaire. The first part of the questionnaire focuses on what the most important traditional roles of the governors and district governors, how the traditional roles of governors and district governors have changed, and what the traditional, new, and future roles of the governors and district governors, are. The second part covers the opinions of the participants about the public administration reforms and their effects on the roles of the governors and district governors are enquired after. In the third part, the opinions of the participants about their ability to conduct their central governmental roles following the restructuring to local governments are focused on. And finally, in the fourth part, some background questions are posed.

When designing a questionnaire, there are three possible formats: the open-ended question, the closed-ended question, and a mixture of the two. Open-ended questions leave the respondents free to elucidate their answers as much or as little as they want and emphasise what they feel is of most importance (Burnham et al. 2008, p. 119; Fowler 1995, p. 59; and Dillman et al. 2009). This freedom, however, can come at a cost. This is because, in allowing so much leeway to the respondents, there is a possibility that their answers might not be relevant to the aims of the research at hand. Furthermore, open-ended questions might lead to responses that are impossible to analyse properly as they might be either too short or too long (Burnham et al. 2008, p. 119; and Fowler 1995, p. 59). Closed-ended questions, on the other hand, in giving a set of choices from which the respondents might choose and from which they are not allowed to deviate, makes the survey more tailored to the purpose of addressing the researcher's needs, not to mention easier to code and assess (Burnham et al. 2008, p.

120). Needless to say, however, this can also have the potential of stifling the discussion from proceeding down other avenues of inquiry which might, in turn, be of greater salience to the research's aims (Burnham et al. 2008).

Thus, in the research, the same question was often posed utilising both of the aforementioned question types. As Oppenheim (1996, p.114) suggests, "sometimes there may be good reasons for asking the same question both in open and in closed form". Additionally, questionnaires which mix both question types have the capability of "reducing the disadvantages of a question format by mixing open-ended and closed-ended questions" (Neuman 2014, p. 332). Nevertheless, mixing question types is fruitless unless this format fits the issues to be explored. As Neuman (2014, p.332) puts it, "The crucial issue is not which form is better, but which form is most appropriate for a specific situation." Thus, I decided to take Neuman's advice and decided that a mixture of question types should be used since, in that way, the weaknesses of each type would be compensated for.

4.6.1.2. The Pilot Survey

"Questionnaires do not emerge fully-fledged: they have to be created or adapted, fashioned and developed to maturity after many abortive test flights. In fact every aspect of a survey has to be tried out beforehand to make sure that it works as intended." (Oppenheim 1996, p.47). Oppenheim emphasises the importance of designing questionnaires carefully, going so far as to imply that one should redesign them many times. Piloting was required before conducting the main survey to optimise the questionnaire's design in order to extract all of the necessary knowledge for addressing the study's research question. Hence, running a pilot survey offers many benefits. As Burnham et al. (2008, p. 111) make clear, it is imperative to give a lot of attention to the questionnaire design. In particular, it has to be "understandable, unambiguous, unbiased and relevant." Furthermore, they also stated that "It must also hold the interest of the person being interviewed... and its design must minimise potential errors."

Likewise, Oppenheim (1996, p. 47) argues strongly for the benefits of using pilot surveys, stating that: "Expert advice or superior orthodoxy is no substitutes for well

organised pilot work. Piloting can help us not only with the wording of questions but also with the procedural matters such as the design of a letter of introduction, the ordering of question sequences and the reduction of non-response rate”. Thus, there can be many benefits for running a pilot survey before the main attempt. Piloting allows the researcher to improve the questionnaire before giving it to the target population (seeing as it gives the impression of the respondents’ thought processes or allows the researcher to see them and “think out loud” as they answer the pilot questions) (Neuman 2014, p. 358), thereby providing “a window into respondents thinking and the problems they face when answering questions” (Neuman 2014, p. 359).

So, after designing the draft questionnaire and receiving the necessary ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Southampton, it was piloted by the researcher with about 25 deputy governors and district governors. Of course, the draft of the questionnaire for the Ethics Committee was in English. The first step was to translate it into Turkish. Then, to conduct the pilot survey, the researcher went to Turkey during the summer of 2013. The process lasted from the end of June to the middle of August. The piloting was done during face-to-face interviews with the participants who had been selected by the researcher. The participants of the pilot survey were selected by utilising convenience sampling. Bernard and Ryan (2010, p. 366) explain what convenience sampling is by stating that “there are no predetermined criteria for inclusion in the sample.... you simply interview people who are available and who agree to be interviewed.” Convenience sampling was chosen in light of what (2007, p. 19) said when he pointed out that it is helpful for a researcher to use a pilot questionnaire in order to receive feedback on its clarity and feasibility.

During the piloting process, the participants shared their experiences, opinions, and suggestions with the researcher who then evaluated the survey’s design based on how the participants answered it. Additionally, participants gave feedback; for example, they pointed out that some questions should be removed, some questions should be added, and some should be rephrased.

In order to conduct the pilot survey, the researcher made appointments with the selected participants and travelled to the different parts of Turkey in which the participants were

working. Generally, the researcher visited the participants in their offices. Alternatively, sometimes the piloting was done with the participants as a group. This proved to be effective as the groups evaluated the questionnaire from different perspectives and debated it in a free atmosphere. Furthermore, all of the participants were colleagues of the researcher's, with some even being close friends with him. The researcher urged the participants' to critique the questionnaire without hesitation given that the results from the piloting were important for the research project, and all of their comments were carefully noted by the researcher. Most of the participants evaluated and criticised the questionnaire freely and sincerely, making comments not only about its form but also about its content. Moreover, the participants suggested some primary and secondary documents which they thought were pertinent to the research topic for the researcher to read.

After its completion, the researcher shared the results of the pilot survey with his supervisor, who evaluated them and provided comments. The researcher then redesigned the questionnaire based on the comments and suggestions of the participants. As a result, the researcher added some questions, removed some, and altered some. After this entire process, the penultimate form of the questionnaire was ready. The questionnaire, which had been produced in English, was then translated into Turkish once again because that was the native language of the target population.

4.6.1.3. Participants

As already mentioned, the pilot study was conducted with 25 participants, all of whom were deputy governors and district governors. The pool of participants for the main survey also consisted of deputy governors and district governors, but also included the governors, all of whom work in Turkey. This group of people is the "whole population" of this study. As Pierce (2009, p. 91) notes, "the population is the universe of all the subjects or cases under study." The population is also the group that the researcher tries to apply the findings, once generalised to. Thus, as Chambuss and Schutt (2006, p. 86) state, the "population is the entire set of individuals or other entities to which study findings are to be generalised."

The main survey was sent to the whole population because it was decided that the survey should be completed by the respondents online, unlike the pilot survey which was conducted via face-to-face interviews with the researcher. This simplified the problem of seeking the participants out because, unlike the pilot survey, the researcher simply procured the e-mail addresses of all of the governors, deputy governors and district governors from the Ministry of Interior Affairs. This task was not easy, but the researcher was able to obtain the e-mail list from the Ministry of Interior Affairs because he was a member of the same profession. Also, the researcher did not need to determine a sample size to conduct the main survey. He simply sent the questionnaire to the whole population with the hope of reaching them all. According to Wellington and Szczerbinski (2007, p. 64), the motivation for using samples is “because we believe that they represent the whole ... population.” However, as in this research, “sampling is unnecessary if all the units in the population are identical” (Gillham 2007, p. 89). This is true in this case because the targeted sample was the same as the entire population itself.

4.6.1.4. Administering the Main Survey

As mentioned above, the main survey was conducted via the internet. Conducting surveys using the internet is a common practice. As de Vaus (2007, p.123) explains, “Since the mid-1990s the internet has become a viable and popular means of administering questionnaires.” Groves et al. (2009) agree with this opinion. Furthermore, Babbie (2013) considers the rise in the popularity of the internet as a survey method as being one of the most far-reaching developments of the late twentieth century.

The following two excerpts are from academics that expand upon the virtues of internet surveying. According to Neuman (2014, p. 345), for instance, “[t]he respondent can complete the questionnaire when it is convenient.” Additionally, Czaja and Blair (2005, p. 40) describe the advantages that the researcher gains from that method in terms of finances and the reach of the questionnaire:

The two great advantages of internet surveys are the low cost and the speed of data collection. Internet surveys eliminate not only the

interviewer costs of face-to-face and telephone surveys, but also paper, questionnaire reproduction, postage, and data entry costs of mail surveys. The speed of data collection is the second great advantage of internet surveys over other survey methods, especially mail and face-to-face surveys.

This last quotation is particularly pertinent to this study since the researcher attempted to communicate with 1,426 people from all around Turkey. It would have been impractical to meet them all face-to-face, not only due to time, but also financial, constraints. Indeed, given modern technology, it would have been wasteful to adopt any other method of surveying.

In order to send the online questionnaire, a Google Doc was created. Afterwards, a hyperlink to it was created which was then sent to the email addresses of all of the governors, deputy governors and district governors which were provided to the researcher by the Turkish Ministry of Interior Affairs. Each email sent supplied information regarding the purpose and importance of the research as well as its sponsor. In addition, an assurance of confidentiality, the instructions for accessing the survey link, the content of the study, and the contact details of the researcher were also provided. The data collection of the online survey lasted from the beginning of December 2013 to the end of February 2014. In other words, the data collection took around three months to complete.

The response rate was high at the beginning of the implementation of the survey (i.e. immediately after sending out the survey link). With time, however, the participation rate decreased. To encourage participation, the researcher phoned some of the respondents to ask why the participation rate had fallen so sharply. They pointed to many reasons. First of all, not all of the governors, deputy governors, and district governors use the e-mails given to them by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. Thus, in order to eliminate this problem, the researcher conducted a second round of contact with the deputy governors and district governors of every province in Turkey requesting their help by asking the other deputy governors and district governors in their provinces to participate in the survey (what happened with the governors will be related shortly). As

mentioned in Chapter 2, Turkey is divided into 81 provinces, with these provinces being divided into 957 districts. Instead of phoning all of the deputy and district governors in each of the provinces, the researcher decided to phone only one in each. The deputy governors and district governors whom the researcher phoned conveyed the same message (i.e. that some of them do not use the e-mail address provided to them by the Ministry of Interior Affairs and that they might use other email addresses instead). Having received a number of secondary email addresses, the researcher sent another round of invitations to these e-mail addresses. This resulted in another spike in the response rate. The researcher also tried to increase the response rate in other ways as well. For example, he phoned his close friends and asked them to tell their colleagues about the survey. They also contributed some efforts in increasing the participation rate of the survey. In addition, the researcher sent reminders to the target respondents every month during the survey's three month duration so as to further increase the number of participants.

The response rate of the governors in the survey, however, was much lower than that of the deputy governors and district governors. Upon noticing this, the researcher contacted most of the 81 provincial governors' executive assistants to encourage their participation. Some responded that they had urged their governors to participate in the survey but that some of them, nevertheless, were not interested in taking part. Moreover, many others told me that the governors could not take part in the survey because they were busy — so busy, in fact, that they were not able to check their e-mails on a daily basis. They also mentioned that, even if they had seen the survey e-mail, they might not have had enough time to complete it. Hence increasing the participation rate of the governors was challenging. Nevertheless, with the researcher's efforts, 25 out of 81 (31%) governors participated in the survey. When the researcher asked those participants whom he knew personally why the other governors had not participated in the survey, they called his attention to several reasons. Firstly, they stated that the governors might not have responded to the survey because of being busy carrying out their professional duties and dealing with the citizens' problems. Secondly, some governors might have been uninterested in completing the survey because it included so many open questions. Thus, the number of open-ended questions was a

barrier for some of the target respondents to participating in the survey. It must be noted, however, that many of those who did participate responded to the open-ended questions with valuable, detailed comments, opinions, and experiences.

The e-mail link was sent to all of the current (at that time) governors, deputy governors and district governors in Turkey. This, in turn, increased the validity of the survey seeing as the respondents varied by age, gender, and amount of experience. Considering the difficulties which the researcher faced while implementing the survey, the participation rate was fairly good. (The response rate is 21.31%)

4.6.2. The Semi-Structured Elite Interview

The semi-structured elite interview method was used as the second data collection tool after the survey in the research. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p. 171) define elites as “persons who are leaders or experts in a community, usually in powerful positions.” Pierce (2008, p. 119), considers some examples of elites to be “ministers, MPs, senior civil servants, business leaders, union leaders, etc.” Moreover, Harrison and Callan (2013, p. 72) comment more generally on the method of interviewing, stating that “[i]nterviews provide an excellent opportunity to explore a political actor’s beliefs, motivations and processes of decision making.” In addition, Rubin and Rubin (2005, p. 3) mention what they consider as an advantage of interviews for gathering data for political research, explaining that “[q]ualitative interviewing projects are especially good at describing social and political process, that is, how and why things change.” Furthermore, as Burnham et al. (2008, p. 231) explain, “[w]hen elite interviewing is carried out effectively, this technique can make a considerable contribution to the understanding of ... political phenomena.” Therefore, interviews can provide a good way of gaining an understanding of political events and changes.

As already noted, the main research question was about how the public administration reforms passed in the 2000s affected the roles of governors and district governors in Turkey. The semi-structured elite interview method was chosen because the nature of the research question required a deeper level exploration of the topic examined than the survey could provide. In other words, the goal of the research was to explore the

respondents' experiences, evaluations and reactions (to the reforms). Thus, conducting in-depth interviews was a good method for extracting that information. Therefore, since the experiences, evaluations and responses of the governors, deputy governors and district governors were essential for this research, without conducting semi-structured elite interviews, the research would be lacking valuable information.

On this basis, it was possible to construct a general interview guide. As Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011, p. 104) point out, “[a]n interview guide is a set of topical areas and questions that the researcher brings to the interview. The process of creating an interview guide, even if it remains unused, helps researchers identify... kinds of things... to ask respondents.” Because of the research’s aim of capturing qualitative data from the elite interviews, not all of the guide’s questions were determined in detail. This is because it was believed that, during the interviews, follow-up questions could be tailored to participants according to how the conversation flowed (See Appendix 4)

Designing of the Questionnaire

The other problem that the researcher met was that of producing the questionnaire because it was tricky to design a questionnaire that was well balanced between content, length, and types of question. To aid the development of the questionnaire, the researcher checked previous fieldworks that dealt with the roles of the governors and district governors. Moreover, the researcher attended a module named “survey designing” for the purpose of gaining the necessary skills for producing the survey. After reviewing the literature extensively, the researcher devised a questionnaire.

4.6.2.1. Application of the Semi-Structured Elite Interviews

To ensure good access to the interviewees, the researcher had various ways of obtaining appointments. The researcher targeted governors in particular because of their low response rate in the main survey. Moreover, the researcher also used his personal contacts to arrange further interviews.

The researcher conducted 65 semi-structured elite interviews in Turkey from the beginning of June to the end of August in 2014. 25 governors, 15 deputy governors and 25 district governors were interviewed. Two interviewees were female.

The process that the researcher used to organise elite interviews include, first of all, that of calling the executive assistants of the governors in certain metropolitan provinces, including those of Istanbul, Ankara, Konya and Eskisehir. After a connection was successfully established, the researcher then phoned some deputy governors and district governors in order to meet with them in person.

When the researcher phoned the deputy governors and district governors directly to make an appointment, he only encountered problems once or twice. Yet, the researcher found it difficult to make appointments with governors because, when the researcher called their executive assistants, he was told that the governors were busy but that they would, nevertheless, try to make an appointment with me. Hence, with regards to this topic, Burnham et al. (2008, p. 235) were correct when they stated that “the biggest problem is getting access to a member of an elite group is that such individuals are usually very busy and they have to be provided with some convincing motivation for seeing a researcher.”

The executive assistants of the governors helped the researcher arrange appointments. Sometimes, the researcher sometimes had to arrange appointments a month in advance. However, several executive assistants were not interested in finalising an appointment for the researcher. In order to overcome this problem, he phoned governors directly on their mobile phones to arrange appointments with them. As all governors, deputy governors and district governors are members of the same profession; when the researcher called the governors directly; he introduced himself first as a fellow governor before mentioning his aim. All of the governors which the researcher called were found to be interested in participating in the research, which, in turn, helped the researcher schedule appointments with them.

As mentioned above, there is only one female governor in Turkey, so the researcher wanted to conduct an interview with her and called her executive assistant, but, unfortunately the researcher was told that she was busy. At this point, it is pertinent to mention that, until 1992, there were no female district governors in Turkey because they did not have the right to be district governors at that time. However, after 1992, they were finally allowed to become district governors. Since then, their number has been

increasing. Today, there are 34 female deputy governors and district governors in Turkey. The researcher conducted elite interviews with two female participants.

With respect to the number of the participants interviewed, the researcher tried to conduct as many semi-structured elite interviews as would satisfy the “saturation point.” The saturation point is the point at which “each additional interview yields diminishing returns’ and at which ‘each interview... add[s] relatively little to the stock of information or understanding” (Burnham et al. 2008, p. 234). The opinions, experiences and evaluations of all of the governors, deputy governors and district governors were all considered to be valuable and equally likely to answer the study’s research question. Moreover, the nature of the research question required the participation rate in the interviews by the governors, deputy governors and district governors to be high since their responses needed an in-depth examination. However, the researcher made a special effort to secure the governors’ participation in the interviews seeing as only 25 out of the 81 governors took part in the survey, with most of those that did participate in the survey not answering the open questions which had been posed to them. In addition, the governors were considered to be valuable interviewees because they all had a minimum of 20 years of experience working as governors, meeting presidents, and important businessmen/business executives, as well as their having met with all echelons of society, from the richest to the poorest.

In general, the semi-structured elite interviews were held in the participants’ official offices. However, as some of the participants did not have enough time to take part in the study during their office hours, the researcher and the participants found alternative places to conduct the interviews. This happened five times. On two of these occasions, the researcher was invited to a participant’s house, whereas the other three times, the interviews were conducted in public places — twice at a bookstore café and once at a diner.

Burnham et al. (2008) suggest that interviewers arrive at interviews on time. The researcher was careful to follow this advice. For, as Burnham et al. (2008, p. 238) make especially clear: “arriving late creates an unprofessional impression and may cut down the time available.” Thus, the researcher made a point of always being on time when

meeting with a participant so as to ensure that no time was lost for learning about their valuable opinions. Furthermore, in order to ensure that an interviewee's attention did not needlessly wander away from the interview to, for example, what the researcher was wearing, etc., he was always careful to wear dark clothing and frequently wore a suit.

After making appointments with the interviewees, the researcher was obliged to travel great distances both by airplane and bus. It was a time-consuming and expensive process. Only a small number of participants seemed uninterested during the interview. In general, they were all warm and welcoming. The researcher began the conversation in an informal way in order to create a positive atmosphere of mutual trust. Then, he outlined the aims of the research so as to refocus attention on the interview as well as to pique the interviewee's interest in the topic of the study (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Following that, and according to the obligations of this study, the ethical guidelines of this piece of research were expressly stated.

After all of these preliminary steps were executed, the interview itself began. Except in three cases, all interviews were recorded with an audio recorder. At the beginning of the interview, although some of the participants expressed bashfulness, with time, they eventually tried to answer all of the questions frankly and honestly. At that point, the researcher was able to fully focus on his main aim of learning the participants' opinions, ideas and evaluations regarding how and to what extent the Turkish public administration reforms had affected the roles of the governors and district governors. Therefore, the researcher posed different kinds of questions to the interviewees in order to better grasp their thoughts on the topic.

Although the researcher had the interview guide which he had prepared in advance at hand, he asked many other questions besides the ones that it contained. Furthermore, the participants sometimes made interesting points relevant to the research question which the researcher had not intended to ask about. In general, the participants tried to answer all of the questions in depth. Nonetheless, some of the participants did not deal with the issue of the reforms in any great detail due to their being concerned about how their opinions might be interpreted. For example, despite the researcher's efforts to probe for details, some participants were hesitant in answering since they believed that their

responses might affect their future careers, even though no potentially damaging questions were asked, not to mention the fact that they were assured that their responses would be kept in confidence. Actually, after the recording was completed, some participants stated that they had not wanted to get into trouble with the government and that they thought that divulging the truth would have affected their chances of being promoted in the future since they believed that telling the truth would have entailed criticising the government's policies. Despite this, most of the participants tried to share their opinions, ideas, and experiences while also providing answers as honestly as they could. Many participants gave detailed answers without hesitation, especially after rapport and trust were established between the researcher and the participants.

The researcher noted that, at the middle and towards the end of the interviews, the interviewees would focus on the questions better and with greater concentration. Indeed, sometimes, when the interview had finished and the researcher had turned off the recorder, some participants wanted to continue the interview. Then, the researcher restarted the recorder and taped the additional valuable material which those willing participants wished to divulge. This policy is in line with the advice of some academics; Burnham et al. (2008), for instance, suggests that, if the interviewee is willing to continue sharing even after the interview has ceased, one should seize that opportunity and continue to speak with them — especially since no one knows whether or not the new information will end up proving to be invaluable for one's research.

Of the 65 individuals who participated in the semi-structured elite interviews, only three participants did not wish to be recorded by the audio-visual recorder. The researcher recorded whatever those individuals expressed by hand. Thus, 62 out of the 65 participants agreed to being recorded.

According to the ethics procedure explained to all of the interviewees before the interview itself began, the interviewees were free to opt for anonymity. The ground rule was “for citation but not for attribution”. However, only the three participants refused for attribution. Since the participants were all public figureheads, those who did give consent considered that it was an honour and a privilege for them to provide their

opinions for a PhD thesis. The durations of the interviews differed, with some lasting for 40 minutes and others taking up to 2 hours.

Following the recommendations of Rubin and Rubin (2005, p. 112) and Burnham et al. (2008), immediately after each interview, the researcher read through the notes which he had taken and/or listened to the audio recording which had been made so that he could easily remember what was said and hence fill in any missing material.

4.6.2.2. Analysis of Surveys and Semi-Structured Elite Interviews

After completing the online survey, the data obtained was divided into two parts, the first comprising of the data from the closed-ended questions and the second comprising of the data from the open-ended questions.

As mentioned before, the main aim of the survey was to understand the general reactions of the respondents to the public administration reforms which were passed during the 2000s in Turkey. It is necessary, however, to mention that this survey was conducted only in order to provide a broad description of the changing roles of the governors and district governors. The results of the survey then helped the researcher formulate the semi-structured elite interviews which were conducted after the survey. In this context, the survey was sent to the entire target population of 1426, with only 304 respondents eventually participating in it.

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the close-ended question for the purpose of generating a descriptive statistical analysis. Burnham et al. (2008, p. 138) define descriptive statistics as “a range of basic statistical tools for describing data.” Such a method is helpful because it can allow large amounts of data to be summarised which makes data analysis and presentation much easier. It was also chosen because it illustrates “how many members of a population have a certain opinion or characteristics” (Oppenheim 1996, p. 12).

In order to analyse the open-ended questions of the survey, the researcher learned how to use the software package called NVivo. This was done for the purpose of being able to analyse the data obtained from the survey and semi-structured elite interviews. The researcher loaded all the participants’ responses to the open-ended questions into NVivo

under different carefully identified themes. Then, the researcher attempted to analyse the open-ended questions.

To facilitate the analysis of the semi-structured elite interviews, the researcher transcribed all of the information collected from the 65 participants. This follows the advice of Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p. 206) who suggest that, “transcribing interviews from an oral to a written mode structures the interview conversations in a form amendable to closer analysis and is in itself an initial analytic process.” This process can thus lay a foundation for the further analysis of material that would not otherwise be easy to draw conclusions from.

The researcher spent most of his time conducting interviews and transcribing them from oral to written form. Thus, the researcher would have to agree with Brinkmann and Kvale’s (2015, p. 206) observation that “transcribing large amounts of interview material is often a tiresome and stressing job.” The researcher listened multiple times to the recordings before transcribing them. Furthermore, he read and reread the transcriptions in order to identify the main themes. This process helped the researcher to eventually identify some such themes. Afterwards, he uploaded all of the transcripts into NVivo where the data was then coded under those identified themes. This was an important step in the process of data analysis, thereby allowing the research agenda to be applied to the information gathered. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p. 227) state that “the most common form of computer analysis today is coding”, thereby allowing the interviewee’s statements to be categorised under themes. They indicate that this takes place with the researcher first reading through the transcripts and coding the relevant passages. After this is done, code-and-retrieve programmes can display the coded extracts so that the researcher can inspect them again and look at comments highlighted under the same theme. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) also make the comment that coding and categorisation were early approaches to achieving an overview of textual material in the social sciences. At this point, it is necessary to mention that all of the semi-structured elite interviews of this research were conducted in Turkish. The quotations in the analysis chapter were translated from Turkish into English by the researcher — something which proved to be a difficult and time-consuming process.

After coding, the researcher rearranged the themes, with some codes being removed while others were integrated with others. A useful comment on the purpose of codes for identifying themes given by Bernard and Ryan (2010, p. 76) is that “thematic codes are the most common kinds of codes. There are the codes we use marking instances of themes in a set of data”.

After identifying all of the themes, the researcher analysed the data using those same themes. The themes used were not determined before the interviews were conducted, but instead arose naturally during the processes of interviewing and coding.

At this point, it is necessary to mention that, in terms of reconciling the data from each source, there are no conflicts between the findings of the survey and the semi-structured elite interviews. As is seen clearly in the analyses of the survey and the semi-structured elite interviews, the findings are similar to each other and even support each other. Therefore, there was no issue in reconciling the conflicting data of each source.

4.6.3. The Primary and Secondary Documentary Data

Apart from the primary data generated by the survey and the semi-structured elite interviews, some primary and secondary documentary data were collected from the relevant ministries and libraries, as well as other public institutions. The researcher collected this data when he was in Turkey conducting the pilot survey. The primary documentation included the constitution, legal regulations and official records from the libraries of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior and other relevant libraries. Some publications and statistical data were collected from academic institutions, non-governmental organisations, and business associations. Once the relevant documents were obtained, the researcher scanned them in order to determine helpful material regarding the research agenda. The primary data proved to be excellent sources which provided additional support for the context and analyses chapters.

4.7. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations were taken into account during every phase of the research. Before conducting the pilot survey, the main survey, and the semi-structured elite

interviews, respectively, all of the necessary ethical approvals were obtained from the Ethics Committee of the University of Southampton.

All participants of the pilot survey were informed about the contents and aims of the study. The participant information sheet and consent form were provided to all of the pilot survey target participants. Only after receiving their consent was the pilot survey conducted. The participants were informed that all of the information taken from the pilot study would be used only for academic purposes. In addition, they were informed that they were free to participate in the study and that all of the rules concerning confidentiality would be obeyed. Moreover, it was mentioned that the participants were in no danger from taking part in the study.

The main survey, on the other hand, was conducted online and was initiated when the target respondent clicked the link given by the researcher. After receiving the approval from the Ethics Committee, the survey link was sent to the respondents via the internet. When the respondent opened the link, an information note appeared which stipulated the ethical maxims that the study was bound by. In the note, the aim, purpose, and contents of the research, as well as the reason why the individual had been selected for the study, were stated. The facts that participation in the survey was voluntary and that participant would not be harmed in any way by participating in the survey were expressly stated. In the survey, the participants were not asked to divulge their names. Moreover, it was mentioned that all the rules regarding confidentiality would be assured by the researcher and that all the data obtained from the survey would be used just for academic purposes.

Regarding the semi-structured elite interviews, as was the case with the pilot and main surveys, only once the necessary ethical approval was received from the Ethics Committee did the researcher continue on to conduct the interviews. At the beginning of all of the semi-structured elite interviews, the researcher informed the participants about the aims and the contents of the research, as well as the other ethical rules (including anonymity, confidentiality, and usage), both verbally and in written form (i.e. on the participant information sheet). Moreover, it was pointed out that all of the interviews would be recorded with a recorder unless the interviewee withheld their consent. The

participants were also assured that all the data obtained from the semi-structured elite interview would be used in accordance with the aims of the study. As already mentioned, of the 65 semi-structured elite interviews, 62 participants allowed the researcher to use their names in the research, with the same number giving the researcher permission to record their interviews. Thus, throughout the entire study, all ethical rules were followed.

4.8. Conclusions: Challenges and Limitations

As is the case for every research, the researcher met some limitations and challenges when the research was conducted. However, the researcher overcame the challenges and limitations by using various tools and methods that will be mentioned below.

4.8.1. Selection of Data Collection Methods

After determining the research question and aims, the first difficulty was that of deciding which data collection methods should be used. The researcher examined earlier studies of provincial administrations and the roles of the governors and district governors. The studies surveyed in Chapter 3 did not specifically focus on assessing the roles of the governors and district governors using a combination of survey and elite interviews methods, not to mention primary official documents. The researcher decided that the nature of the study required the use of both the survey and semi-structured elite interview methods seeing as these data collection methods were considered capable of providing a deep understanding of the research question.

4.8.2. Designing of the Questionnaire

The other problem that the researcher met was that of producing the questionnaire because it was tricky to design a questionnaire that was well balanced between content, length, and types of question. To aid the development of the questionnaire, the researcher checked previous fieldworks that dealt with the roles of the governors and district governors. Moreover, the researcher attended a module named “survey

designing” for the purpose of gaining the necessary skills for producing the survey. After reviewing the literature extensively, the researcher devised a questionnaire.

4.8.3. Conducting the Pilot Survey

However, making the questionnaire was not sufficient or enough. Instead, a pilot survey was required. Conducting the pilot survey was difficult because identifying the respondents and reaching them required a lot of time and effort from the deputy governors and district governors who, themselves, work in different parts of Turkey. This in turn meant that the researcher had to travel extensively between the provinces and districts. The researcher spent two months conducting pilot surveys and spent a significant amount of money for travelling and accommodation costs.

4.8.4. Redesigning of the Questionnaire

After conducting the pilot survey, the researcher encountered the problem of redesigning the questionnaire. This consumed more time and effort. However, the researcher eventually redesigned the questionnaire for the main survey. When the pilot survey was compared to the final version of the main survey, the differences between them were apparent. With respect to another feature of the questionnaire, determining the types of questions to be asked was difficult. Nevertheless, it was finally decided that both open- and closed-ended questions should be in the questionnaire.

4.8.5. The Efforts for Ensuring the Participation to the Survey

Deciding on the sample to target for the main survey was also a source of difficulties. However, the researcher procured the email addresses of all of the governors, deputy governors, and district governors from the Turkish Ministry of the Interior, thinking that this would provide an easy way to reach them. However, not all of the respondents used their Ministry e-mail addresses. This had a negative impact on the participation rate of the survey. In order to overcome this problem, the researcher phoned a group of his professional contacts and close friends and asked them to encourage other deputy governors and district governors to participate in the survey. The younger district

governors' familiarity with modern technology, such as the utilisation of group e-mails, smart phones, Viber groups² and social media, helped the researcher to send reminders to the other target respondents of the survey. Furthermore, another effort for increasing the participation rate was made by the Association of Turkish Administrators which sent a text message request to all governors, deputy governors, and district governors' to take part in the survey. Moreover, the researcher managed to obtain and use the alternative email addresses of the target respondents whom he was unable to contact using the abovementioned methods.

4.8.6. The Efforts for Ensuring the Participation of Female to the Survey

Regarding the participation of female deputy governors and district governors, the researcher made special efforts in trying to secure their participation. As mentioned in the survey analysis chapter, there are few female governors, deputy governors and district governors when compared to the rest of the civil administrators. At the time that the survey was conducted, there were 34 female deputy governors and district governors. The researcher tried to reach all of the female deputy governors and district governors in order to achieve a high female participation rate. He successfully reached, by phone, 25 out of 34 female target participants, not quite achieving his goal of reaching them all. The researcher learned, when he phoned to talk to them, that 9 of the female deputy governors and district governors were on leave. According to their secretaries, some of them were on maternity leave; others had gone abroad for education purposes, and still others had health or other problems. Calling the female target respondents, however, bore fruit because 17 out of 34 completed the survey. Therefore, the female participation rate was high compared to overall male participation.

² Viber is a social media application for smartphones which allows people to call each other for free. The application allows for groups of people to be called at the same time. These are called "Viber groups."

4.8.7. Transcribing, Coding and Translation of Elite Interviews

The other big problem regarding the elite interviews was the burden of transcribing of them from oral to written form. It was a time consuming task. Moreover, after the transcribing was complete, coding and identifying common themes in the interviews presented a big challenge for the researcher. However, it was easy to upload all the data into the software programme NVivo and then use it for the coding process. It allowed the huge amounts of data obtained from the interviews to be coded and fore themes to then be identified. After transcribing the data from oral to written form, the researcher had approximately 2000 pages of written data. Without using the NVivo programme, identifying their themes and analysing them in a way consistent with those themes would have been difficult. Hence the researcher took NVivo training courses before conducting the elite interviews. Therefore, with the help of NVivo, the problems of coding and identifying its themes were overcome. However, the uploading and coding processes added further costs in terms of time and effort.

An additional challenge arose because the researcher conducted the elite interviews in Turkish. This was the biggest challenge for the researcher since quotations had to be translated from Turkish to English. As one can easily appreciate, translating from one language to another required a great deal of effort and caution from the researcher.

4.8.8. Access to the Governors for Elite Interviews or Efforts for Conducting Interviews with Governors

With regard to conducting the semi-structured elite interviews, arranging appointments with the participants was difficult. Since the governors, deputy governors, and district governors were busy carrying out their duties in the provinces and districts, it was difficult to find a convenient time to interview them. However, the researcher benefited from two saving graces. Firstly, his being part of the same profession as the target participants greatly helped; and secondly, his PhD research topic was relevant to their profession and their future roles. Therefore, most of them willingly gave the researcher an appointment. Despite these personal advantages, it was difficult to reach the governors in order to make appointments with them, though it was easier for the

researcher reached the deputy governors and district governors. In order to overcome this problem, the researcher persistently tried to contact the executive assistants of the governors. When the assistants showed no interest in the researcher's requests, the researcher phoned the governors directly on their mobile phones. In truth, it is not normal in the Turkish administrative tradition to phone governors on their mobiles directly without using their secretaries. However, the researcher believed that if he did not contact them that way, he would never be able to communicate with them. These efforts produced good results because many of the governors who were contacted in this way arranged an appointment with the researcher.

In the next chapter, the structure of the Turkish administration in brief and the roles and powers of the governors and district governors will be mentioned.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to analyse the findings of the survey that was conducted with those governors, deputy governors and district governors who responded to the invitation to participate. The survey was initially aimed at understanding the general opinions and tendencies of the civil administrators regarding the effects of the public administration reforms on the roles of the governors, deputy governors, and district governors which were introduced in the 2000s in Turkey. Some general characteristics of the respondents are presented below.

Table 5-1: The General Characteristics of the Respondents

Tables	Groups	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Occupational status	Governor	25	8.2
	Deputy Governor	83	27.3
	District Governor	196	64.5
	Total	304	100
Term of employment	0-5 years	71	23.4
	6-10 years	76	25
	11-15 years	71	23.4
	16-20 years	15	4.9
	21 years and above	71	23.4
	Total	304	100
Gender	Male	287	94.4

	Female	17	5.6
	Total	304	100
Level of education	Bachelor	143	47
	Master	144	47.4
	PhD	17	5.6
	Total	304	100
Age	25-30 years	36	11.8
	31-35 years	108	35.5
	36-40 years	63	20.7
	41-45 years	29	9.5
	46 years and above	68	22.4
	Total	304	100
Faculty	Political Sciences	144	47.4
	Economics and Administrative Sciences	122	40.1
	Law	38	12.5
	Total	304	100

The size of the entire universe is 1,426. 25 governors out of 81 (30.86%), 83 deputy governors out of 472 (17.58%), and 196 district governors out of 873 (22.45%) — in other words, 304 individuals out of the 1,426 members of the entire universe — participated in the survey. This gave a response rate of 21.31%. Thus, the participation rate achieved for this survey was fairly good and enables us to better understand the

general opinions of the respondents regarding the research question and aims. As it is mentioned in Chapter 4, the researcher made a great effort to ensure that the participation rate of this survey would be high.

Analysing the respondents in terms of length of employment shows that, of those who participated in the survey, 71 had 0-5 years (23.4%), 76 with 6-10 years (25.0%), 71 with 11-15 years (23.4%), 16-20 years (4.9%), and 71 with 21 years or more of tenure (23.4%). As can clearly be seen, there were less respondents with only 16-20 years of employment experience than the other groups. This issue has a close relation with the Ministry of Interior's personnel policy. In this context, it can be said that less number of district governors was accepted to the profession by the Ministry of Interior in this group when it is compared other groups.

In terms of gender, 287 males (94.4%) and 17 females (5.6%) took part in the survey. The total number of female deputy governors and district governors in the country is 34. With 17 of them participating in the survey, approximately half of the total female population of civil administrators participated in this research. As may clearly be discerned, the percentage of female respondents is higher than that of male respondents. The reason for this — and as was mentioned earlier in this chapter — the researcher made great efforts to ensure the participation of the female respondents in the survey and, apparently, succeeded in this regard. This, then, is why their participation rate is so high when compared to the male numbers. And, as was mentioned above, there are so few women in the profession because, until 1992, females did not have the right to be district or deputy governors. After this date, with the amendment of the relevant code, they gained this right.

Evaluating the responses by respondent age, 36 (11.8%) were 25-30 years old, 108 (35.5%) were 31-35 years old, 63 (20.7%) were 36-40 years old, 29 (9.5%) were 41-45 years old and 68 (22.4) were 46 years old or older. It is clear that the group of respondents consisting of people between 36 and 40 years of age is smaller than the other groups. The explanation provided above regarding why one of the "length of employment" groups was smaller than the other ones is also valid for explaining why there was lower participation from people between 36 and 40 years of age.

And finally, when evaluating the responses in terms of university speciality, 144 (47.4%) of the respondents are graduates from a political sciences faculty, 122 (40.1%) studied in an economics and administrative sciences faculty, and 38 (12.5%) went to a law faculty. Obviously, the number of those who graduated from a faculty of law is lower than the number of those who graduated from the other two faculties mentioned above. This might be because graduates from a faculty of law usually aim to gain admittance to other professions (e.g. as lawyers, judges, and public prosecutors), whereas it is completely natural for those who graduate from either a faculty of political sciences or economics and administrative sciences to enter into the profession of civil administration considering as those are the two specialties which civil administrators need the most.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, different forms of questions were asked respondents. Some questions were open-ended and some were both open-ended and closed-ended. The responses to these closed-ended questions were evaluated in pairs. These were: both “strongly agree” and “agree” and both “strongly disagree” and “disagree”.

5.2. What are the Traditional Roles of Governors and District Governors in Turkey? (Question 1)

Table 5-2: Respondents' views on the traditional roles of governors and district governors in Turkey

	Governor		Deputy Governor		District Governor	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
The duty or role of representation of the President and the Government	24	8.2	78	26.7	190	65.1
Auditing, coordination, cooperation and planning	20	7.6	76	28.8	168	63.6
Security	23	9.1	69	27.3	161	63.6
Rural development	11	10.4	27	25.5	68	64.2
Education and health	8	6.8	29	24.6	81	68.6
Tutelage over local governments	2	5.1	13	33.3	24	61.5
Social policies	9	7.8	27	23.3	80	69
Implementing codes, regulations and orders	20	10.2	49	24.9	128	65
Protection of the unitary state	5	6.2	25	30.9	51	63
Public relations	6	7.5	20	25.0	54	67.5

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are many roles and duties which were assigned to the governors and district governors with many different kinds of legislation and various

types of regulation (see Chapter 2 for more about the roles). The question: “What are the traditional roles of governors and district governors in Turkey?” was posed to participants in order to understand those roles and duties and determine which of them are most important for the civil administrators and, finally, to understand the way that they have changed over time. When the respondents’ answers were examined in general, according to the above table, it could be said that the most important three traditional roles for nearly all of the respondents were: the duty of representing the state and the central government (292 respondents out of 304: 24 governors, 78 deputy governors, and 190 district governors); the duty of conducting audits, coordinating the government’s work, cooperation and planning with other state and non-state institutions (264 respondents out of 304 respondents: 20 governors, 76 deputy governors, and 168 district governors, respectively); ensuring the public’s security both the provinces and the districts (253 respondents out of 304 respondents: 23 governors, 69 deputy governors, and 161 district governors, respectively) (see the findings of the elite interviews in Chapter 6 regarding the most important traditional roles).

5.3. How have the Traditional Roles of Governors and District Governors Changed after the 2000s Public Management Reforms? (Question 2)

When the open-ended answers of the respondents are analysed regarding how the traditional roles of the governors and district governors changed after the public management and administration reforms of the 2000s, some of the respondents (105 respondents in total: 10 governors, 25 deputy governors, and 70 district governors, respectively) stated that the central government gave more resources and roles to the municipalities. This situation caused the decline and erosion of the civil administrators’ representative role in the field administration of the central government. Additionally, certain important and effective roles of the civil administrators have been transferred to the municipalities. For instance, the dealing with the infrastructure works of the rural area and the usage of the provincial administration’s budget opportunities are under the competence of the municipalities. For the respondents, since the reforms of the public administration have been enacted, the municipalities have become prominent and more effective compared to the civil administrators, who are the representatives of the central

government and the state. In this sense, the respondents pointed out that there is a close relation between the decrease in their powers and their roles and erosion in the representation of those roles. The participants' responses are as follows:

As a result of the reforms' establishment, the need for the existence of the civil administration has been decreasing and the civil administrators are becoming symbolic. This fact leads to erosion in the representative role of the governors and the district governors.

Before the enactment of the reforms, the civil administrators had a tutelage power over the local governments, they could control their affairs and transactions on the behalf of the central government and they had a power and an important role. Today, the civil administrators do not have power over the local governments.

Some of the respondents (104 respondents: 8 governors, 24 deputy governors, and 72 governors) claimed that after the adjustment of the reforms, the civil administrators have been more politicised and the intervention of the politicians and the political structure has increased. Consequently, this situation affects the paternal role of the civil administrators because of the representative role they had held in the government. Conforming to the respondents' opinions, the citizens believe that having the representatives of the state requires keeping a distance to the politics and the politicians, despite the fact that they represent the government. According to the perspective of the governors and the district governors, on account of erosion of the politicians' representative role, the citizens do not perceive them as representatives of the state and the government, but as government's tools and state's civil servants. Consequently, as mentioned above, a participant pointed out that:

Before the reforms, the civil administrators were seen by the citizens as civil servants who represented both the state and the public. In other words, the civil administrators were seen as a part of a traditional paternal state. However, with the enactment of the reforms, the perception has changed and the need of the paternal state no longer exists. In the new period, the role of following and implementing the

orders of the central government has been given to the civil administrators, who are more politicised. Moreover, for a long time, the civil administrators had been accepted as the “representatives of the state”, but after the execution of the reforms, they are considered as “civil servants of the government.”

A respondent stated that after the reforms: “the civil administrators carry the drum, but the politicians use the drumsticks”. Another respondent pointed out that: “with the reforms, the civil administrators are, de facto, becoming civil servants of the political actors.”

Some respondents (102 respondents: 6 governors, 30 deputy governors, and 66 district governors, respectively) stated that the public administration’s reforms have brought certain new public management elements such as: the accountability, the efficiency, the productivity and the transparency to the fore. However, they also claimed that these elements are not in conformity with the nature of the profession of the civil administrators, whose basic role in the administration field is the state’s and the government’s representation. Thereby, the reform process has redefined the concept of the public service and the relationship between the state and the citizens, in favour of the citizen and civil society. The reform process has also changed the traditional roles, has eroded the legal statues and has, finally, decreased the status of the civil administrators within society. Concerning the effects of the new public management elements, a participant stated that:

Certain new public management elements such as are: the transparency, the accountability and the participation, have caused erosion of some concepts, which are effective over the governors and the district governors, like the authority and the close relationship between the state and the public. Furthermore, the civil administrators have started to consider the transparent administration to be more important.

Some other participants alleged that:

There has been a transformation from the kind of the commanding, strict and authoritarian civil administrators who used to take decisions alone, to the kind of leaders who: take decisions jointly, are open to the participation, have a cooperative administrative mentality, make the citizens' administration oriented and are close to the public. The perception of the citizens regarding to the state has been changed and the use of the democratic rights has been increased by reforms such as: the right to take information and the right to petition.

The traditional roles have been changed in two directions. Both the understanding of the state's services by the citizens and the understanding of the service delivery from the government's perspective have been changed. With the effects of: the public management reforms, the technological developments and the emergence of a high-information society, the citizens demand for better public services. They do not automatically accept what is provided to them and they criticize the quality of the public services. On the other hand, the civil administrators have started to adopt more transparent, open and accountable public administration practices.

On the contrary, unlike some respondents who believe that their representative role has been decreased, some respondents (76 respondents: 5 governors, 26 deputy governors, and 45 district governors) think that after the establishment of the reforms, the civil administrators would perform their traditional roles more effectively because of their exemption from any unnecessary works that they had to deal with in the past. In this sense, a participant argued that:

The district governors have gotten rid of the unsettled affairs and the complexity in the district. In this way, the district governors who have many roles, duties and responsibilities in almost all areas, concerning the district, have gained the opportunity to perform their traditional roles such as are: representing the state and government, ensuring the

security and the public order, the auditing, the cooperation and the coordination. Before the reforms' adjustment, the civil administrators who acted as investors now turn to their traditional roles such as are: the auditing, the coordination, the cooperation and providing of the security and the public order.

According to the perspective of some civil administrators (72 respondents: 6 governors, 23 deputy governors, and 43 district governors), those who are supported by the government, implementing certain social policy projects, and the infrastructure works determined by the government, have contributed to the formation of the "paternal state" in the public eye. This contribution has increased the role of the civil administrators in the representation of the state and the government.

The financial resources that are provided for the implementation of some social policies by the central government to the governors and the district governors, have increased the civil administrators' ability of solving any existing problems in the districts and the provinces. Moreover, the district governors have gained extra financial resources for implementing the projects of village infrastructure support, by using the resources of the village delivery services' union and the special provincial administration. The receiving of these kinds of support, has increased the representative role of the civil administrators in the districts and the provinces.

Regarding the change in the auditing, the coordination and the cooperation role, in accordance to some respondents' point of view (70 respondents: 7 governors, 20 deputy governors, and 43 district governors), after the adjustment of the public management reforms in the 2000s, there have been significant decreases in the civil administrators' functions in the above roles. The respondents also pointed out that the general supervision and the control of the governors and the district governors over the state-owned institutions and the organisations have been removed because of their escaping effort from the control and supervision of the civil administrators. Furthermore, the participants also mentioned that the role of the coordination and the implementation of

control in the provinces and the districts has been weakened and eroded, resulting in the weakening of the civil administrators' image in the public eye. Some participants in the survey, mentioned:

After the deterioration in the provincial administration system under the effects of the public management reforms in the 2000s, the ministries prefer the predominance of the directors of the provinces, who govern the directorship of the ministries, instead of the governors' preponderance and also prefer to accept and consider the directors of the provinces as being their representatives. There is a trend towards escaping from the authority of the governors and the district governors and the system of provincial administration by the public institutions and organisations. However, the citizens demand from the civil administrators solutions to their problems, without knowing that the civil administrators have full power over all of the public institutions and organisations. In the eyes of the citizens there are problems with the way that the administration has been carried out and complications with the coordination in the government area. These problems cause a loss of prestige.

Traditionally, the citizens demand solutions to their problems from the civil administrators regarding the issues of health and education, but the role of the civil administrators has been lessened in the health and education fields. Certain important policies, concerning education, have been designed in the central government. The state-owned health institutions have been put out of the control and the coordination of the civil administrators after the establishment of the general secretariat for the state-owned hospitals.

On the contrary, some respondents (74 respondents: 6 governors, 26 deputy governors, and 42 district governors) indicated that, although there has been erosion in the auditing, the coordination and the controlling role of the governors and the district governors, this role has been gaining importance after the establishment of the reforms.

Who ensures the coordination and the cooperation between the local governments and the central government and between the state organisations and the citizens in the provinces and the districts? Of course, the governors and the district governors, because they are the heads of the province and the districts and, therefore, they can ensure the coordination and the cooperation in these areas.

The government wants the governors and the district governors to ensure the coordination and the cooperation between the private sector and the local governments, the universities, the businessmen, the state organisations and the central government.

With respect to the role of ensuring the security and the public order, some respondents (78 respondents: 8 governors, 27 deputy governors, and 43 district governors) mentioned that although the governors and the district governors are responsible for the achievement of the above role in the government, they were not influential over the police and gendarmerie's forces. However, after the reforms, their role in the process of decision-making regarding ensuring the security and the public order has been increasing and their control and supervision in the government has also been increased. Regarding the above statements, some participants declared that:

The governors and the district governors have become prominent in the process of decision-making, concerning the security and the public order, but the supervision policy of the security forces by the civil administrators is not enough.

The government has a tendency to give more power and roles to the governors and the district governors in ensuring the security and the public order in the provinces and the districts.

As clearly shown above, according to the respondents' statements, the provision of more power, roles and resources to the local governments after the adoption of the reforms, has caused erosion in their representative role, decrease in their authority arising from the representation of the state over the local government and, finally, made

the mayors prominent. Furthermore, the adoption of the reforms reduced the authority of the civil administrators deriving from their representative role in the state over the local government. While the politicisation of the governors and the district governors after the reforms of the public administration has been increased, their representative roles have been undermined. In addition, with the effects of the new public management elements that were brought by the public administration reforms, the role of the representation of the state has been changed from the state centric view to the citizen centric view of the civil administrators.

With respect to the role of coordination, the cooperation and the controlling on the one hand, this role is gaining importance; on the other hand, there has been erosion with the effect of the implemented reforms. In terms of the role of the security, the role of the governors and the district governors has a tendency to increase, especially in the decision making process of the security and in the area of ensuring the security and the public order.

5.4. Which Roles of Governors and District Governors will be less important in the Future? (Question 5)

According to the respondents' answers regarding which roles of the governors and district governors will be less important in the future, some respondents (105 respondents: 7 governors, 28 deputy governors, and 70 district governors) claimed that the investor role in the rural development and the pioneer role in the economic and the social development will lose their importance following the public management reforms. In this sense, as an example, a respondent pointed out that:

The investor role in the social and economic development and the role of spending money will become insignificant because the Law named "the Greater City Municipality Law" (Law no.6360) has removed the special provincial administration and the union of village delivery service that used to be significant tools that were ensuring funds and budget opportunities for the governors and the district governors in

order to perform some economic and social projects in the district and the provinces.

Some respondents (103 respondents: 8 governors, 30 deputy governors, and 65 district governors) stated that when analysing the public administration reforms, such as the local government reforms in the 2000s, there is a tendency to transfer the role and the powers from the governors and the district governors to the municipalities. The respondent supports this issue by stating that:

Certain governor and district governor roles have been decreasing and some roles have been given to the municipalities. Every role with local characteristics for the governors and the district governors has become insignificant.

Another respondent pointed out that:

In the public eye, the role of the “paternal state” leadership will be decreased and the civil administrators will transfer their roles to the local government and the area of their influence will be shrunk.

Regarding this question, the most striking point is that, many respondents have focused on the economic role. According to them, this role has been losing importance rapidly. The majority of the respondents believe that the economic role would not be important because after the reforms both the government and the citizens do not want them to play an active role in the economic development.

5.5. Which Roles of Governors and District Governors will become more important in Future? (Question 6)

When analysing the responses of the participants concerning which roles of the governors and the district governors will become more important in the future, the majority of the respondents (112 respondents: 10 governors, 32 deputy governors, and 70 district governors) pointed out that the role of the civil administrators regarding the representation of the state and the government, ensuring the security, the public peace and order, ensuring supervision, coordination and cooperation, implementation of the

social policies, leadership in society, the public relations, the protection of human rights, the protection of the environment and the consumers, dealing with social policy implementations like the protection of disadvantaged groups such as women, children and disabled people, the management of crisis and disaster times, the support and the encouragement of the entrepreneurs for the investments, the relations with non-governmental organisations, border management and security and the migration issues will become important in future.

5.6. Which Public Management Reforms of the 2000s have had the Greatest Effect on the Roles of Governors and District Governors more? Are There Any Other Reforms Worth Noting? (Question 9)

Table 5-3: Respondents’ views on the most effective public management reforms of the 2000s on the roles of the governors and district governors

		Governor		Deputy Governor		District Governor	
		N	%	n	%	n	%
Local Government Reforms (Law no.5393.5302.5216.)	1	21	7.2	80	27.6	189	65.2
Establishment of Development Agencies	2	6	5.9	29	28.7	66	65.3
Privatisation in the provision of certain public services.	3	5	4.3	38	32.5	74	63.2
Health Reform (Establishment of the union of state owned hospitals)	4	11	5.9	44	23.5	132	70.6
Public Financial Management Act (Law no.5018)	5	11	10.6	26	25	67	64.4
Democratisation and human rights reforms	6	7	8.9	21	26.6	51	64.6

Establishment of new 31 Greater City Municipalities	7	21	7.8	72	26.9	175	65.3
Reforms regarding openness, accountability and transparency	8	4	10.8	9	24.3	24	64.9
Establishment of Regulatory and Supervisory Bodies.	9	5	10.2	17	34.7	27	55.1
Reform on e-government	10	3	7.1	12	28.6	27	64.3

The above question (“which public management reforms of the 2000s have had the greatest effect on the roles of the governors and district governors more?”) was asked to the respondents in order to understand which reforms have the greatest effect on the roles of the governors and the district governors, within the scope of the public administration reforms made in the 2000s. As seen from the above table, certain public administration reforms of the 2000s such as the local government reforms (290 respondents out of 304) and the establishment of 30 new greater city municipalities (268 respondents out of 304) have had the greatest effect on the roles of the governors and the district governors. On the contrary, some other public administration reforms have had less effect on their roles, such as the establishment of the union of state-owned hospitals (187 respondents out of 304), the privatisation in the provision of certain public services (117 respondents out of 304) and the public financial management (104 respondents out of 304). These reforms contribute to the activation of the establishment of development agencies, the democratisation and the human rights’ reforms, the establishment of regulatory and supervisory bodies and the reform on e-government when compared to the local government reforms. According to the responses, nearly most of the respondents think that the reforms made in the 2000s related to the local governments have had the greatest effect on the roles of the civil administrators. In this context, according to the findings of the elite interview, there is a big consistency between the findings of the survey and the elite interviews in terms of which public

management reforms made in the 2000s have the greatest effect on the roles of the governors and the district governors.

Moreover, apart from the above reforms, the respondents mentioned that certain kinds of public management reforms since 2000s, have affected the roles of the governors and district governors. These are as follows:

The reforms and regulations regarding social policies, such as: the protection of the consumers, the protection of children and family, the project for supporting the infrastructure of the villages, the project based activities funded by the European Union, the usage of the resources concerning the rural development by the civil administrators, are other reforms which have had affected the roles of the governors and the district governors.

5.7. Decentralisation Reforms such as the Delegation of Power to Local Governments have decreased the Role of Governors and District Governors (Question 10)

Table 5-4: Respondents’ degree of agreement on the impacts of decentralisations reforms on governors and district governors

	Occupational status							
	Governor		Deputy Governor		District governor		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	N	%
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0.7
Disagree	6	24	8	9.6	22	11.2	36	11.8
Neutral	0	0	2	2.4	6	3.1	8	2.6
Agree	16	64	38	45.8	102	52	156	51.3
Strongly agree	3	12	35	42.2	64	32.7	102	33.6
Total	25	100	83	100	196	100	304	100

The impacts of the decentralisation reforms — such as the delegation of power to local governments — on the roles of the governors and district governors were asked of the respondents. As the above table shows, 258 respondents (84.9%) — or, more particularly, 76% of the governors (19 respondents out of 25), 88% of the deputy governors (73 respondents out of 83), and 84.7% of the district governors (166 respondents out of 196) — agreed that decentralisation reforms such as the delegation of power and roles to the local governments have decreased the role of the governors and the district governors. On the other hand, a small percentage of the participants — around 2.6% (8 respondents out of 304) — is neutral regarding this question. This shows us that the participants' minds are clear about this question (i.e. they are not hesitant or neutral about this issue).

When examining the examples and the explanations in the open-ended responses of the survey that the respondents provided, it became obvious that most of them (108 respondents out of 304: 12 governors, 30 deputy governors, and 66 district governors) believe that decentralisation reforms within the scope of the public administration reforms made in the 2000s, have decreased the civil administrators' role, whereas a small number of the respondents disagree with that approach.

The Greater City Municipality Law (Law no.6360) removed the existence of the provincial administration, the union of village delivery service and the transition of the villages to the neighbourhoods. These developments decreased the power and the role of the civil administrators and terminated the role of the civil administrators in the rural development. Before the Greater City Municipality Law, the infrastructure of the villages had been directed by the civil administrators.

The governors and the district governors were more active in society since they could use the financial resources for economic and social development. However, the province special administration and the union of the village delivery service had been removed. Therefore, they are not able to use the financial resources. The role and the effectiveness of them have been decreased.

In this sense, relating to the benefit of the provincial special administration, a respondent mentioned that:

The governors could learn the problems and the potentials of the province easily by the elected people who have constituted the provincial special administration. Moreover, the governors could try to use the central government resources when the resources of the provincial special administration were scarce and they had initially ensured stable and good relations between the central government and the locals. Afterwards, it is not easy for the governors to act effectively for the benefit of the province.

Moreover, some respondents (103 respondents out of 304: 9 governors, 29 deputy governors, and 65 district governors) claimed that the municipalities, with the reform made in the 2000s, have gained roles and power in many fields such as: education, culture, tourism, the protection of historical artefacts, social policies, sports, and youth services. Besides, the decisions of the municipality council are not subject to the decisions of the governors and the district governors. Before the reforms, the decisions of the municipality council should, at first, have been approved by the civil administrators. In this manner, a respondent stated that: “the mayors consider themselves as more independent from the governors and the district governors, compared to the previous situation”.

On the other hand, some of the respondents (48 respondents out of 304: 5 governors, 15 deputy governors, and 28 district governors), unlike a large number of them, claim that after the local government reform, some roles and powers of the civil administrators

were given to the municipalities. For them, this is a good development for performing their traditional roles.

The civil administrators should not deal with infrastructure projects and investment affairs because the local governments can perform issues in a better way. Moreover, as a result, the civil administrators would be able to perform their traditional roles better.

Similarly, one respondent pointed out that:

The infrastructure affairs in the villages were passed on the municipalities' jurisdiction. In this way, the civil administrators got rid of the heavy workload and they can now implement governance effectively and spend more time on certain projects such as the social policies and education. Finally, the civil administrators are able to carry out their traditional roles better.

In conclusion, most of the governors, the deputy governors and the district governors think that the local government reforms have decreased their roles. It can be said that the municipalities have gained more power and roles and, therefore, they have become prominent. On the other hand, a small number of respondents think that after the establishment of the reforms, they can perform their traditional roles effectively because of their exemption from the infrastructure work in the rural areas.

5.8. The Greater City Municipalities Code (N0.6360) will decrease the Role of Governors and District Governors (Question 11)

Table 5-5: Respondents’ degree of agreement on the influences of the greater city municipalities code on the role of governors and district governors

	Occupational status							
	Governor		Deputy Governor		District Governor		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly disagree	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.5	3	1.0
Disagree	4	16.0	4	4.8	9	4.6	17	5.6
Neutral	1	4.0	1	1.2	6	3.1	8	2.6
Agree	16	64.0	34	41.0	77	39.3	127	41.8
Strongly agree	4	16.0	44	53.0	101	51.5	149	49.0
Total	25	100.0	83	100.0	196	100.0	304	100.0

The question whether the Greater City Municipalities Code would decrease the role of the governors and district governors was posed to the respondents. As can be easily seen from the above table, 276 respondents (90.8%) agreed that the Greater City Municipalities Code (Law no.6360) has decreased the roles of civil administrators, whereas only 6.6% of respondents (16 respondents: 4 governors, 4 deputy governors, and 12 district governors) disagreed. The “neutral” response rate was 2.6% for this statement.

When evaluating the responses by position, 20 governors (80%), 78 deputy governors (94%), and 178 district governors (90.8%) agreed with this statement, respectively. Interestingly, in the elite interviews conducted with the governors, deputy governors, and district governors, most of the participants agreed that the Greater City

Municipalities Law has decreased their roles and powers. As mentioned above, the local government reforms have the greatest effect on the roles of the governors and district governors.

When this open-ended question was examined in the survey, some of the respondents (103 respondents: 8 governors, 32 deputy governors, and 63 district governors) pointed out that, with the passing of Law no. 6360 (which removed the governors from presiding over the provincial councils, which removed the governors' tutelage powers over the municipalities, and which terminated the provincial special administrations (PSA) and the Union of Village Service Delivery have decreased the governors' roles. They also mentioned that the PSA was a great place which helped the civil administrators' work lives. This transferal of roles and powers from the PSA to the municipalities has, therefore, affected the roles of civil administrators negatively. Moreover, the personnel, resources, tools, and reading equipment used in rural development were taken from the governors and district governors. The resources and personnel were transferred to the municipalities, thereby metamorphosing the governorships and district governorships into ones which do not have any budget. In this sense, since providing infrastructure to the villages had ensured that the civil administrators had a close relationship with the citizens, the mayors and municipalities have become more powerful in the fact that they are the ones who are now able to provide infrastructure works. Thus, after these changes took place, the links between the civil administrators and the villagers weakened. In this manner, a respondent claims that: "After the passing of this law, the highest authority in the province would be the mayor in practice".

Another respondent stated that:

The municipalities can perform many public services within the borders of the province and have access to vast financial resources. The municipalities see themselves as the institutions which can bring public services to all parts of the province—even to the farthest villages. In this way, they see themselves as being more powerful than

the governors and district governors. Furthermore, they are always trying to expand their authority.

Some of them (76 respondents: 7 governors, 24 deputy governors, and 45 district governors) declared that the governors and district governors' role regarding rural development had been terminated and that the influence of the governors and district governors has decreased in the eyes of its citizens. Also, another respondent pointed out that "the traditional roles of the civil administrators regarding rural development has finished". Another respondent shared a similar view:

The governors cannot access a budget. Therefore, the effect of the governors and district governors has been decreasing in the eyes of the citizens and other public institutions. Moreover, the role of the civil administrators concerning the execution of power has been finishing.

As can clearly be discerned, the Greater City Municipalities Law resulted in the removal of the PSA, the union for village service delivery, the removal of the governors' from presiding over the PSA, and their losing the ability to use the PSA's budget. All of the roles, duties and financial resources regarding rural development and infrastructure were passed to the municipalities even though the governors and district governors had been responsible for those activities before the law was passed. (See Appendix 1). Therefore, according to the respondents' responses, the chief civil administrators have lost their powers and roles because of the Greater City Municipalities Law. Instead, they have been transferred to the municipalities, where the mayors have become ever more prominent.

5.9. Rising Political Intervention in the Bureaucratic Processes after the Last Public Management Reforms has decreased the Roles of Governors and District Governors in the Decision Making Process (Question 16)

Table 5-6: Respondents’ degree of agreement on the impacts of political interventions in the bureaucratic processes on the roles of governors and district governors in the decision making process

	Occupational status							
	Governor		Deputy Governor		District Governor		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Strongly disagree	0	0.0	1	1.2	6	3.1	7	2.3
Disagree	12	48.0	9	10.8	22	11.2	43	14.1
Neutral	4	16.0	3	3.6	25	12.8	32	10.5
Agree	7	28.0	52	62.7	100	51.0	159	52.3
Strongly agree	2	8.0	18	21.7	43	21.9	63	20.7
Total	25	100.0	83	100.0	196	100.0	304	100.0

The question whether “rising political intervention in the bureaucratic processes after the last public management reforms has decreased the roles of the governors and district governors in the decision making process” was posed to the participants. As is seen from the above table, 222 respondents (73%) agreed that rising political intervention in the bureaucratic processes after the last public administration reforms has decreased the civil administrators’ decision-making role. The study revealed that 70 deputy governors (84.4%) and 143 district governors (72.9%) agreed with this statement, whereas 12 governors (48%) disagreed with it. Interestingly, 32 participants (10.5%) are neutral

about the intervention of politicians in their affairs and its impacts on their roles in the decision making process. As is apparent, although the majority of the deputy governors and district governors accepted the proposition that political intervention in their decision-making process has decreased their roles, the governors' response rate is not high regarding the above statement. This may be explained by the fact that the governors have become more politicised due to their having close relations, not only with politics but also with politicians. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the governors have to closely follow government policies. Otherwise, they can easily lose their post and the government will appoint another governor in their stead. Therefore, they have had to accept the intervention of politics into their decision-making process as a necessity of working closely with the government and politics. Traditionally, however, the district governors and deputy governors have kept their distance from politics because they thought that they should not integrate themselves with politics because their reputation is commonly founded on their being objective about all political views, especially since citizens might have different political opinions and views than themselves.

When this open-ended question was examined in the survey, some respondents (83 respondents: 6 governors, 25 deputy governors, 52 district governors) responded that, after the last public administration reforms, the rising political intervention in bureaucratic processes has decreased the importance of the civil administrators' decision-making role. The following excerpts demonstrate this point:

With the recent reforms and there being a strong ruling party in Turkey, political authority has been strengthened. This, in turn, has led to an increased number of political interventions being propagated.

Sometimes, the civil administrators are bypassed and their works, with their works instead being made by the hands of the directorates of the province and the ministers of the districts. In addition, the politicians have ordered that some of the civil administrators' roles should be transferred to the local governments.

In line with the above statement, some respondents (85 respondents: 5 governors, 28 deputy governors, and 52 district governors) also point out that the civil administrators,

in having a decision-making role, have the power to make decisions without the support of the politicians; nevertheless, it is very difficult for the governors and district governors to invest in any investment programmes. In this way, the political actors have become more powerful. Regarding this theme, another respondent states that:

The local politicians have begun to gain power regarding the decision-making process. For example, if some governors attempted to solve the problem of installing a heater in a school, the politicians would want to affect the decision as well. In many places, then, the civil administrators play the approval role and not the decision-making role.

Similarly, some respondents (90 respondents: 5 governors, 25 deputy governors, 60 district governors) have declared that, after the recent public administration reforms, the politicians' impact over the civil administrators' decisions have increased and that the civil administrators' role of making decisions have decreased.

On this topic, some respondents stated that:

The intervention of politicians in the decision-making process has eroded the principle of decentralisation. Therefore, governors are hesitant to make decisions and often have to ask the central government in order to take the requisite decision.

The politicians intervene in the decision-making process regarding the appointment of civil servants and that of determining investment decisions.

Politicians have gradually affected the decision-making process. They even want to intervene in simple decisions related to making basic investments in a village. Therefore, the interventions of the politicians affect the objectivity of the decisions taken by the civil administrators.

Contrary to the above explanations and statements, however, some respondents (52 respondents: 7 governors, 15 deputy governors, and 30 district governors) think that politicians' intervention does not have a negative impact on the roles of the governors

and district governors. For instance, according to some respondents, since there is a powerful ruling party in Turkey, it is normal that politics intervenes in the decision-making process of the civil administrators. Moreover, there exists a direct relationship between politics and the decision-making process. This thereby makes the decision-making powers of the administrative bodies weak wherever politics is more powerful. In this sense, two respondents, respectively, stated that:

The district governors are not the sole authority in charge in many areas because of the fact that the country is a participatory democracy. The political effect has expanded to every area of the country. Nevertheless, this is not a negative development.

The intervention in the civil administrators' decision-making process is generally made in virtue of local dynamics. If these interventions are not contrary to the law, the intervention can be accepted as a form of democracy.

Some respondents (58 respondents: 6 governors, 16 deputy governors, and 36 district governors), on the other hand, state that the decisions are taken using a participatory approach. The changing and developing structure of society, including developments made to communication, transportation, and information technologies, and not to mention the effects of non-governmental organisations and pressure groups, have affected the participatory features and open administration of the decision-making process. In this regards, a respondent points out that: "the decision-making process has transformed from one man deciding everything to that of a more participatory and democratic structure".

As was demonstrated above, more than half of the respondents thought that, with the increasing impact of the strong party that has been in charge of the government in Turkey for around 13 years now, the politicians' intervening in the governors and district governors' affairs and decision-making process has weakened their roles and powers. The rest of the respondents, however, believe that this situation has changed and that both parties have to collaborate with each other with every decision that they need to make together. Thus, it cannot be said that the politicians have been intervening

in their affairs and decision-making process. In short, the politicisation process of the governors and district governors' powers and roles, no matter whether it should be considered is hostile or amicable, has increased after the reforms made during the 2000s.

5.10. Since 2000, Public Management Reforms have decreased the Role of Governors and District Governors in Social and Economic Development (Question 20)

Table 5-7: Respondents' degree of agreement on the impacts of public management reforms on the social and economic roles of governors and district governors

	Occupational status							
	Governor		Deputy Governor		District Governor		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Strongly disagree	0	0.0	5	6.0	14	7.1	19	6.2
Disagree	16	64.0	23	27.7	78	39.8	117	38.5
Neutral	1	4.0	6	7.2	15	7.7	22	7.2
Agree	7	28.0	39	47.0	66	33.7	112	36.8
Strongly agree	1	4.0	10	12.0	23	11.7	34	11.2
Total	25	100.0	83	100.0	196	100.0	304	100.0

As seen from the above table, the study revealed that 146 respondents (48%) agreed that, since 2000, the public management reforms have decreased the roles of the governors and district governors in terms of social and economic developments, whereas 136 participants (44.7%) disagree with the statement. 22 participants (7.2%), on the other hand, expressed their neutrality about the issue. Interestingly, there is no

consensus amongst the participants regarding whether the public administration reforms of the 2000s have decreased the roles of the governors and the district governors in the area of social and economic development. As can also be seen clearly from the above table, nearly half of the deputy governors and district governors think that the public administration reforms which were introduced in the 2000s have decreased the roles of the governors and district governors. 16 governors (64%), on the other hand, do not agree with this statement and believe differently from the deputy governors and district governors regarding this issue. This can be explained because the governors use more of the central government's resources than do the district governors. Therefore, they may believe that the public administration reforms have not decreased their roles more when compared to the district governors.

Since there are many differing ideas amongst the participants regarding the public administration reforms' impacts on the social and economic roles of the governors and district governors, it is clear that there is no consensus amongst the participants about this issue.

According to some of the respondents (82 respondents: 7 governors, 24 deputy governors, and 51 district governors), some economic and social development projects namely the KOY-DES and SODES (i.e. certain citizen and village support projects supported by the government) have given the governors and district governors the opportunity to utilise public funds. After 2000, these projects have increased the number of roles played by the civil administrators. The governors and district governors have used the public funds provided by these regional development agencies in order to finance their projects. However, when the Greater City Municipalities Law came into effect and, ergo, with the removal of the PSA and the Union of Village Service Delivery, their role of developing the economy has diminished given the fact that they used those two agencies' budgets. However, according to the majority of the respondents, the funds obtained for these projects are not permanent but only temporary. Therefore, the civil administrators do not use these budgets. Regarding this point, it will be beneficial to reflect how some of the respondents responded. One of the respondents stated that:

In terms of economic development, the civil administrators could play roles in developing both the rural and local areas in the past, but with the passing of law no. 6360, the responsibility of developing these areas have largely been transferred to the municipalities. In other words, the governors and district governors' roles in terms of rural and economic development have decreased.

Some respondents, on the other hand, approached the issue in a different way:

There has been no decrease in the roles played by the civil administrator in terms of social development, but in terms of economic development, there has been. The main role played by the governors and district governors is that of ensuring public security and solving infrastructure problems. The municipalities have become more prominent in the other areas.

The locomotive of economic development is the private sector; it is not possible to develop the country's economy simply with the hands of the state. In other words, the main factor in economic development is having a private sector.

With the privatisation of state-owned institutions, the role of the state in economic development has decreased. This has directly affected the role that the governors and district governors play in terms of developing the country's economy.

For some of the respondents (75 respondents: 5 governors, 19 deputy governors, and 51 district governors), the governors and district governors cannot perform their administrative roles and duties effectively without money. Interestingly, however, one of the respondents claimed that "spending money is the meaning of administering."

Furthermore, according to other respondents (64 respondents: 5 governors, 14 deputy governors, and 45 district governors), the local governments started playing a significant role in making investments instead of the civil administrators. In this sense, one of them claimed that:

Decisions regarding investments are primarily given to district and provincial politicians and not to the governors and district governors. The duties regarding investments have passed on to the municipalities and provincial directorates. Even the district governors sometimes do not know about the investment decisions which have been decided upon because the local politicians and provincial MPs, with the added support of the central government bureaucrats in the capital, decide which investments should be made.

As has been discerned, whereas nearly half of the deputy governors and district governors believe that the public administration reforms have decreased the roles of the governors and district governors in the area of economic and social development, the other half do not agree with this statement. Nevertheless, the governors think that the public administration reforms have not decreased their roles in the area economic and social development.

5.11. Conclusion

When evaluating the responses made by the respondents in the survey, it can be concluded that in terms of the governors and district governors' traditional roles, the most important ones for them, respectively, are the duties of: representing the president and the central government; auditing; coordinating; cooperating and planning; ensuring security; implementing codes, regulations and orders.

It should also be noted that many of the respondents pointed out the fact that some of the roles that the civil administrators had before the reforms were passed have become more prominent. For instance, social policy implementations, protecting the environment, providing social services, dealing with the problems of disadvantaged groups, crisis and disaster management, protecting human rights, ensuring the public order, being a local leader, providing coordination and cooperation between public institutions and non-governmental organisations, representing the government and the state, supervising, cooperating, coordinating, implementing the laws, and conducting public relations have all become very important roles that the civil administrators should

play ever since the public management reforms. On the other hand, some respondents claim that some of the governors and district governors' roles, such as the role of investor in rural development and the role of the pioneer in economic and social development will become unimportant after the implementation of the public management reforms.

It is clear from the survey data that the civil administrators were traditionally seen as part of a benevolent, or patrimonial, state by Turkey's citizens before the reforms. However, after the reforms, the perception of the citizens about the state and the civil administrators has changed. There has been a transformation in the image of the commanding, strict and authoritarian kind of administrator who makes decisions alone to that of a leader who takes decisions with the help of the advice of others.

Some of the central government's powers have been transferred to the local governments. After the reforms of the 2000s, there has been a tendency to transfer the roles and powers from the governors and district governors to the municipalities. The municipalities have become prominent and more effective in comparison to the governors and district governors.

From the results of the survey, it can be deduced that the respondents believed that the intervention made by politicians has increased with regards to bureaucratic processes because of the last public management reforms which were passed; and this has, in turn, has contributed to the decrease in the decision-making roles that the governors and district governors usually played.

This study also revealed that the respondents agreed that, since the passing of the public management reforms in the 2000s, the governors and district governors' roles in the areas of social and economic development have been decreasing in importance.

In short, the majority of the governors and district governors believe that the public management reforms which were passed in the 2000s had an effect on certain internal and external actors and factors which have, in turn, eroded the roles of the governors and district governors in the 2000s. They believe that there has been a transformation in their roles in line with the socio-economic and political developments mentioned in

Chapter 3 both in Turkey and in the world and that, in this sense, there has been a change in point-of-view from that of a state-centric view regarding administration to that of a citizen-centric view. The governors and district governors have experienced a loss of power and roles, the municipalities and mayors have become more dominant, and their economic role has decreased. Their traditional roles, like that of representing the state and central government, ensuring security and the public order, and coordinating and cooperating with state and non-state institutions have been gaining more importance, even though they have been eroding as well. Moreover, some new roles have also emerged including the protection of human rights and freedoms, the protection of the environment and the consumer, executing social policies, being leaders and arbitrators, dealing with disasters and crisis management, and having close relations with the citizens and non-governmental organisations. The following chapters will present the analysis of the elite interviews.

CHAPTER 6: CHANGES TO THE TRADITIONAL AND HISTORICALLY IMPORTANT ROLES

6.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, the findings of this study's survey were analysed. As was mentioned therein, many of the public administration reforms which were introduced during the 2000s significantly affected the governors and district governors' roles. In order to understand how and to what extent the roles have changed in detail; this chapter will firstly examine how the governors and district governors who were interviewed for this study defined themselves. Secondly, it will identify what they believe their profession's most classical traditional roles are (i.e. that of representing the state and central government, guaranteeing the security and safety of the public, and ensuring the coordination). Thirdly, it will assess how and to what extent these classical traditional roles have changed. And finally, before concluding, it will evaluate how the reforms of the 2000s have impacted the governors and district governors' historically important roles, with its economic role, paternal state understanding and modernising role being analysed respectively.

6.2. Who are the Governors and District Governors?

In order to understand the changing roles of governors and district governors which were affected by the public administration reforms made by Turkey in the 2000s, questions were asked to respondents by the researcher, such as: In the eyes of Turkish citizens, who is the governor and district governor? How do you, yourselves, define the role of the governor and district governor apart from the roles and duties which are traditionally described in the country's codes and regulations?

In general, the respondents defined the governor and the district governor as follows: that they are representatives of the state and implementers of the constitution and other legal codes in the province and the districts; that they play a role stipulated by their paternal state; and that citizens can apply to them in order to resolve their problems.

According to the respondents' explanations, the first striking point about the governor

and district governor is that they are authorities who represent the state in the field. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, governors and district governors are the legal representatives of the state and the central government in the provinces and districts. In this sense, the majority of the respondents define and perceive themselves as being the representatives of the state and the central government and the main implementing authority of the country's constitution and legal codes. For example, Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014) stated that

Governor and district governor is the face, representative, and the competent authority of the state in the field. Therefore, when citizens need to resolve an issue or a problem with the state in their province or district, the first thing that comes to their minds should be applying to either the governor or the district governor.

Furthermore, Bilal Karaca (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014) corroborates what Can said when he explains that

The civil administrators are the representatives of the established order in the field. We can say that it is a profession which represents the characteristics of the state and the republic in the field and that it ensures the implementation of the constitution and the laws. Their primary role is to represent the state in the province and districts.

With respect to their representing the state, the participants assert that the concepts of governor and district governor are bywords for the concept of the state in the eyes of citizens. In essence, according to legal regulations, the governor represents both the state and the government, but the district governor represents just the government. However, citizens do not only simply perceive the governors as the representatives of the state, but also perceive district governors as representatives of the state in practice. In this context, Mahmut Hersanlioglu (Deputy Governor, 28/08/2014) mentions that:

When the state is traditionally mentioned, the governor and district governor are implicitly also referred to. Especially, citizens understand the district governor as being the representative of the state. When we

tell them that we, as district governors, are the representatives of the government, they say that there is nothing in such a thing and that the governors can be the representatives of the state, but you are also the representatives of the state.

In addition, Mehmet Cangir (Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of European Affairs — District Governor, 30/06/2014) explains that:

In essence, according to the legal sense, the governor is the representative of the state and the government and the district governor is the representative of the government; but, in practice, if it is required to explain in one word what the governor and district governor are, and then one could say that they are the representatives of the state. In sum, the governor and district governor embody the state in the field.

With respect to the representatives of the state and the government, the participants claimed that, whenever the state is mentioned, the governor and district governor come to the citizens' minds. They perceive them as being the embodiment of the state in the provinces and districts of the country. This is expressed by two of the participants in the following ways: “in the eyes of the citizens, they embody the position of the state in the field”. (Kadir Akin Gozel, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs-District Governor, 03/07/2014) and “the governor still represents the paternal state in Anatolia — and even the embodiment of the state — even though there have been many erosions in their roles and duties” (Yusuf Erbay, Governor, 24/06/2014).

Furthermore, since they have a long tradition coming from Ottoman times, they sometimes see themselves as being the owners and protectors of the state because their traditional training system nourishes this opinion. This Galip Demirel's (Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014) stating that:

From the entrance of the district governors into the profession, you are indoctrinated into thinking that you are the state, you represent the state, and you are responsible for protecting the state and its interests. I

say that the power of the field is ensured by the civil administrators. More precisely, the power of the state is sustained by the civil administrators in the province and districts.

This statement corroborates what was said in Chapter 3 about the paternalistic feeling which these public offices have inherited from Turkey's history. Therefore, citizens perceive them as an authority which can solve all of their problems whether or not they indeed have the capacity to solve them. The participants explained that, in the citizen's point-of-view, governors and district governors are like their father, though this understanding has been eroding recently.

The following quotes from the respondents provide in-depth information about

According to the traditional view of our nation, the civil administrator is equivalent to the paternal state. Society accepts the civil administrator as being a representative of that paternal state. Therefore, society sees the civil administrator as being a 'government office' in relation to their trust of the state, the patronage of the state, and the protection of the state and evaluates the civil administrator as a person who could potentially solve their problems. When the citizen is in trouble, the civil administrator is a valuable and sublime authority which the citizen can apply to whenever they need. Whereas the citizen sees the other authorities as ordinary civil servants, the citizen understands the civil administrator as being the authority of the state. Thus, for them, the civil administrator is not a civil servant. (Huseyin Avni Mutlu, Governor, 13/08/2014)

Governors and district governors are the supervisors, controllers, and advisers of the paternal state. In our Turkish administrative system, our nation respects these people with a culture of obedience and our nation recognizes the governor and district governor as an authority who knows everything better and who gives the best decisions. If the citizen looks for a port of refuge, he or she goes to either the governor or the district governor. (Yucel Yavuz, Governor, 13/07/2014)

Furthermore, according to the participants, the existence of governors and district governors guarantees the protection of citizens' interests. For example, Ahmet Zahterogullari (Governor, 01/07/2014) states that "if it is required to explain in just a few words, governors and district governors guarantee the state and citizens' trust".

The governors and district governors believe that citizens think that they are important figures. This, in turn, makes them feel that they have the requisite amount of authority when they need to resolve the troubles of their citizens. Furthermore, they expressed the opinion that the citizens themselves also believe that the governors and district governors have the ability to solve their every problem.

For example, Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014) states that

They are an authority that has the capacity to solve many problems. When the citizen applies to this authority for solving his or her problems, he or she thinks that this authority can solve their problems because they are the highest authority in the field.

Selim Capar (President of the Research Centre of the Ministry of the Interior — District Governor, 19/06/2014) shares the same opinion. As he explains,

Governor and district governor is an authority that the citizen can easily reach, are able to explain their problems to them, and see the image of the paternal state in front of them. I consider the governor and district governor as authorities who are there to be consulted whenever the citizen gets in trouble, have legal problems, or encounter problems with public officials.

In addition, the respondents also expressed the opinion that the governor and district governor act as bridges connecting the citizens to the state and to the government and vice versa. For instance, Nuri Okutan (Governor, 21/06/2014) expresses this thought in the following way:

They are the reflection of the state. When the citizen needs to say something to the state, they say it to the governors and district governors seeing as they are the representatives of the state. In other

words, they are like a bridge between the state and the citizens. Sometimes they relay the demands of the citizen to the central government and sometimes they communicate the demands of the state and central government to the citizens.

Apart from being the representation of the state and government in the field and bridge between the government and the citizens, according to the participants, they are also the main coordinators, controllers and action-takers in the field. With regards to this point, the following two points are quite salient: “They are the agents of the central government in the field and coordinate the central government’s units or organisations in the field”. (Mustafa Yildiz, Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014)

A civil administrator is a person who runs the administrative mechanism and is the motor and pioneer of works in the field. At the same time, it is accepted that the governors and district governors control and command the state and its organisations in the field in our citizens’ eyes. (Orhan Alimoglu, Governor, 19/08/2014)

Some of the interviewees also believe that, in the establishment and institutionalisation of the Turkish Republic as a nation state, the governors and district governors played an especially important role, even though this role has now eroded.

The governors and district governors are the reflection of the nation state in our country. The governors and district governors, who are the representatives of the central government in the field, were integral in the establishment and institutionalisation of the nation state during the period of structural transition from the Ottoman Empire to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Therefore, when you say the names governor and district governor, one thinks not only that they were the nation state’s protectors but also that that image has been eroding. (Safak Basa, Inspector — District Governor, 11/08/2014)

Thus, as can be seen, the governors and district governors define and perceive

themselves as being the representatives and protectors of the paternal nation state, the implementers of the Turkish Republic's constitution and codes, the protector of the interests both of the state and its citizens, being an assurance for citizens whenever they experience legal problems, and being a bridge between the state and its citizens.

6.3. The Traditional Roles

In order to understand the changes that were made to the traditional roles of governors and district governors which occurred upon the passing of the public administration reform in the 2000s, the question "What are the main traditional roles of governors and district governors?" was asked. In the elite interviews, almost all interviewees pointed out that the first and foremost traditional role of governors and district governors are the role of representing the state and the central government. The second most important traditional role was that of ensuring the public order, safety and security of society. Finally, the third crucial traditional role is that of providing coordinating the relations between state institutions and organisations, non-governmental organisations, and citizens. In this sense, Cengiz Aydogdu (Governor, 16/06/2014) pointed out that:

In my opinion, there are three fundamental traditional roles of governors and district governors. The first one is the role of representing the state and the government. This does not change, this cannot be changed. If this is changed, the profession does not have any importance any longer. Also, if it is changed, there is no need for the profession anymore. The second one is that of ensuring the safety and security of society. The third one is to coordinate and organise the works of the state institutions and organisations and their service delivery to the public and to provide harmony and consistency between them.

These three ever-integral roles shall be expounded upon in greater detail in the following three sub-sections.

6.3.1. The Role of Representing the State

As we have seen, most of the participants perceived the first most important traditional role of the governors and district governors being that of representing the state and the central government in the province or district. For them, this role is an indispensable element of the profession. Regarding this point, Selda Dural (Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014) stated that

In my opinion, the representation of the state in the field concretizes the state in the eyes of the citizen. Primarily, the representation role of the state is important. If you are asking me what the first characteristic of this profession is that does not change, it would be the role of representing the state, no matter whether the content of the profession changes or not. In my opinion, the indispensable element of the profession is that of representing the state. Other roles are only secondary in importance. These secondary roles, such as the implementation of social and economic policies, can be carried out by other state institutions and organisations, local governments and non-governmental organisations. The role of representation is indispensable for the profession of civil administrators.

The participants qualified what they meant by the representation role. They stated that citizens perceive the state and its representatives as father-figures. For example, Nuri Okutan (Governor, 21/06/2014) states that “in Turkey, we understand the country as being like our mother and the state as being like our father. The role of the father in the family is similar to the role of the state in society.”

Apart from officially representing the state in the field, a majority of participants considered that the role of representation that governor and district governor have entails that they should personally deal with every problem that the public wishes them to address. Indeed, they are one of the authorities which citizens can apply to for the purpose of finding solutions to their problems. The following two quotes from the interviewees further elucidate this:

When a citizen does not find an addressee in order to solve his or her problems regarding any issue, if the issue is not within the scope of any state institutions and organisations in the province and district or if that citizen has a problem and does not know where to go, the governor and district governor are authorities which that citizen may apply or go to. (Mesut Kose, General Director of Cereal Products — District Governor, 09/07/2014)

Governors and district governors are the representative authorities of the state wherever they are. What I mean about the representation of the state is that, when the state is needed in order to solve a particular problem, the governor and district governor are the two authorities which one may turn in that they are the embodiment of that self-same state. (Hasan Huseyin Can, District Governor, 18/06/2014)

According to the respondents, the governor and district governor do not only deal with the daily problems of the citizens, but also deal with the judiciary and military problems that citizens might have, even though the judiciary and military are not fall under their purview. Due to the fact that they are perceived as being the representative of the state, citizens believe that the governor and district governor will be able to solve all of their problems, even the problems which they have with the judiciary or military. In this sense, an interviewee pointed out that

The governor and district governor are 'ports of call' for all because of their representing the state. Citizens execute their affairs in coordination with state institutions and organisations and receive public services in the provinces and districts, but when they have a problem regarding those public services — and even when they have problems with the judiciary and military — governors and district governors are authorities which citizens can apply to, as well as complain and explain their problems to. (Mesut Kose, General Director of Cereal Products — District Governor, 09/07/2014)

As a result of their playing the role of representing the state, many participants think that governors and district governors are authorities who deal with every problem that the public encounters. For them, the state is embodied in the persons of the governor and district governor. In other words, the citizens do not only understand them as being the representatives of the state and the government, but also they perceive them as being extensions of the president and prime minister. Moreover, they believe that, if the governors and district governors wanted something to be done, there are no barriers for them to accomplish their desires — they can do whatever they want without any impediments. Furthermore, citizens attribute to them many roles and functions — whether they have the capacity to carry them out or not. They might even think that they can demand impossible, or even unlawful, things from the governor and district governor. Two respondents noted the following: “the governor and district governor are the state’s arms and hands. According to our state’s tradition, citizens hold governors and district governors responsible even for whether it snows or not!” (Kasim Esen, Governor, 24/06/2014) and “people come to you to complain about the mayor during municipal elections time even though those kinds of complaints are not under your scope of authority” (Ahmet Zahterogullari, Governor, 01/04/2014).

Regarding the above expectations of the citizens, a retired governor, who also worked as the undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, described the governors and district governors’ roles poetically from the citizens’ point-of-view:

You are responsible for providing the bread and meat for the district, for the citizens’ goats in the mountains, for the dogs in the streets, for the villagers’ fleas and the students’ head lice. I congratulate you, Mr. Hero! Nevertheless, you became the district governor even though you knew about all of these issue. (Galip Demirel, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014)

With respect to the role of representation, the same interviewee told another story regarding the positions of the governors and district governors in the eyes of the citizens:

I would like to tell you a story. One night, there had been an earthquake in a district. The public felt frightened from the earthquake and they ran to the imam (the Islamic religious leader who leads the prayer in the mosque) distractedly. They asked the imam what could be done. The imam replied to them that there was no need to be anxious. He told them that they should go altogether to the district governor and that the district governor would be able to tell them what to do. This was a phenomenon that actually occurred! In other words, the citizens believed that the last authority to ask in that particular case was the district governor—that they could solve any and all problems! (Galip Demirel, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014)

The participants also stated that citizens attributed more importance to the governor and district governor' role of representing the state. Furthermore, they also expressed the opinion that the citizen believes that governors and district governors have the capacity to do anything that they want to. Saffet Arıkan Bedük (Retired Governor and General Director of Police and the President of Union of Turkish Administrators, 27/06/2014), for instance, says the following in that regard:

In the provinces and districts, the citizens believe that there is nothing for a governor or district governor to do because he or she is the representative of the state and the citizen considers them to be the state as well as being the most powerful, most authorised person related to state or governmental affairs. According to our citizens, if a governor and district governor want something to be done, it is nothing for them since they are the state in the field. The citizen says that the governor or district governor did not do his or her job, but he or she does not say that a governor or a district governor could not do his or her jobs.

According to the participants, due to the fact that they are the representatives of the state and the central government, they are conferred great prestige in the eyes of citizens. Because of their having so much prestige, citizens listen to the governors and district

governors. This is true even when, during emergency situations, citizens are not inclined to listen to anyone except governor and district governor. As Ahmet Zahterogullari (Governor, 01/07/2014) explains:

Nobody has the authority and trust that a governor and a district governor have. We saw this during the disasters. You go amongst the insubordinate people. No one besides the governor or the district governor could safely enter amongst them. And you tell them, 'Stop and listen to me'. And they listen to you.

Citizens want you to solve their problems. In short, if I, as a citizen, cannot explain my problems to other state institutions and organisations and if I cannot solve any of my problems by myself, I will still be able to communicate to the governors and district governors whose orders will be able to solve those issues and problems (Huseyin Avni Mutlu, Governor, 13/08/2014).

6.3.2. The Role of Ensuring the Security and Safety of the Public

The majority of the interviewees stated that the second important traditional role of the governors and district governors after the first traditional role of representing the state and central government is the role of ensuring the security and safety of the state's citizens. This role involves ensuring the public order. In this sense, a participant expressed the opinion that

After the role of representing the state, the other fundamental role of governor and district governor is that of ensuring the public order, security and safety of the public. In other words, the citizen should be able to sleep in safety whether or not he or she has locked their door. (Cengiz Aydogdu, Governor, 16/06/2014)

In Turkey, the police in the urban areas and the gendarmerie in the rural areas ensure the security and safety of the state's citizens. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, the police and gendarmerie perform their duties under the control and responsibility of

the governors and district governors who are themselves, responsible for ensuring the security and safety of the citizens as well as the public order. In other words, the governors and district governors are responsible for performing this role on behalf of the government and the police and gendarmerie are, in turn, responsible for executing the role of the governors and district governors. The governors and the district governors have the right and duty to take necessary measures for resolving security and safety issues as well as matters of public order. They can execute order to these forces regarding the security and public order issues. The participants perceive this role as important and, according to them, the execution of the role should be carried out by the governors and district governors and should not be passed on to any other organisations.

The role of ensuring the public order, as well as the security and safety of society is one of the main roles of the state. Of course, the execution of this role is under the scope of the governor and district governor. This role cannot be transferred to local governments. (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

Providing for the public order, as well as the safety and security of the public, is an indispensable role of the governor and district governor. Our society traditionally expects for them to ensure of the security and safety of the public. (Muammer Erol, Governor, 17/07/2014)

Furthermore, according to the respondents, if there is a problem regarding the violation of either the public order or the security of the state's citizens, the citizens automatically look at the governors and district governors for assistance. They trust the governors and district governors to ensure their security. In this sense, "the governor and district governor represent peace and harmony in the eyes of the citizen. Since they know that there is a district governor in their district, they also know that their security is also in safe hands" (Namik Demir, Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs-District Governor, 03/07/2014) and "citizens expect the governors and district governors to guarantee the security, safety, peace and harmony of society" (Orhan Alimoglu, Governor, 19/08/2014).

In summary, providing security and safety and public order to the citizens of the state are accepted as being the second most important traditional role that governors and district governors play. Thus, they are responsible for implementing this particular role for the central government. The police and gendarmerie forces execute this role in the name of both the governors and district governors. In turn, citizens expect that the governors and district governors will protect them and that they will maintain public order.

6.3.3. The Role of Coordination

Governmental actions are carried out by the state organisations and institutions located in the provinces and districts. Local governments also provide many services to the public. Moreover, there are many activities and projects carried out by the private sector, business organisations and non-governmental organisations. In order to ensure the harmony, integrity and effectiveness of the services which are provided to citizens, coordination is key. In this sense, all of the activities and projects which the ministries and other central governmental organisations wish to perform or create in the field, excluding the military and the judiciary, are carried out by the governors and district governors. This is in lieu of the fact that they are the representatives of the state and the central government. All these organisations and civil servants are responsible for reporting their proceedings and transactions to the governors and district governors. Moreover, the coordination between these organisations, the local governments, the private sector, the non-governmental organisations and the citizens are all provided by the governors and district governors. As Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) explains:

The coordination role of the governors and district governors is fundamental. We ensure the coordination between the central government, local governments, non-governmental organisations, and even the private sector. These are all our traditional roles. Moreover, our directing — to some extent — the relations between the military, the judiciary, and the local governments is also one of our traditional coordination roles.

Most of the governors and district governors interviewed claimed that the coordination role is the third most important traditional role played by the governors and district governors. Gungor Azim Tuna (Governor, 23/06/2014) pointed out, “as you know one of the fundamental roles of the governors and district governors is that of taking the necessary measures to ensure coordination; this is clearly stipulated in our profession’s ‘constitution’, the Law for Provincial Administration.”

Nevertheless, they also believe that, without them, coordination would be very difficult in the provinces and districts. They also stated that, in order to ensure the development of the provinces and districts, public services and organisations should be coordinated by someone. In this sense, they declared that the governors and the district governors, being the highest authority in the provinces and districts, have the role of coordinating them both. A governor, who worked as the undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior affairs, asserted that:

I, as a member of this profession and as a person who has worked at the different levels of this profession for years, still maintain the idea that it is not possible to coordinate the development of the country, maintain the safety of life and property, and carry out investments in the cultural and economic areas without a district governor and a governor’s leadership and coordination in the field. This is because; if there does not exist a first among equals and if everybody is equal, chaos will obviously break out. Every state institution and organisation has a chief, but the chief of one state institution or organisation does not have the power to say that “you are making a mistake” or “what you are doing is contrary to the law” to the chief of another state institution and organisation in the field in Turkey. (Galip Demirel, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014)

They also intimated that the execution of public services requires coordination in the provinces and districts. In this context, the participants give importance to the

coordination and leadership of the governors and district governors in serving the public and realising public projects.

Our citizens respect the views, recommendations and opinions of the governors and district governors when an investment is made to the district and province even though those investments are not sent to the governorship or district governorship directly. For example, a road building can be made anywhere by the highway authority. The highway authority, however, is not under the direct authority of the governor and district governor. Nevertheless, under the coordination of the governor and district governor, certain problems between the highway authority and the citizens are solved by the governor and district governor. The coordination role is indispensable. (Enver Salihoglu, Governor, 18/07/2014)

Their active, coordinating role makes the realisation of projects easy. In this sense, a governor related an anecdote that he had experienced:

When I was the undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior in 1984, UNICEF wanted to start a campaign regarding polio in Turkey. The rate of polio in the developed countries of the world at that time was around 0.3- 0.5%, but the rate of polio in Turkey was higher than that of developed countries. The undersecretary of the Ministry of Health, some general directors of the Ministry of Health, and I, as the undersecretary of the Ministry of the Interior, went to the USA and visited the President of UNICEF who was more experienced regarding those issues. He was a true jewel. He told us that he would be able to deal with that job under one condition. We asked him what that condition was. He replied that, if the campaign was lead and coordinated by the governors and district governors and if they took the appropriate responsibilities, he would be able to tackle the issue. Otherwise, the polio issue would be left half finished. We asked him how he knew that. He said that, in the past, he had undertaken certain

responsibilities related to the implementation of some projects and had examined certain issues in the southern part of Turkey. He then commented that he had seen that the country was not able to solve any of the problems that he had tried to help remedy without the support and power of the governors and district governors. The man said that the governor and district governors were needed in order to coordinate the necessary actions between the many institutions there in the southern part of Turkey. After hearing this, we agreed with him and started the campaign by focusing on the issue of our governors and district governors. We said that we would support them with all of our power. After the campaign, the polio death rate decreased to 0.1%. (Galip Demirel, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014)

Moreover, they reiterated the importance of the governors and district governors' coordination role by again describing them as being like a bridge connecting the state with its citizens.

There is another important coordination role of the governor and district governor. In other words, they should understand what the society is thinking and convey those thoughts, opinions, and ideas to the state. On the other hand, they also have the role to transfer the state's opinions to the citizens as well. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

With respect to the relations between the state organisations, local governments and the citizens, they declared that they try to coordinate all of its citizens' affairs with relation both to the state organisations and local governments. In this sense, a participant stated his experience in an ironic way:

As of old, there is the familiar coordination role of the district governors. I was worked as a district governor in Kadikoy (one of the largest districts in Turkey). One of the jobs that occurred most frequently during my time as district governor was that of making

appointments with the mayor since many citizens had difficulties reaching the mayor! (Kasim Esen, Governor, 24/06/2014)

In conclusion, for most of participants, ensuring coordination is the third most important traditional role played by the governors and district governors. They believe that, without their coordination, the realisation and success of projects in their relevant areas would be very difficult. Moreover, they opine that the different public services which are performed by different organisations, such as state organisations, the private sector, non-governmental organisations and the citizens themselves all require the coordination of the governors and district governors.

6.4. Changes Made to the Traditional Roles

6.4.1. Changes to the Role of Representing the State

According to the participants, governors and district governors' role of representing the state is the first traditional, important role of the governors and district governors. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, the governors and district governors are the representatives of the state and the central government in the provinces and the districts in the legal sense. Although the participants stated that the role of representation still continues to be valid in the legal sense, there have been public administration reforms in the 2000s which have undermined that role. In what follows, the different approaches and points-of-view which the participants had with regards to how the public administration reforms changed how the governors and district governors represented the state and the central government will be presented.

Almost all of the participants pointed out that, with the public administration reforms that were implemented in the 2000s, the executive's representation of the state significantly changed. For instance, while in the past the governors and district governors were able to meet more often with citizens and listen to their problems more effectively, as a consequence of the reforms, they are forced to meet with businessman and non-governmental organisations more often instead of with citizens. Businessmen, and businesses and non-governmental organisations want the governors and district

governors to deal with their problems more closely than in the past because they want to communicate with the representative of the state and central government in the province and/or district in which they are conducting their business. Ahmet Zahterogullari (Governor, 01/07/2014) expounds upon this situation as follows:

I do not see as many citizens in the government offices when compared to the past. Instead of them, many businessmen and foreign investors come to visit me in the government offices. They know that the governor is not the head of a company. However, when they come, they want to meet the governor since they want to learn how the state looks at investments. They also want to learn about and identify which opportunities the state will provide them with regards to investment and what kinds of difficulties they will face with the state [i.e. taxes and duties]. Secondly, many more non-governmental organisations come to visit me now vis-à-vis the past. Non-governmental organisations have not become as prominent until now. The situation is like this since I came here. I have not even been able to close appointments with some non-governmental organisations since there are many non-governmental organisations which wish to visit me. They ask for appointments in order to explain what they have done or in order to ask for support; otherwise, they desire to cooperate with me with regards to a project which they want to introduce. (Ahmet Zahterogullari, Governor, 01/07/2014)

According to the participants, after the reforms were enacted, many new situations have emerged which have affected the governors and district governors' role of representing the state and the central government. In this context, a majority of the respondents claimed that, after the removal of the provincial special administration, the metropolitan municipality mayor become important in the eyes of the citizen. Before the reforms, the scope of the municipality's mayor's duties was limited to the borders of the municipality; now, on the other hand, the scope of the municipality has widened and has reached the borders of the province. Moreover, with the removal of the provincial special administration budget, the metropolitan municipalities have also been

strengthened in terms of financial and human resources. In addition, the participants claimed that, even though the governors and district governors' role of representing the state and the central government is still in force in terms of legality, in practice, that role is now shared with the metropolitan municipality mayor. In this sense, their role of representing the state and the central government has been undermined by the new duties of the metropolitan municipality mayor. The following excerpts from the interviews are enlightening in this regard:

Although the laws which regulate the governor's representing the state in the field is still legally binding, with the new legal regulations which have been passed, the metropolitan municipality mayor has gained more importance regarding the issue of representation. This is observable in practice. However, there are some requirements in order to represent the state and central government. That is to say, just saying that I represent the state is not enough in order to represent the state. In my opinion, after the demolition of the provincial special administrations, the governors have lost the opportunity to have a special budget. This situation undermines the traditional role of representing the state and central government that the governor used to enjoy. (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

The economy is the essence of everything. Our citizens know where the economic power is located after the foundation of the greater city municipalities. Our citizens see the powers of the municipalities and the mayors. This situation has led to the erosion of both the traditional representation role and the legal functions of the governors and district governors. (Enver Salihoglu, Governor, 18/07/2014)

In order to both represent the state better and meet the expectations of that state's citizens, you, as either a governor or district governor, have to have financial resources and opportunities. I think that these resources and opportunities have been decreasing. I don't think that the governor can play the role of representing the state very well after

breaking the governor's connection with the Provincial Special Administration. (Safak Basa, Inspector — District Governor, 11/08/2014)

In addition to the above evaluations from the participants regarding the removal of the provincial special administration and the strengthening of the greater city municipality mayor, a majority of the respondents stated that the mayors became prominent in the eyes of the citizens due to the fact that, after the reforms, their financial resources and their capacity to execute their own orders have increased, thereby engendering a closer relationship with the public. Before the reforms were enacted, many people perceived the governors and the district governors as an authority that could solve many problems, but today, they perceive the mayors as being more capable at solving their problems. This, however, has caused erosion in the role of representation that the governors and district governors once had. In this sense, the participants pointed out that even during official ceremonies, the distinction concerning the behaviour of the citizens towards to the governor vis-à-vis the mayor can be clearly seen with regards to their ability to represent the state. Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) states that:

There has been erosion in the governors and district governors' role of representation. For instance, during official festivals such as 29 October (the anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic) and 23 April (the anniversary of the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly), many people — and especially students — participate in these ceremonies. If you examine them carefully, students prefer to greet the mayor and take photos with the mayor. You do not usually see many people or students take photos with the governor.

He elucidates the reasons why this might be the case as follows:

The mayors may have entered into a more intimate relationship with the public. Whereas the governor may believe that he represents the state more than the mayor does, the mayor may be under the impression that he represents the public (vis-à-vis the state) more than

the governor. In other words, we can say that the governor represents the state and the mayor represent the public, or at least has a closer relationship with the public than the governor does. The mayor goes to citizens' wedding ceremonies and funerals. The mayor also walks in the streets, visits the city's neighbourhoods and artisan. The mayors do these kinds of activities more than the governors and district governors do. The role of representing the state is not carried out effectively just by saying that I have the right to represent the state. At the same time, if you can solve the problems of the people and are able to remove their distress and bring practical solutions to their problems, people respect you and people give you the right to represent you personally. In other words, if your potential at solving their problems is high, people are more likely to internalise you as being a representative authority for them. Otherwise, you merely sit down in your chair and think that you govern and represent the state. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

As mentioned above, the participants asserted that, after the reforms with relation to the municipalities were enacted, the mayors were then able to come to the forefront. Furthermore, they have also started to share the role of representing the state with the civil administrators. Since the citizens living in the big cities deal with mayors more, they go to the mayor in order to find solutions to their problems. This leads to a debate regarding the existence and roles of the district governors, especially when their purview is primarily located in big cities, especially since the citizen thinks that the municipalities and mayors are the ones who would better be able to solve their problems. It would therefore seem that they do not need district governors in the big cities of the country. Otherwise, they would risk becoming redundant. As Muammer Erol (Governor, 17/07/2014) explains:

After the Law for Metropolitan Municipalities was passed, in terms of the role of representation, the area where the civil administrators were effective before has tightened in the disadvantages the profession of civil administration. Moreover, the existence of a district governorship

can be called into question. For example, you go to a district belonging to Istanbul and ask where the municipality is and where the district governorship is. You can be given the right answer regarding where the municipality is, but not where the district governorship is. In other words, many people know where the boundaries of the municipality are when compared to those of the district governorship. Citizens are more familiar with and recognise the municipalities much more easily because citizens have a closer relationship with the municipalities.

As mentioned above, some participants claimed that the importance of the role of representing the state and central government has been decreasing in the eyes of citizens after the mayor's new roles and financial resources were increased. There is a tendency to perceive the elected people as being more powerful than the governors and district governors in the eyes of the citizen in practice, even though they are still officially the representatives of the state and government both according to theory and according to law. In this manner, they pointed out that, after the reforms, the role of representing the state has been shared with other actors, like the mayor, local politicians, and the provincial parliamentarians. The participants stated that, before the reforms, the governors and district governors felt themselves as being responsible about the development of the provinces and the district as a result of representing the state and the central government. Now, however, this role has been passing on to elected bodies such as local governments and politicians. Cengiz Aydogdu (Governor, 16/06/2014) corroborates this when he states:

When I started the profession as a district governor, governors and district governors were directly responsible for the development of the province and district because of their role in representing the central government and the state. However, there has been a change with regards to this situation. The role of development has been passing to the local units or elected bodies and parliamentarians. With regards to this point, the role of governor and district governor has decreased reasonably during the 12-year AK Party period [i.e. the party in power now].

Moreover, they stated that having the role of representing the government caused them to feel responsible for the development of the provinces and the district. However, whereas they were once active in the area infrastructure works, that role has now been transferred to the municipalities — especially to those which are metropolitan. The following two statements further illustrate these points:

In the past, many things had been expected from the governor in the area of education, health and infrastructure services. After the administrative reforms, especially on the Law for Metropolitan Municipalities, less and less responsibilities were expected from the governor. And this, in turn, has decreased their ability to represent the state. (Ayhan Nasuhbeyoglu, Governor, 27/06/2014)

In my opinion, governors and district governors who do not invest and serve cannot retain the role of representing the state for a long time. In other words, I do not think that they make their presence felt. In my estimation, they have become obsolete and unnecessary. I do not think that if there is a powerful mayor, anyone would dearly cherish the governor and district governor. (Omer Faruk Gunay, Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014)

Furthermore, the respondents pointed out that, with the reforms, the citizen can more easily reach politicians and solve their problems. Therefore, politicians have been sharing the role of representing the state with the governors and district governors.

The governors and district governors are traditionally seen as the representatives and administrators of the central government and the protectors of the citizen. However, in my opinion, with the changes and reforms to, and the development of, the public administration, their roles have been shared with politicians and the institution of politics. The politician already visits the citizens personally. When this is the case, it is obvious that they have been sharing the governor and district governor's role of representing the state. (Yucel Yavuz, Governor, 13/07/2014)

With respect to the role of representing the state, the importance of the governor and district governor is decreasing, but there is no alternative now. In other words, the state is represented by the governor and district governor in the province and districts, but citizens' perception are changing. The citizen does not perceive the governor and district governor as being the most powerful men anymore, even though the governor and district governor legally represent the state. Citizens may see the mayor, the party with the most power in the province or district, the president, and the parliamentarians of the province as now being the most powerful men, but the role of representing the state by the governor and district governor continues to be legally binding even though their role in representing the state has been eroding. (Hudayar Mete Buhara, Deputy Governor, 19/07/2014)

In addition, a majority of the participants declared that the governors and district governors thought that they were the representatives of the state and central government before both in the legal sense and in practice. Therefore, they thought that they could think on behalf of the citizen and have a right to dictate to citizens. However, regarding this issue, they expressed that their understanding about the role of representing the state has been changing and that they have had to abandon their old behaviours towards the citizen.

Therefore, the governors and district governors as the representatives of the state have been giving up their traditional behaviours; i.e. that of dictating anything to citizens, guiding citizens regarding any issue, looking down on others or citizens and identifying the relationship between the state and the citizen in terms of a ruler contra governed relationship. They tried to produce and deliver the services. As a matter of fact, the citizen does not expect anything like this. There is no model citizen who says: Sir, you know everything better than I do — I will do whatever the state says. (Erkan Capar, Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014)

In addition to the strengthening of the local governments and their undermining the governors and district governors' role of representing the state, a majority of the respondents stated that, after the reforms, citizens have been utilising the e-government implementations and the internet more often. Furthermore, with the help of e-government and internet, they are able to easily reach public services. In this way, they no longer have the need to meet the governors and district governors. Moreover, other state institutions and organisations, as well as other private sector organisations, have taken on the ever increasing role of serving and providing public services to citizens. This, in turn, leads them to communicating with the municipalities and those other organisations more. In this sense, the number of citizens who meet with the governors and district governors for the purpose of communicating with a representative of the state has decreased. This is because they can easily solve their problems with the help of other organisations and local governments. In other words, they do not only perceive the governors and district governors as representatives of the state and central government, but they also see the other state organisations and the local governments as the representatives of the state in practice. Two interviewees commented on this as follows:

The citizens' understanding or perception regarding the role of the state by the governor and district governor has been changing. For example, ever since the implementation of e-government, citizens can reach the state with just one click of a button. Moreover, a large number of citizens live in city centres. This increases the likelihood that they have close relations with other state institutions and organisations and that they desire the services provided by them. Let us say, for example, that the citizens want to obtain clean drinking water. Such a problem is under the purview of the municipalities and other institutions. In this regard, the governor and district governor do not play a role since around 80% percent of people live in city centres; and this, in turn, leads to a decrease in the role that governors and district governors play in representing the state. (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

There still exists love and respect for the state in Turkey. The governor and district governor are still perceived as being the hands and legs of the state in the field. I see this love and respect towards the state clearly. However, some of the state's other institutions and organisations and their ability to invest have been removed. Now, other institutions and organisations of the state are becoming more powerful in terms of their human resources and financial and institutional infrastructures. These organisations undertake large projects which citizens are cognizant of. Furthermore, they make big investments in the field. 50-60 years ago, however, there were not many powerful organisations and institutions apart from the governorship and district governorships. Therefore, these organisations were more prominent in the past. In this way, the governors and district governors' role of representing the state is now being shared by other institutions and municipalities in the field. (Mustafa Eldivan, District Governor, 23/08/2014)

Interestingly, the participants claimed that the government's ideas were reflected in the reforms which affected their profession's role of representing the state. Some of the participants claimed that the central government accepts that the governors and district governors are the representatives of the nation's founding ideology. As mentioned in the Chapter 3, the governors and district governors played a key role in modernising the Turkish Republic and its institutions. The government does not wish to portray them as being a modernising power any longer, however, because the state wishes to establish a new order. In other words, the government does not want the governors and district governors to help the state establish a new order in line with its party ideology. Moreover, they claimed that the government perceives them as being just another civil servant among other civil servants. In other words, the participants have insinuated that they no longer really have a role in representing the state. For the participants, the government does not see the governors and district governors as the real representatives of the central government. Rather, even though the governors and district governors were bestowed the role of representing the state by the country's law codes, the

government now shares its power and the role of representation with its local party members, its own politicians, its province and district party organisation's head and members, and its mayors. Therefore, the respondents asserted that the ruling government's perception towards to the governors and district governors has undermined their role of representing the state. Furthermore, they claimed that the effect and reflections of the government regarding the governors and district governors is tangibly perceptible in the reforms which were implemented in the 2000s. The following two excerpts are especially enlightening:

I believe that the terms 'governor' and 'district governor' should be redefined in light of the changes which have been made to the public administration after 2000. We had considered this, but does the central government consider us as its own representatives or not? As for me, I do not believe it does any longer. The central government simply considers us as being the first civil servants among all the other civil servants in the field. The government does not see the governor and district governor as being its own representatives because the ruling party's province head is seen as the representative by the government. The governors and district governors represented the founding ideology of the Turkish Republic. Now, however, governors and district governors do not represent the ideology of the government which currently has taken seat in Ankara [the capital city of Turkey]. (Kasim Esen, Governor, 24/06/2014)

The role of representation makes the profession of civil administrators valuable. When I mention the role of representation, I do not mean our representation in ceremonies, but instead intend the representation of the central government. Now, governors and district governors have problems regarding the role of representation. When you look at the provinces, our Prime Minister was traditionally greeted by the governor during certain ceremonies....Recently, however, if one watches that kind of ceremony on the television, one sees that the Prime Minister no longer addresses the governor; instead, he

communicates with the parliamentary representative of the province who, himself, does not have the official role of representing the state that the governor does. This symbolically represents the governor's losing his former role of representing the state. This loss, however, entails that one of the profession's main characteristics has been demolished. It would not matter how many duties the governors and district governors are given — the profession would have remained the same. The decreasing importance of their representing the state, however, simply makes the profession like a kind of tool and removes the leadership qualities from the governors and district governors....Now, if the Prime Minister were to call the governor in order to account and inspect the performance of e-public policies in the provinces, that would be enough to ensure that the governor would retain his/her role of representing the state. However, the parliamentarians, the head of the main political party and even the mayors have been becoming more prominent than the governor. (Mustafa Yildiz, Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014)

In addition to the above evaluations about the changes which have been affecting the governors and district governors' role of representing the state, some participants have also asserted that the reforms have even changed the tools which those representatives would have to use in order to represent the state as well. For instance, after the reforms, representing the state not only meant attending official ceremonies but also providing social services to the country's citizens. In this sense, the mayor also shares the role of representing the state with the governors and district governors. Kasim Turgut (Inspector-District Governor, 04/07/2014) explains this at greater length:

At the beginning of the Republic, the tools for representing the Republic was done symbolically. In other words, the role of representing the state involves the representatives' appearance in state ceremonies, their governing those ceremonies, and meting out official levees. When we entered the 1980s, the main tools for representing the

state was that of establishing social assistance and solidarity foundations for the purpose of helping the poor, even though the tradition of attending ceremonies continued. That is to say, when the citizen gets into trouble, he or she can apply to the governor or district governor in order to solve their problems since they are the state in the eyes of the citizen. When we entered the 2000s, the tools for representing the state were changing. Of course, one still represents the state in ceremonies, even though the glorious ceremonies of old had long since become obsolete. The social assistance and solidarity foundations, on the other hand, have continued their activities. However, the citizens not only apply to the governor or district governor for help, but also to the local governments as well.

With the reforms, the respondents claimed that the provincial system has been undermined. Therefore, since the governors and district governors' power is based on that system, they have lost power. In this context, the decrease in their power has run parallel with the decrease in their role of representing the state. As Omer Faruk Gunay (Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014) states:

The governor and district governors' role in representing the state has been decreasing. For example, the citizens' (located in the province of Eskisehir) opinions about the governor who worked 10 years ago are different than their opinions about the governor who works there now. In a word, when your roles diminish, your power to represent the state also diminishes. Who do you represent? I understand that you represent the government of the Turkish Republic as a governor and district governor or that you represent the Turkish state. However, the power behind representing the state of the role of representation has been decreasing. The civil administrative system has been gradually abandoned. It has been decided to be allotted to elected people, not appointed people.

As seen above, after the reforms of the 2000s, the governors and district governors' traditional role of representing the state has been eroded and many actors have emerged that now share that traditional role with the governors and district governors. With relation to representation role, businessmen and non-governmental organisations have been fostering close relationships with the governors and district governors, but there has also been a decrease in the number of relationships that they have with citizens. With the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors have lost power in terms of their ability to represent the state effectively, whereas the metropolitan municipality mayors have come to the forefront in terms of effectively representing the Turkish government. Although the governors and district governors have been officially appointed with the role of representing the state in the legal sense. New actors, such as the mayor, local politicians, other state organisations, and the judiciary have started to share this role with the governors and district governors. Moreover, e-government has also undermined the governors and district governors' role of representing the state. In short, all of the abovementioned changes and situations have undermined the governors and district governors' role of representing the state and central government.

6.4.2. Changes to the Role of Ensuring Security, Safety, and the Public Order

Ensuring the security and safety of the state's citizens and guaranteeing the public order of the state is one of the traditional roles which the governors and district governors play. In the interviews, some of the participants stated that, due to the reforms of the 2000s, that role has changed. Others, on the other hand, do not agree with that opinion.

Those that believe that the reforms had an effect on the role that the governors and district governors play with regards to ensuring public security and safety opine that that role has been passed on to the prosecutors and the courts. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the governors and district governors are legally responsible for ensuring the security and safety and general public order of the society. Thus, they have the power and right to take the necessary measures in order to carry out those duties, especially with relation to preventive measures. Nevertheless, they believe that, when the reforms were implemented, their ability to carry out that role was limited because they were then

obliged to ask for the courts and prosecutors' permission in order to ensure the security and safety of the state's citizens and the public order in terms of taking preventive measures against crimes. In other words, the reforms constrained their discretionary right with regards to providing for the security and safety of the country's citizens and the public order. As Selda Dural (Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014) notes:

The recent public administration reforms have eroded the governors and district governors' role with regards to ensuring the security and safety of the public. As you know, there have been certain changes which have strengthened the judiciary and police forces — but especially the public prosecutor — with regards to taking preventive police measures against crime. One of the most fundamental roles of the governors and district governors, however, is that of taking preventative measures for the purpose of guaranteeing public safety and security. Nevertheless, the courts and public prosecutors have been replacing the governors and district governors with respect to taking preventive actions. We all know and witness in practice that the judiciary has been one of the beneficiaries of this change. This is clearly seen when you, as a governor or district governor, need to ask a judge or public prosecutor for permission in order for the police or gendarmerie to carry out a search or other similar activities for the purpose of ensuring public order. When you need to ask for a judge or public prosecutor's permission in order to carry out one of your office's primary roles — is not that an erosion of that role?

In contrast to the above claim by some of the participants, others pointed out that there have not been many changes in the governor and district governors' role of security and safety. They also mentioned that they may have had more power and authority over the police and gendarmerie forces in the past, but their lack of power today is because they do not have enough power in the metropolitan cities.

We had complete say over security and safety issues in the past. We were in charge of ensuring safety and security formally, but the police and gendarmerie were in charge of ensuring security and safety in

practice. They listened to their chiefs in general. Civil administrators do not have much more of an effect on security and safety matters besides that. (Nevzat Tastan, District Governor, 11/08/2014)

Another respondent explained the reasons behind why that was:

If you do not interfere with certain personal rights of the police and if you do not obey certain rules and criteria concerning inspection and supervision, you will not be able to keep them disciplined and under control. If you do not interfere with their personal structure, policies, plans and programmes, you will be excluded. Today, just think, who determines the budgets, annual programmes and personnel of the police and gendarmerie? Therefore, many programmes are stipulated by other powers besides the governorship and district governorship. (Adnan Cimen, Deputy Governor, 12/06/2014)

In contrast, some participants claim that the governors and district governors' role and importance concerning public security and safety have increased. Indeed, they pointed out that, before the reforms, they were not able to actively play that role even though they are legally responsible for ensuring public order since they are the first level of the government. Today, however, they believe that the reforms have actually increased the amount they take part in this area. The following comments are prime expressions of this opinion:

Although ensuring the security and safety of the public is one of the fundamental and traditional roles of governors and district governors, they have not dealt with the issue closely in the past. Rather, they chose to deal with the economic and social problems of the society. After the 2000s, however, it was finally understood that the security and safety issue was very important and that that responsibility cannot simply be given to the police and gendarmerie. Instead, that responsibility should be the governors and district governors.' (Selim Capar, President of the Research Centre of the Ministry of the Interior — District Governor, 19/06/2014)

In terms of ensuring the public order, security and safety, we, as governors and district governors, have again gained power and have become prominent. Ensuring security and safety in modern societies is very important. Everybody desires security in the cities in which there is so much chaos and in which so many different people live. With regards to security and safety, the police were once in the control seat, but I see that the governors and district governors have again gained control in the regard lately. From the point of security and safety, governors and district governors still play a key role. This has been provided to them by the government in the form of the reforms which were recently implemented. Indeed, in my opinion, they should play a key role in that regard. (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

Some participants, on the other hand, approach the subject from a different point-of-view. They claim that the governors and district governors' added interest in ensuring the public order is due to the private sector and businessmen's expectations from the governors and district governors to guarantee their security and safety. They want the governors and district governors to ensure their security and safety. It can therefore be said that, in the area of security, a new duty is expected from them:

They tell you as a governor or district governor, please ensure my security. And remove the tolls between Ankara and Karabuk for me to transport my goods. When I produce something, make sure that they are as safe as possible whilst they are traveling through your province or district. This is my expectation from you as a governor (or district governor) who represent the state and the central government. (Erkan Capar, Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014)

Furthermore, some participants also claim that the reform has increased the tendency to protect the interests and rights of the citizen. They pointed out that, before the reforms, the governors and district governors tended to protect the police and gendarmerie forces

whenever they violated the rights of the citizen. Now, on the other hand, they have tried to guarantee the basic rights and freedoms of its citizens more.

We, as governors and district governors, who are the boss of the police and gendarmerie, behaved like police. Now, the situation has changed. For example, if there demonstrations being made in the big cities, we should not behave like police forces. If the citizens' right to assemble and demonstrate is violated, we should punish the police forces who violated those rights. In other words, the citizens can freely use the right to congregate and demonstrate in accordance with the law. In the past, we thought that these guys are our guys. We should protect them. But we should abandon this kind of understanding immediately. We should use our authority to penalise the police forces whenever they violet the rights of the citizen. Moreover, we should be an authority who guarantees the rights of the citizen. In other words, in the past, we were in the position of the encourager whenever a violation was committed. Now, this understanding is being changed with the effect of the public administration reforms. (Kasim Turgut, Inspector — District Governor, 04/07/2014)

Furthermore, some respondents pointed out that, with regards to the protection of human rights and freedoms and the civil control of the police forces, the governors and district governors have started to play an important role.

The protection of human rights is very important. It can be said that one of the fundamental roles of the governor and district governor should be that of protecting basic human rights and freedoms. There has been significant progress in this area. (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

A can be discerned from what has been said above, some of the participants believe that the role of the governors and district governors has not changed, while others claim that their roles in the area of security and safety has actually increased. Some of them pointed out that, as a result of the reforms, they now share this role with the judiciary to

some extent. Moreover, the governors and district governors' understanding regarding civil monitoring and controlling, the protection of human rights and their violation by the police forces has been under reconstruction. They now have a more citizen-oriented approach. Moreover, citizens expect them to have more of an active role in this area as well.

6.4.3. Changes to the Role of Coordinating and Controlling

Coordination and controlling are two of the most important traditional roles for the governors and district governors. As mentioned before in Chapter 2, the main coordinator and controlling body in the provinces and the district are the governors and district governors as result of being representatives of the state and central government. In order to understand how that role was affected after the public administration reforms were implemented in the 2000s; it shall be examined in terms of the interviewees' responses. In this sense, while some of the respondents believe that the reforms have affected the coordination and controlling roles of the governors and district governors negatively, others believe that they have not affected that role at all.

Some of the participants in the interview pointed out that, after the governors were removed from being the head of the provincial general council in the 2000s, the coordination and controlling roles of the governors were weakened, even though the governors remained as powerful as before the reforms. They emphasised the fact that, when a conflict arose between the governor and the council, the governor always had the final word. Today, on the other hand, they claimed that the governors are not as powerful during their conflicts with the council and that sometimes the central government ends up passing decisions which the governors either did not participate in or believe in. According to them, this causes the governors to lose their coordination and controlling power.

After the legal regulations regarding the Provincial Special Administration were passed, the governor was removed from the head of the Provincial General Council. As the head of the council, the governor was the sole adjudicator. Today, however, when there is a

conflict between the governor and the council, the decision is not taken in accordance with the will of governor. Moreover, the governor has to implement certain decisions which are taken by the central government whether the governor likes the decision or not. (Hudayar Mete Buhara, Deputy Governor, 19/07/2014)

Some participants, on the other hand, approached the subject from a different point of view. They claimed that, after the reforms were enacted, they did not have the sufficient tools to coordinate and control the policies and projects to be undertaken in their respective regions even though they retained that right in the legal sense. The following two excerpts are expressions of that opinion: “the governors and district governors do not carry out the role of controlling effectively since the governors and district governors do not have the necessary mechanisms for undertaking that role”. (Irfan Kenanoglu, Deputy Governor, 14/08/2014) and

In my opinion, governors and district governors do not controlling role in the strict sense. There have not been any important developments in order to increase the controlling role of governors and district governors. Now, district governors do not have a controlling role since they do not have the requisite tools for control. How can one control? In order to control, one has to have enough units for controlling; but district governors do not control. (Safak Basa, Inspector — District Governor, 11/08/2014)

With respect to tools, they also mentioned that the tools utilised for coordinating the activities and projects in the region, as well as the meaning of coordination itself, have changed when compared to the past. As Kasim Turgut (Inspector — District Governor, 04/07/2014) makes clear:

The tools of coordination have been changing. You, as either a governor or district governor, could gather the related authorities in the province or district and give them orders in the past, but now you should also coordinate the private sectors as well. What I mean is horizontal coordination, or communication between those different

companies. When we as governors or district governors mention coordination, we refer to our belief that we can solve all problems with our orders. We want to be able to give orders to institutions. When the institutions and organisations were conflicting with each other in the past, you could simply solve the problem by meting out directions. But now you should reconcile any conflicts that they have with each other by making them communicate with each other. You cannot say that the last decision belongs to the governor as before. Nothing like that exists any longer. Reconciliation is the only tool that one may use nowadays.

On the other hand, some participants stated that the role of coordination has been the least affected role with regards to the reforms in the public administration. In this sense, as Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) explains:

The role of coordination is the least influenced traditional role of the governors and district governors after the public administration reforms which were passed recently. Luckily, there is no civil servant having more power with this regard in the provinces and districts than the governors and district governors. The governors and district governors hold the power to bring the local governments, judiciary and the military close together and to direct them towards a determined goal.

Some respondents, on the other hand, claimed that the governors and district governors do not have the power to coordinate and control the activities and projects of their respective regions because politicians intervene in the affairs of the state organisations because they have gained more power over the bureaucracy after the public administration reforms when compared to the governors and district governors. They asserted that when the governors and district governors want to coordinate and control the activities and projects being undergone in their respective regions effectively, the politicians — and especially the mayors — intervene and every director of the province organisations of the ministries is supported by those politicians. According to the participants, this situation affects the governors and district governors' role of

coordinating and controlling their regions' policies and projects negatively. In other words, they opined that they are not now able to conduct the role of coordination effectively. Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) explains this in greater detail as follows:

As you know, the coordination of the state institutions and organisations are ensured by the provincial coordination and planning meetings. Regarding this point, there is a need to debate how a governor can influence the provincial and regional directors since there is a politician behind every provincial director. If the regional director provides services in the large area and if the regional director has relatively more opportunities than the governor, the role of coordination may pass to different centres of control. In this regard, if the mayor is more powerful, the coordination role is carried out in line with the mayor's choices and desires.

Furthermore, Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) also provided an example in order to further embody the situation. For him, since the provincial director gives priority to the desires of the politicians, this makes the governor and district governor's ability to coordinate and control the state organisations in their relevant regions even more difficult.

For example, our province's financial department head's attitudes towards us were more sympathetic. He acted towards us as follows: Yes sir, very good sir, I can do it sir. Nevertheless, if you look at it carefully, he does not do what you tell him to do. Instead, he does what the politicians tell him to do behind closed doors. Moreover, I witnessed his having these different attitudes at a funeral where the way the head of the financial department respects you as a governor should be different to how they are supposed to show respect to the politicians. In other words, he considered the parliamentarian of the province as being the real chief and follows the politician's advice

more than the advice given to him by the governor. He only listens to us because he does not want to raise any problems with the governor.

He also stated that the local politicians hindered the controlling role of the governors. For example, "...if the governor wishes to complain about the mayor — especially if the mayor represents the ruling party —, how many governors can send a petition of complaint to the Ministry of Interior Affairs in order to ask them for permission for the purpose of investigating the mayor?"

For Ozel, it is very difficult for the governor to control the municipalities, especially if the mayors are from the ruling party. As he further expounds:

In reality, in my opinion, it is not possible to say that the governor is able to control effectively, let alone able to control the municipalities. Furthermore, there is a problem regarding whether governors and district governors have the right to control other civil servants. It is very difficult to do so.

They believe that they have the right to coordinate and control in the legal sense, but in practice they do not believe they can coordinate and control. In other words, they define the situation as a system of controlling that exists, but it is non-operative system

The governor does not know that compete against with the director of the press of the governorship means struggle with the parliamentarian of the province because the parliamentarians are behind him and supports him. Therefore, in my opinion we have the duties, roles of controlling in legal meaning, I do not think that the controlling power is not used efficiently. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

Moreover, some of the participants mentioned that, although they are responsible coordinating and controlling the different state organisations and private sector institutions of their relevant regions, they often meet difficulties in controlling other civil servants because the support which is given to those civil servants by politicians and other influential people is a barrier. If they did not receive such support, the governor and district governor would better be able to control their actions. However,

for the respondents, this different behaviour harms their sense of justice. As Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) explains:

If we, as the governors and district governors, were able to prevent administrative chaos in the field and ensure a regular, administrative course of events, that would be the best way to operate the controlling mechanisms in the field. If you do not operate the controlling mechanism, your reason for existence starts to be questioned in the field. If you utilise your controlling powers according to how powerful or influential the civil servants are, the sense of justice is weakened. In other words, if a civil servant were to make a mistake, you, as the governor or district governor, would be able to weigh down upon him or her with all your power because of there being nobody behind him or her. But if that civil servant had someone protecting him or her, even though they made a mistake, you would not be able to punish them. This, however, weakens the sense of justice.

Apart from the above reasons, they declared that there are other reasons which prevent the governors and district governors from carrying out the coordination and the controlling role. In this sense,

As for the district governors, although they do not have a closer relationship with politics, he or she does not use his controlling power in order to punish because of his or her concern for the future and his being able to work for a long time in the district. (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

Some participants claimed that, on the one hand, with the greater city municipality laws, the roles, duties and powers of the municipality — and, ergo, the mayor's powers and influence — has increased; and, on the other, with the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, governors have lost many of their roles and powers. For them, these changes and developments have negatively affected the governors and district governor's coordination and controlling role.

After those legal regulations were passed, our governors merely deal with welcoming and sending off guests. Is there anything else to be dealt with? Everything is quiet. There is nothing for the governor to deal with. The governorship is at a loose end after all. Today, I was talking to a colleague, a deputy governor. He said that there are no actions, sounds or voices in his offices. What can he do? What can he coordinate? What I mean is that there are no projects, plans or meetings to coordinate. In the past, in the coordination and planning meetings that were held every three months in the provinces, we debated with the directors of the province vociferously. Today, we finish the coordination and planning meeting in 15 minutes. The directors either just tell us what we are supposed to do. Else, we do nothing. (Turan Eren, Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014)

They also emphasized that the governors have lost their power concerning coordination and control over the municipalities after the passing of the greater city municipality law. “The governor does not have any legal power to control the local governments” (Kasim Esen, Governor, 24/06/2014) and “after the last legal regulations were implemented, governors cannot effectively control the municipalities under their purview” (Hudayar Mete Buhara, Deputy Governor, 19/07/2014).

As can be discerned, some of the respondents claimed that the governors’ coordination and controlling role has been lessened with the demotion of the governor from being the head of the Provincial Special Administration’s General Council. They pointed out that, after the reforms, the mayors and politicians have become more powerful and that they sometimes hinder the governors and district governors’ being able to effectively implement their role of coordinating and controlling the state organisations and private sector institutions under their purview. In addition to these, some of them stated that the tools and mechanisms used for coordinating and controlling — and even the meaning of the terms ‘coordination’ and ‘control’ — have changed significantly. Some of the other participants, on the other hand, stated that the role of coordination and control has not, in fact, been affected by the reforms. However, a majority of them mentioned that, even

though the roles of coordination and control were conferred upon them legally, in practice, it is very difficult for them to perform those roles.

6.5. Changes Made to the Historically Important Roles

6.5.1. Changes to the Economic Roles

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, many economic activities were carried out by the governors and district governors in line with the government's new economic policies. Although there have been fluctuations regarding this role in parallel to the changes of the economic policies of the government, the governors and district governors have contributed to the development and improvement of the country. However, with the strengthening of the private sector, the government's decision relating to ensuring that some of the public sector's services be transferred to the private sector, the governors and district governors' economic role also altered accordingly. As far as was understood from the elite interviews, the governors and district governors assigned great importance to their economic role. Thus, in this part, how the reforms affected their economic role and what is expected from the governors and district governors will be examined by utilising the views of the participants of the elite interviews.

Many respondents pointed out that, in the economic development sense, the governors and district governors in the past played an important role in the area of infrastructure works in the provinces and districts; e.g. building schools, hospitals and health centres, maintaining roads and building bridges. However, for the participants, with the effect of the public administration reforms in the 2000s, their economic role decreased. They also pointed out that today, nobody expects the governors and district governors to establish or run factories, even though they did so to some extent in the past. Moreover, they stated that there were many more economic problems for the public in the past. Therefore, the governors and district governors, being the representatives of the state and the government, believed that they should take up the leadership role and that,

sometimes, they were directly at the core of their province's (or district's) economic activities. As Erkan Capar (Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014) notes:

In the past, the governors and district governors were expected to develop the provinces and/or districts. After the reforms of the 2000s, the state kept its hand off of the economy in terms of having a producer's role. The governors and district governors' role of leadership in the economic development of their relevant areas has been discussed considerably. With the strengthening of the private sector, there is no longer a need for economic actors within the state. In the past, the governors and district governors had established small scale economic units for the development of the province and district. Today, on the other hand, there is no need to establish economic units because there is no need for the governor or district governor to deal with economic activities.

The respondents did, however, confess that, in the past, they sometimes performed the economic roles of the municipalities because of the municipalities' incompetency. Therefore, as they stated, they contributed to the social and economic development of society.

In the past, the municipalities were not as powerful as they are today and the rural areas were so spacious. Moreover, the municipalities had not progressed that much in Turkey. Therefore, the governors and district governors played like the role of state economic enterprises in the economic development of the country. (Yusuf Erbay, Governor, 24/06/2014)

However, today, the state has already ensured that a large part of the public services and investments are made and organised by the private sector. The participants claimed that they do not currently make decisions regarding investments, whereas, in the past, they made suggestions whether these kinds of investments should be made to the provinces or districts.

For the respondents, in the past, they had been effective in serving, planning and organising the public services in the provinces and districts by utilising the Village Delivery Service and the Provincial Special Administration. The civil administrators performed many services. The governors, as the head of the Provincial Special Administration, for instance could use budgets and carry out economic activities. The participants also claimed that, after their removal from being the head of the Special Provincial Administration, the economic role of the governor was undermined. Therefore, it is possible to say that the recent public administration reforms have limited the economic role of the civil administrators in the provinces and districts. Some respondents believed that, after their removal from being the head of the Provincial Special Administration, they lost their greatest economic power in the provinces and districts. For them, the gap in the economic development of the rural area is filled by the municipalities. Prime examples of respondents conveying this kind of opinion are as follows:

The realisation of economic and social developments is made with a budget, but they do not have a budget. Therefore, you cannot contribute to the social and economic development of your province or district by just giving an order. Moreover, some infrastructure services in the rural areas have been given to the municipalities. Therefore, your role in the economic development of your relevant area has decreased. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

This situation affects the role of the governors and district governors in Balıkesir (a province located in the western part of Turkey) negatively. To tell the truth, you, as a governor or district governor, can think that you will be able to rid yourself of the work load effectively and become comfortable or relax. However, on the other hand, this entails the erosion of the roles of governors and district governors. The mayor, the heads of the villages, the politicians and the citizens are not in need of you. You do not have the Village Delivery Service or the Special Provincial Administration at your disposal anymore. You only have the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation. Imagine you

went to a village. What will you talk about with the villagers or what kinds of needs will you meet by going to the villagers? What will the villagers want or ask from you? What will the heads of the villages demand of you? As you know, the village, as a legal entity, was terminated by Code 6360 and were summarily turned into neighbourhoods. You do not provide the villages' infrastructure. Instead, the greater city municipality carries out the infrastructure activities. There is no job for you. What can you do when you go to the villages? (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

Some participants (like those quoted above) are more pessimistic about their new economic roles. They claimed that, after the reforms, there is nothing for them to do in the economic sense because they have lost their economic tools, such as being the head of the Provisional Special Administration and their having the Village Delivery Service at their beck and call. In this sense, a respondent stated that:

In the economic sense, district governors cannot do anything. For example, I have made many beautiful things for the Catalca district. By using the resources of the Village Delivery Service, I built a football field and brought markets to every village. There is only one village that does not have a football field among 27 villages. How did I create these? I accomplished this task by using the sources of district governorship and the Village Delivery Services Union. After the reforms, however, the district governors have not even one Turkish lira in order to bring services to the villages or drive in one single nail. This situation makes the role of governors equate to zero. (Nevzat Tastan, District Governor, 11/08/2014)

Some respondents pointed out that, due to their removal from the Provincial Special Administration, the governors lost the opportunity to utilise money from the state budget. Moreover, the boundaries of the municipalities in the greater cities have coincided with the provincial boundaries. Therefore, the private sector now has to

collaborate, cooperate and establish a dialogue with the municipalities even though they already had close relationships with the governors and district governors.

If you, as the governor or district governor of any province or district, want to prioritise your relevant area's economic development, how would you go about doing that? Imagine an entrepreneur coming to me as a governor or district governor or to the mayor or to the greater city municipality mayor? How can you, as the civil administrator, help or support the investor except by either supporting them or removing the barriers in front of them? (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

The majority of the participants emphasised that, after the public administration reforms in the 2000s in Turkey, the governors and district governors were not expected to play a big role economically, but new roles have become prominent regarding economic roles, such as coordination, cooperation, and leadership between the citizens, private sector, non-governmental organisations and state organisations and the role of motivating and encouraging investors and citizens.

The governors and district governors cannot play an active role in terms of direct investment in the provinces and districts because they lost the tools with which they could do so (i.e. the Village Delivery Services Union and the Provincial Special Administration) after the reforms were enacted. However, after the reforms, they are now able to coordinate the economic powers of the province, take the lead, and remove the barriers that they face. (Turan Eren, Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014)

The governor and district governor may have a role in the economic development of small places, the underdeveloped regions and rural areas of Turkey to some extent. After the reforms, the effect and place of the state in the economy was decreased via privatisation. Big investments are conducted by other state institutions such as the General Directorate of Highways and the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works and Municipalities. Now, there are big investments

that are not related or connected to the civil administrators, but the civil administrators control and coordinate them to some extent. (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

Participants stated that, after the removal of the governor as head of the Provincial Special Administration and the disbandment of the Village Delivery Services Union, the governors and district governors were expected to play the coordination and cooperation role between the private sector and the public sector, between the different state institutions and organisations. Two of the respondents noted as follows:

The governors may play a coordination and surveillance role for the purpose of ensuring the central government's investments in the province and district and for the purpose of coordinating local investments and providing coordination between central and local government investments. (Mevlut Atbas, Governor — Member of Court of State, 15/07/2014)

The executive role of the governors and district governors decreased because of the governor's removal as the head of the Provincial Special Administration and the disbandment of the Village Delivery Services Union. While on the one hand, the governors and district governors' economic role decreased, on the other hand, a kind of governor and district governor who would be able to ensure the coordination and cooperation between the non-governmental organisations, local governments, and universities, as well as the Chambers of Trade and Industry became prominent. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

Apart from the role of coordination, many participants declared that the governors and district governors' leadership role became more important in the economic areas. They mentioned that the governors and district governors are not needed to play directly in the economic area; rather, they can play the leadership role. As Ahmet Zahterogullari (Governor, 01/07/2014) states:

In the past, economic activities were led by the governors and district governors. Pioneering new economic activities still continues to be one of the meanings of leadership. In terms of civil administrators, there is no need for them to be directly involved in economic activities. Furthermore, there is no need to establish a company and to have an economic activity in the economy. A developed private sector was implemented as recently as yesterday.

However, some respondents claimed that, without being able to use monies from the budget, playing a leadership role is very difficult. According to them, the citizens expect them to provide some public services, but they usually require money. For them, they suspect that, without any money, the governors and district governors will not be able to solve the citizens' problems. In order to explain this situation, they referred to a Turkish proverb which states that "he who pays the piper calls the tune". For them, however, because of their being removed from being the head of the Provincial Special Administration, they do not have any money. Thus, they rightly ask how the governors and district governors can call the tune.

Whether or not you, as the governor or district governor, are more qualified, or whether or not the perception of the governor and district governor is strong, if you do not have money, you cannot meet the needs of the public. Therefore, the citizens will not come to you to solve their problems. They will go to the municipalities instead. Without money, you meet with many difficulties in order to properly lead in the provinces or districts. (Nuri Okutan, Governor, 21/06/2014)

After the reforms were implemented, apart from the role of coordination and leadership, the citizens and private sector expected the governors and district governors to motivate and encourage them by removal any economic obstacles that they faced. In other words, in economic terms, the governors and district governors were expected to guide and encourage entrepreneurs in the provinces and districts. As the following two participants note: "in terms of the economic role of the governor and district governor, it is expected that they should encourage and direct the private sector and to remove any economic

barriers that might impede their business” (Yucel Yavuz, Governor, 13/07/2014) and “now, it is not expected that the governors and district governors should develop the districts and provinces economically. Instead, today, they are expected to provide visions and come up with projects for the city to work on” (Erkan Capar, Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014).

On the other hand, some participants claimed that, after the governors’ being removed from being the head of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors have the opportunity to deal with other classical public services such as that of controlling state institutions, organisations and activities. According to some participants, it has taken much more time for the governors and district governors to deal with the economic matters and infrastructure works of the provinces and districts than in the past. Furthermore, they claimed that the governors and district governors did not play an effective role in protecting human rights and controlling state organisations. They opine that this was due to the governors and district governors simply working in line with the law. Now, however, they have enough time to execute the classical roles in line with the desired standards of the law and in accordance with the desires of the citizens. As Yusuf Erbay (Governor, 24/06/2014) states:

Some governors and district governors ironically claim that we are dead — that we are finished after the reforms because of our losing our traditional roles and powers with the reforms. However, I would like to ask a question to the civil administrators who say that we are dead: What do you think about your primary role or duty regarding the state (i.e. you’re not dealing with small economic activities)? Okay, I accept that, but the state has given you another primary role. Will you not control the police and census bureau? Can you not, as the governor or district governor, provide the citizen guarantee when they apply to the state for public services? Can you not provide them with better health services in the hospitals? Can you not protect the environment? And finally, can you not protect the basic human rights and freedoms of the citizens?

As has been seen, after the reforms, the governors and district governors were not expected to play an active and direct role in the economy of the provinces and districts. Yet, their roles of coordinating, cooperating, and leading the state organisations, private sector, non-governmental organisations and citizens, as well as the role of motivating and encouraging the private sector, investors and citizens, has become prominent. Moreover, with the decrease in their ability to fund themselves, they have more time and opportunities to deal more closely with their traditional roles, such as coordination, controlling state organisations (i.e. whether they are working in line with the law or not), respecting the rights of the citizens, and providing public services in line with the citizens' desires and in accordance with the law.

6.5.2. Changes to the Paternal Understanding of the State

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the Turkish state tradition, the state is accepted as being the paternal state by the citizens. In this manner, the governors and district governors are seen as being the representatives of both the state and the central government. Thus, they are recognized as being the embodiment of the paternal state in the eyes of the citizens. In order to better understand the changing roles of the governors and district governors, examining the changes in how the paternal state is understood in the embodiment of the governors and district governors after the passing of the public administration reforms in the 2000s will help to appreciate the issue. Therefore, the way the paternal state understanding has changed, whether the paternal state understanding has weakened or not, and which actors and factors have affected the paternal state's understanding will be examined.

The governors and district governors, being the representatives of the state and central government in the provinces and districts, are seen as embodying the paternal state in the eyes of the citizens. The respondents pointed out that, in the past, when the citizens had a problem; they expected the governors and district governors to solve them. Nowadays, however, this understanding has been eroded to a certain extent. Moreover, the participants pointed out that the citizens believed that the governors and district governors are able to solve

their problems and that, when they have problems, the governors and district governors have tools for solving all of their problems through the sheer force of the paternal state. In other words, society identifies the governors and district governors as being an institution that the public can apply to whenever they confront a difficulty. In this sense, one of the respondents pointed out that the governors and district governors are like the United Nations. If there is enough pressure from society, they will attempt to relieve both the citizen and the society. (Galip Demirel, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014)

Adnan Cimen (Deputy Governor, 12/06/2014) further extrapolates upon this point:

In Turkey, there is a traditional and superb administrative heritage. When a citizen bemoans or complains, is in trouble, is despised, or suffers from oppression, who does the citizen get in contact with? Of course, they contact their civil administrators. This is because they believe that, when they contact them, the civil administrators will behave in an unbiased way and will be protected by the civil administrators. In my opinion, this demonstrates the fact that they believe that the civil administrators represent the old conception of the state as being paternal.

However, the majority of respondents claimed that the public administration reforms in the 2000s eroded the old conception of the paternal state. For the respondents, in the past, the citizen thought that the state knew everything or that the state had the capability to do anything and that whatever the state said was right; but today, the citizens criticise both the state and its representative governors and district governors' performances and activities. In other words, the citizens do not want the paternal state to put their nose into everything; rather, they want the governors and district governors to ensure peace and harmony by simply protecting them.

The citizens do not desire the state to be like a father in the traditional family who decides everything or who is likely to say such things as “whatever I say will happen”, “no one makes the rules around here except me”, and “I am the sole authority in this house”. In this sense, nobody desires for the state to uphold the traditional understanding of a paternal state. The citizens want the civil administrators to meet their needs, ensure their safety and security, provide leadership for the citizens through thick and thin, and make sacrifices for their sake. (Adnan Cimen, Deputy Governor, 12/06/2014)

With respect to the erosion of the paternal state understanding, according to many participants, in the past, with the force of the paternal state, the government was able to make decisions on the behalf of the citizens, know everything on behalf of the citizens, protect its citizens, and compel to do certain things if that was required. The respondents claimed that the historical understanding of the paternal state is gradually disappearing. The relationship between the state and the citizen has transformed into one of service-provider and service-receiver. Therefore, the governors and district governors have been abandoning their old understanding. The citizens do not want the governors and district governors to dictate anything to them like the relationship of ruler and ruled any longer. As Erkan Capar (Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014) stipulates:

There does not exist any citizen who says, “Oh, my district governor, you know best. I will do whatever you want me to do. You do everything for the state”. Based on my observations, there are no citizens who accept the state as being sacred or divine, who accept whatever the state says as being true or right, or who accept the sovereignty of the state over citizens as being limitless.

Moreover, the respondents stated that, nowadays, citizens have become more demanding as well. They are not satisfied or contented with the services being provided to them. They want to increase the standards of the public services. They demand a better education, health services, roads, good houses, a good and clean environment,

clean drinking water and parks. These were not demanded 20 years ago by the citizens. In this manner, the respondents stated that the public administration reforms have affected the citizens' demands and expectations of the paternal state. As Aziz Yildirim (Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Interior Affairs-District Governor, 18/07/2014) states:

In the past, if the governors and district governors merely smiled at the citizens, they were happy; today, however, simply smiling is not enough. Of course, today they have to smile. In other words, the governors can easily realise that they are subservient to the citizens in every field, while the citizens, likewise, can also easily perceive that the governors and district governors are subservient to themselves as well.

With respect to the change in understanding of the paternal state in the eyes of the citizens, most of the respondents claimed that, in the past, the citizens favoured the state-centred approach of the paternal state. Thus, whoever adopted this approach would do anything for the sake of the state due to their attributing to it sacred characteristics. In other words, they would be liable to sacrifice themselves for the state if it was in the state's interest. However, the participants pointed out that today, this understanding has been undergoing some changes. According to the respondents, the citizens now perceive the state as being a kind of service-provider for them. Thus, the majority of them do not perceive it as being sacred; only a minority believes it to have such characteristics. As Bilal Karaca (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014) explains:

In the past, the citizens lived for the sake of the state. The protection of the unity and borders of the state and the protection of its sovereignty were all-important. In other words, the state-centred conception, which claimed that "There are enemies everywhere", "Our enemies are surrounding us", and "They all wish for the downfall of the state" was dominant ideology in the past. Therefore, the citizens believed that "We should protect the state" since, if they wanted to live as citizens,

they should be in the service of the state. However, this understanding has been changing. Now, as the Prime Minister says, the first duty of the state is to make the citizens happy. Thus, the state is now in the service of the citizens, in utter contraposition to the past's primary conception regarding the matter.

As is clear, regarding the erosion of the paternal state understanding, the participants pointed out that, in the past, the citizens gave high importance to the governors and district governors and that they attributed to them super powers. Moreover, the citizens believed that they could solve all of their problems given the simple fact that they represent the state. Nevertheless, today, that point-of-view has eroded. As Kadir Kocdemir (Governor, 25/06/2014) points out:

In the past, the citizens entertained the idea that the governors and district governors worked only for the citizens and that he or she did not have any private interest in the province. That is why the citizens attributed to him or her great opinions and ideas in the past. In other words, the citizens thought that, after God, there is the governor and district governor who can do whatever they want. Today, however, these characteristics which the governors and district governors have been attributing with have been gradually eroding.

As mentioned above, the citizens sometimes perceive the governors and district governors as being the state. Therefore, the citizens' expectations from them were higher in the past when compared to today. However, many participants pointed out that the citizens often believed that the governors and district governors could solve any problem not only because of their being the representatives of the state and government, but also because, for them, they are the state and government. In other words, they are the president, prime minister, and ministers in the provinces and districts. The respondents claimed, however, that even though this paternal state understanding has eroded, it has not yet disappeared completely in the eyes of the citizens. Indeed, they also claim that, outside metropolitan areas, this understanding still continues:

We witnessed that, in the province and districts that we worked in, the citizen portraying the governors and district governors as the representatives of the paternal state. They sometimes even claimed in our faces that “You are the state”. In other words, they equate the governors and district governors with the state. Today, even though the understanding of the paternal state has eroded, it still continues. It has not disappeared completely, but we are still distancing ourselves from the previous understanding of the state being equivalent to the father. Nevertheless, for the people who live in the rural areas, they still conceive the state paternally. (Namik Demir, Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

According to the respondents, the citizen thought in the past that the paternal state protected them with tenderness and affection and that the state can help them whenever they fell down or got into trouble in virtue of its being so powerful and having such strong authority. One is not able, however, to say the same thing in the aftermath of the public administration reforms of the 2000s. Furthermore, before the reforms, the governors were the sole authority in the provinces and had the capacity to determine many things. However, as Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) notes:

Today, the boot is on the other foot. The governors hang on other powers’ lips and they try to follow a harmonious policy between the different power groups. Before the reforms, the governors said that “Whatever I dictate shall be done; I have the power to say things on the behalf of the state”. However, today, they have to ask the questions “What shall we do?” and “Who shall we talk to?”

Mesut Kose (General Director of Cereal Products — District Governor, 09/07/2014) echoes the same thoughts. As he states:

In my opinion, there has been a change in the understanding of the paternal state after the reforms. Before the reforms, society had perceived the governors as being the paternal state in the province and the district governors as being the paternal state in the district. Society,

however, does not want to have them as a father figure any longer. The public gives importance to participatory democracy. They want officials to ask them their opinions. Furthermore, they do not want the state to behave to them as a father. In other words, the society wants the governors and district governors to serve them and provide them with public services and to represent them abroad. However, the citizens do not want the governors and district governors to boss them around like an authoritarian father figure.

Unlike the opinions provided by the participants above, some of the respondents claimed that there have been no changes made to the paternal state understanding. They asserted that the change in approach and understanding of the citizens and some other institutions does not entail that there has been a change to the paternal state understanding. For them, there has been no change in the state's understanding of the issue. Cengiz Aydogdu (Governor, 16/06/2014), for instance, opines that:

The state has dictated that the citizen should do what it commands. In this sense, in my opinion, there has been no transformation. Rather than the paternal state understanding's changing, the behaviours of the state, the developments in the political approach and understanding of the citizens, and the non-governmental organisations, in the universities and in the literate people have changed. In essence, there has been no change or transformation in the paternal state understanding.

Furthermore, with regards to there being no change in the understanding of the paternal state, the following conversation, which was a mutual discussion between the researcher and the governor of Istanbul (which is the largest city of Turkey), may be found to be rather informative:

RESEARCHER: Do the citizens perceive you as the embodiment of the paternal state in Istanbul?

HÜSEYİN AVNİ MUTLU (Governor, 13/08/2014): Absolutely. As far as I see, the role of the paternal state is still valid for all of the different levels of society. Indeed, the business world still sees the governor as a statesman and as the person who represents the state.

RESEARCHER: What do they expect from you as being the representative of the paternal state?

HÜSEYİN AVNİ MUTLU: I see both the poor man and the business man as having the same expectations from the governor. Actually, they do not expect many things from the governor in terms of the economy. However, in Istanbul, the intellectuals know that the governors' roles, responsibilities, and powers have been decreasing and that they have been passing to the municipalities. They have confidence in you as the governor. Why do they still trust you even though they are aware of your decreasing authority and roles? The answer is that they feel a need for an authority which they can trust. In my opinion, this is a matter of physiology. The citizens need an umbrella under which they can find shelter whenever they are in need. They may think that they feel better under the umbrella of the governorship. They might even feel that they are not all being represented by the local governments even though that is their role.

For the participants, this feeling of comfort and the knowledge that they can always take refuge underneath the umbrella of the governorship comes from the deep sense of history lying behind the Turkish state tradition. It is because the citizens are more accustomed to this understanding, they argue, that it is very difficult for them to abandon this understanding. The following three excerpts clearly illustrate this point:

One of the leaders of a particular village came to my office recently in order to solve the drinking water problems of his village. I told the leader that the greater city municipality was the authority responsible for such issues. Indeed, I asked him why he was telling me about that particular problem. The village leader replied: Oh my dear district governor, first of all, you are our leader. That is why I wanted to inform you. Secondly, I thought that, if you meet with the officials of the greater city municipality, the problem would be solved more quickly. In other words, the village leader thought that he should get the advice of the district governor and that the district governor should know of my village's problem. Can you imagine!? I am a district governor in the province of Ankara (the capital city of Turkey) and yet the citizens still perceive the district governor as being an extension of the old paternal conception of the state! (Sevket Cinbir, District Governor, 08/07/2014)

There has been no change in the citizens' belief that the governors and district governors embody the paternal understanding of the state. If our citizens confront a problem, they ask 'Where is the state?' What they mean when they say that, however, is actually "Where is my father?" Thus, when their expectations are not met by the other (legally responsible) organisations, the citizens' expectations from the governors and district governors actually increase. (Orhan Alimoglu, Governor, 19/08/2014)

Moreover, according to some respondents, if there have been any changes to the paternal understanding of the state, there have been only but a few. The citizens characterise them as being representatives of the central government and expect them to solve their problems in the field, even though the municipalities' responsibilities have, in fact, increased. Furthermore, some of the respondents even ventured to state that, not only the citizens, but also some politicians, like the mayors, still identify the governors and district governors as being representatives of the paternal state. Arif Kahraman (District Governor, 14/07/2014), for instance, stated that:

In my opinion, there has been no change in the state's being understood of as being paternal. For example, even the mayor comes and asks you for your advice, querying "What can we do, dear district governor?" In other words, in my opinion, if the highest elected authority, the mayor, asks the district governor for his or her advice, then there has been no change in the paternal understanding of the state. I would like to provide you with an example. I have observed that everybody thinks that the governor should have a say in all affairs concerning the state. In this sense, then, there have not been many significant changes to the paternal understanding of the state.

Some respondents, however, opine the exact opposite, stating that the paternal state conception is a weakening conception given the fact that other persons and institutions have been becoming more prominent. According to these participants, the perception of the paternal state has been changing in the eyes of the citizens. When the 'state' is mentioned, the citizens first take into consideration the elected authorities because more power, responsibilities, and budget have been given to the elected authorities and municipalities. In other words, there has been a decline in the paternal perception of the state in lieu of the fact that, with the reforms, some roles and powers have been passed or transferred on to the municipalities, as well as to other authorities. As Galip Demirel (Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014) explains:

There has been a change in the paternal approach of conceiving the state because the financial means are securely in the hands of the municipalities. Therefore, in order to benefit from these monetary opportunities, the citizens apply to the mayor willy-nilly for the purpose of obtaining pecuniary aid.

In this sense, some respondents stated that, even though the citizens want the governors and district governors to solve their problems, they no longer have a budget with which to help them due to the abolishment of the Provincial Special Administration and the

Village Delivery Services Union. Thus, as the following excerpts make clear, some respondents pointed out that the citizens now have a tendency of perceiving the mayor and the local politicians as being the official representatives of the paternal state:

If there is no budget and no money, the citizens' understanding of the paternal state will decline because the governors and district governors will not be able to meet the needs of its citizens. Thus, the citizens no longer come to you. Instead, they go to the mayor in order to solve their problems. (Nuri Okutan, Governor, 21/06/2014)

In the past, there were governors and district governors who represented the paternal understanding of the state. However, the local governments and politicians also have taken over the paternal understanding of the state. In short, they share the state's paternal role with the civil administrators. The governors and district governors are not alone in representing the paternal understanding of the state in the eyes of the citizens. This is because the money and the power have all been passed to the local governments. (Mustafa Eldivan, District Governor, 23/08/2014)

In Turkey, the paternal understanding of the state still continues, but the authorities that represent the paternal state have changed. In the past, the citizens saw the governors and district governors as being the personages who represented the paternal state, but today, the governors and district governors share that role with the provincial parliamentarians and the provincial heads and ministers of the political parties — especially that of the ruling party's. (Mustafa Yildiz, Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014)

Furthermore, as has already been elucidated, in the past, when the paternal state was mentioned in the provinces or districts, the governors and district governors were implicitly understood. Today, however, when the citizens mention the paternal state, they are not implicitly referring to the governors and district governors; rather, they are

referring to the state and other state institutions. As Huseyin Karamese (District Governor, 26/08/2014) extrapolates:

In terms of the paternal perception of the state, we, as district governors, are not the sole representatives of the paternal state alone. This is due to: the existence of a more developed middle class; the fact that cities which are more integrated to the world have a higher economic capacity; the establishment of more powerful non-governmental organisations; the organisation of the central government's institutions at the local level; and the investments being made in the field. Therefore, I do not represent the paternal state alone since other organisations and institutions have become prominent in that regard. In other words, you are not the sole representative of the paternal state in the district.

The paternal understanding of the state has been eroded even though this understanding still continues in some (less fortunate) parts of Turkey. In the eyes of the citizens, after the reforms, new actors have emerged that have attempted to share the paternal role of the state with both the governors and district governors. Indeed, the mayors, local politicians and other state organisations have become especially prominent in the sense.

6.5.3. Change to the Modernising Role

After the establishment of Turkey in 1923, the project of modernising both the state and society was initiated by state elites. The core aim of the modernisation project was that of “raising the nation above other contemporary civilisations”. This aim was espoused both by the state and the state elites. In this sense, the governors and district governors, being the representatives of the state, were given important roles in many fields in order to further realise the state's modernisation project. In order to understand the changing roles of the governors and district governors after the public administration reforms of the 2000s, it will be helpful to examine how their modernising role has been affected by those reforms.

According to the majority of the respondents, the governors and district governors were everything for the state in the provinces and districts in the early years of the Turkish Republic. On the one hand, they dealt with infrastructure works, such as ensuring electricity, clean drinking water, building roads, schools, and hospitals, and providing health services; while on the other hand, they were playing a kind of modernising role. The respondents pointed out that, after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, many revolutions were brought about, including the alphabet revolution, clothing reforms, and law reforms. In this sense, the respondents also stated that the governors and district governors, being the persons who understood the spirit of the Turkish Republic's revolutions, were charged with putting those revolutions and their philosophies into practice by advocating these revolutions, thereby ensuring the modernisation of Turkey in many fields. The following excerpts from the interviews explain this point at greater depth:

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the most important duties of the governors and district governors was that of organising the state in the provinces and districts, as well as to internalise and institutionalise the new Turkish Republic's reforms and principles and thus represent the state in the provinces and districts. (Safak Basa, Inspector — District Governor, 11/08/2014)

They were the flag bearers of the new regime. They were the vanguard of the established order. The governors and district governors ensured the modernisation of the Republic of Turkey by helping to spread the new revolutionary reforms across the country, from the hat reform to that of designing the new national education and alphabet. (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

As already pointed out by most of the respondents, in the early years of the Turkish Republic, the governors and district governors were the carriers of the new nation's modernisation project. In this manner, they likened the governors and district governors to a locomotive engine of the social and economic development of the provinces and

districts. According to them, one could say that the state was embodied in the person of the governors and district governors. They had the roles and powers that the state had. According to the respondents, this important role was given to them given the fact that the Turkish Republic administrative system was organised according to the old Ottoman prefectural system. In the early years of the Republic, given the fact that there were several communication and transportation problems throughout the country, a person was needed who could not only run the state but also coordinate its several institutions and realise the state's new modernisation projects on behalf of the state in the provinces and districts. The following two excerpts from the elite interviews reflect these thoughts:

When we look at the early years of the Turkish Republic, the governors and district governors were given an active role since there were not many quality communications and transportation services at that time. Therefore, a modernisation project leader was desperately needed in the provinces and districts. In other words, there was a need for a person who would represent the prime minister in both the provinces and districts. Moreover, at that time, there were no educated bureaucrats like governors and district governors in those areas. In addition, since the Turkish Republic was organised around the prefectural system, the Turkish Republic governed the provinces and districts with the help of the governors and district governors. Nowadays, though, that system has been drastically eroding. (Kasim Turgut, Inspector — District Governor, 04/07/2014)

The institutions and organisations of the state had not been coordinated and running properly in the early days of the Turkish Republic's existence. Therefore, the governors and district governors were given the responsibility of coordinating those problem state institutions and organisations, especially the infrastructure works. (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

Many respondents stated that the governors and district governors had full authority in the provinces and districts at that time in order to institutionalise the new state reforms and implement the modernisation project that the central government had created. In other words, they were given many powers and roles for the purpose of better actualising the state's modernisation project. As mentioned in Chapter 3, one could claim that that time was the "Golden Age" for the governors and district governors. With relation to this trend, two respondents extrapolated as follows: "until the 1950s, the bureaucratic features of the Turkish Republic were prominent and the governors and district governors played an influential role" (Mustafa Yildiz, Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014). Furthermore,

They had a modernising role because all of the requisite resources were in their hands. They could determine what the targets would be. They were the pioneers of everything, from the infrastructure works to the development of the nation's education and health in the field (Kadir Akin Gozel, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

Furthermore, the respondents have intimated that their role of modernising the state is not expected from them anymore since the government wants them to play other roles. In the areas of investments and infrastructure works, the municipalities and other state institutions and the central government have become more effective. Additionally, the westernising of society is no longer being carried out by the hands of the state. The following excerpts from the interviews further explain this process:

When I entered the profession, the governors and district governors had been the ones directly responsible for the development of the provinces and districts. Today, however, we witness that these roles have been transferred to the mayors and the local and national politicians. Especially during the AK PARTY period [the ruling party has governed Turkey for around twelve years; this period is usually referred to as the AK PARTY period], the governors and district

governors' roles concerning the development of the provinces and the districts have decreased. (Cengiz Aydogdu, Governor, 16/06/2014)

During the early years of the Republic of Turkey, the governors and district governors virtually worked as the missionaries of modernisation and westernisation, spreading the message to the citizens. Governors and district governors gave the public examples of how to wear their clothes, how to throw a ball, and how to organise meals with fun and dance. However, today, this type of westernisation is no longer needed because the society has achieved its progress. Indeed, the governors and district governors, however, sometimes do not even keep pace with new western developments because of the rapid pace at which these developments are affecting the world and Turkey. (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

According to most of the respondents, people's expectations from governors and district governors have changed. In line with the changes made to the public administration, the governors and district governors are not expected to play a modernising role. However, it is expected that they will be able to play their traditional roles well, such as representing the state, ensuring the public order, and both coordinating and controlling the state organisations and citizens. Also, for most of the respondents, in addition to the governors and district governors' traditional roles, society also wants them to protect their basic human right and to take the necessary measures for protecting them. As Bilal Karaca (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014) notes:

In my opinion, after 2000, the governors and district governors were expected to protect society's human rights. The citizens do not want them to intervene in their everyday lives. In other words, they want a kind of governor or district governor who is invisible — they only want to see them if they need them or if they are in trouble.

As can clearly be seen, in the early years of the Turkish Republic, the governors and district governors played an active role in the modernisation of Turkey, saying that they should “raise the nation above contemporary civilisations”. This modernising role lasted for a long while. Today, however, with the effect of the developments both in the state and the society, there have been many fluctuations in this particular role. After the public administration reforms which were made in the 2000s, it can be said that their modernising role has been overthrown, there are some governors and district governors who wish to continue to uphold this role. Nevertheless, the government and society do not want them to play the modernising role any longer. Rather, they only want them to play the roles that the government has endowed them with effectively.

6.6. Conclusion

In general, the governors and district governors defined and perceived themselves as being: the representatives of the state and the government; the implementers of the country’s constitution and legal codes; the symbol of the paternal state; the protector of the interests of both the state and its citizens; the citizens’ assurance; the bridge between the state and the citizens; and, last but not least, the coordinator, controller, locomotive, representative and protector of the nation state.

The participants identified three roles which they considered to be the most classical traditional for the profession, the most important of which was that of representing the state and central government in the provinces and districts. The second most important was that of ensuring the security and safety of the public. And finally, the third most important role for the chief civil administrators is that of ensuring the coordination between the government and several of the other institutions working within the province or district.

After the administrative reforms of the 2000s were passed, the traditional representative roles of the governors and district governors were changed. For example, new actors have begun to emerge who have been attempting to share the chief civil administrators’ role of representing the central government. These actors include the mayor, local politicians, other state organisations, and the judiciary — especially the prosecutors.

Nevertheless, many businessmen and non-governmental organisations developed close relationships with the governors and district governors in virtue of their role of representing the central government; however, there has also been a decrease in the number of relations that the chief civil administrators have been developing with citizens. Furthermore, with the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors lost power in terms of their being able to represent the state and central government, with the metropolitan municipality mayors, in contrast, coming to the fore.

With respect to ensuring the security and safety of citizens, the governors and district governors' understanding of, and approach towards, civil monitoring and controlling, the protection of human rights, and the violation of human rights by the police have all been changing. Simply put, today, the civil administrators have a more citizen-oriented approach towards security and safety issues. Moreover, the citizens and the government also expect them to be more active in this area as well.

The roles of coordinating and controlling have also been affected seeing as, with the reforms, the governor was demoted from being the head of the Provincial Special Administration's General Council. Moreover, after the reforms, the mayors and politicians of the respective cities have become more powerful, thereby sometimes hindering the effective implementation of this role. On the other hand, some participants stated the opposite, claiming that the reforms have not affected the roles of coordination and control. Nevertheless, the vast majority of them mentioned that, even though they are legally responsible for coordinating and controlling the various institutions of the state, in practice, it is very difficult for them to perform these roles.

Besides the reforms changing the classical traditional roles of the civil administrators, they have also impacted their historically important roles as well. For instance, after the reforms, the governors and district governors are no longer expected to play an active, or direct, role in the economy. Rather, the indirect economic roles of coordination, cooperation, and leadership that they have to play between the state organisations, private sector, non-governmental organisations and citizens, not to mention their role in motivating and encouraging the private sector to invest in their province or district, have

been becoming more significant. This decrease in importance with relation to economic matters, however, has provided them with more time and opportunities to play their classical traditional roles effectively (such as coordinating and controlling the state organisations and institutions, checking whether they are working in line with the law, that they are respecting the rights of the citizens, and providing the public services in line both with the citizens' desired level and with the law).

Among their other historically important roles, the governors and district governors' paternal state understanding has also been eroding, though this understanding still continues in some parts of Turkey. After the reforms, in the eyes of the citizens, new actors have emerged that have started to share the paternal state understanding with the governors and district governors, with the mayors, local politicians and other state organisations becoming prominent in this sense.

In terms of the historically important role of modernisation, during the early years of the Turkish Republic, governors and district governors played an active role in modernising Turkey by "raising the nation above the other contemporary civilisations," with this role enduring for a long time. Today, however, there have been fluctuations in this role and its effect on the development of both the state and society. After the public administration reforms made in the 2000s, it can be said that the civil administrators' modernising role has finally come to an end. Nevertheless, there still are some governors and district governors who want to continue playing this role, even though both the government and society do not want them to play it any longer. Instead, they would prefer to vouchsafe their classical traditional roles and the other roles given to them directly by the government in an effective way.

In order to better understand the changes made to these classical traditional and historically important roles, the next chapter will analyse how the traditional administrative understanding has been changed and whether the civil administrators expressed any resistance against any of these changes and new emerging roles.

CHAPTER 7: REFORMS AND THE NEW ROLES OF GOVERNORS

7.1. Introduction

As was mentioned in Chapter 4, it is clear that the government deliberately wanted to decrease the roles of the governors and district governors by transferring roles, powers, and resources from the central government to the local governments. In this sense, the government intended to erode the traditional and historically important roles of the governors and district governors while also intending to change the traditional understanding of the governors and district governors from the state-centric to the citizen-centric view. This is significant because all of these outcomes were the *intended consequences* of the reforms. Now, although not explicitly stated by the government at the beginning of the reform process, when the aforementioned report and the findings of the survey and interviews are examined carefully, the decrease in the roles of the governors and district governors must be seen as being intended, and not as unintended, consequences of the reforms. The new emerging roles which will be mentioned in this chapter, on the other hand, can be considered as being the unintended consequences of these reforms.

In order to understand how and to what extent the public administration reforms have affected the governors and district governors' roles, this chapter will firstly examine how the traditional administrative understanding of the governors and district governors has changed after the public administration reforms were introduced. In this regard, note shall especially be given to the fact that, due to the reforms of the 2000s, there is a shift from a traditional state-centric view of governors and district governors to a citizen-centric view of governors and district governors. Secondly, this chapter will analyse whether the governors and district governors have any motivations for preserving the traditional understanding in spite of the massive public administration reforms which were passed during the 2000s. And finally, before concluding, the emerging new roles will be examined.

7.2. Changes to the Traditional Administrative Understanding

The governors and district governors have a 150 year history stemming from the Ottoman Empire. Thus, they have a long tradition and have inherited the traditional administrative understanding. In order to understand the changing roles of the governors and district governors after the reforms of the 2000s, it will be helpful to examine the changes that those reforms affected on their traditional administrative understanding because as there is a close relationship between the changes in their traditional administrative understanding and their changing roles. Therefore, here, I will try to explore whether the traditional understanding of the governors and district governors has changed or not. And, if there has been a change, how has it changed the perspectives of the respondents?.

Most of the interviewees pointed out that they were aware of the changes which were made to the public administration after the reforms of the 2000s were enacted. They also claimed that there has been a corresponding change in the governors and district governors' traditional administrative understanding. According to them, the old administrative understanding will not be able to be maintained or sustained any longer. Moreover, they claimed that, before those reforms were implemented, nobody could question their decisions, but that today, their decisions are not defended by legal order and their decisions are being questioned by the citizens. The citizens want the governors and district governors to be loyal to the legal rules in their decisions. With respect to the administrative understanding that they had before, they stated that they perceived themselves as being representatives of the state in the provinces and districts. Then, they thought that they knew everything better than anyone else and they wanted to keep everything under their control and felt themselves responsible for everything which occurred in the provinces and districts. Today, on the other hand, this understanding is changing.

Our words or statements were like codes or laws in the past. Nobody questioned our statements. In the past, we said that we knew everything, that I was the father of the citizens, and that I could do anything that I wanted to do. However, this understanding has been

transforming. We should now make decisions openly, self-explanatory and based on the legal regulations. (Ilker Ozerk Ozcan, District Governor, 29/06/2014)

When I entered the profession as a district governor in 1990, it was thought that the governor and district governor were the persons who knew everything better than anybody else. (Yucel Yavuz, Governor, 13/07/2014)

As mentioned above, they stated that they felt themselves as being the real owners of the state. Therefore, they expressed that they gave priority to the interest of the state more than to the interests of its citizens. In other words, their administrative understanding was based on a state-oriented approach. Today, however, they have a tendency to be citizen-oriented. They evaluated all the things from the perspective of the state.

The instinct or understanding regarding the protection of the state's interests had become a part of their daily activities. For example, the state was against communism in the past. Therefore, the people who adopted communism as an ideology were considered enemies of the state according to their thoughts or ideas. This issue was not evaluated within the scope of freedom of thought. Today, however, rather than thinking in a state-centred way, our thinking is citizen-centred. Today, we believe that, if we protect the citizens' dignity and if we respect the opinions and thoughts of the citizen, we can protect the interest of the state so that the state may survive. In this sense, the traditional understanding and administrative mentality of the governors and district governors have changed. (Kasim Esen, Governor, 24/06/2014)

When they compare their past administrative understanding with today's administrative understanding, they asserted that they were the sole authority in the province and the district, but that today, they are not the sole decision-makers or sole authorities because of there being so many other powers, such as businessmen, local governments, and politicians, which affect their decisions and which share their old powers with them.

They, therefore, keep this in mind whilst making their decisions today. The following comments are examples of this way of thinking on their part:

The governor was the sole authority who determined everything in the province in the past. For example, which investments would be made, where the airport would be built, where the sugar factory should be built in the province — all these decisions were the sole authority of the governor. In other words, the governor could determine these decision both directly and indirectly. If he or she did not directly make the decision, he or she could reflect his own demands to others and, in this way, be the sole decision-maker. However, if you look at the province of Konya, there are many non-governmental organisations. When you visit a particular entrepreneur in the organised industrial zone, you can discern, for example, that they export to 30 different countries. Now that the governor is not the sole authority in the province, he or she has to take into consideration these non-governmental organisations and entrepreneurs [since they too have power]. (Irfan Kenanoglu, Deputy Governor, 14/08/2014)

In the 1990s, there was a kind of governor who decided everything in his or her province, had the power to influence all of the decisions in the province, directed the allocation of resources to a considerable extent in the province, and even had the tutelage power over the local governments and their elected organs. However, it is clear that it is very difficult to conduct oneself today as the governor who worked in the 1990s. (Erkan Capar, Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014)

When we entered the profession at the end of the 1990s, we understood that we were very powerful and that we could change the world. Furthermore, we understood that we did not necessarily have to take into consideration the local powers and politicians. Now, on the other hand, we have to take those local powers and politicians much more than before. (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

In the interviews, the participants mentioned that, in the past, because the state was sacred, the state could interfere into every issue of the citizen without taking into consideration the citizens' interests. They even sometimes closed their eyes to the police's violating the basic rights and freedoms of citizens for the purpose of protecting the all-important interests of the state. Kasim Esen (Governor, 24/06/2014), for instance, notes that:

We used to have a state-centred idea. In other words, the interest of the citizen could be sacrificed for the interest of the state. In this sense, we, being responsible for the security and safety of the public, could tolerate some violations of basic human rights and freedoms by the police and gendarmerie security forces. If the police tortured citizens, we never openly accepted the fact that the police had tortured them, even though we had known that they had. (Kasim Esen, Governor, 24/06/2014)

Now, on the other hand, they claim that they are obligated to satisfy citizens' needs. They think that they are now more citizen-oriented. This, in turn, means that the governors and district governors have started to empathise with citizens' problems more and more.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, in the Turkish administration tradition, the citizens perceived the state as being sacred, even though that understanding has recently been losing its validity. In other words, the boot is now on the other leg, as it were. As Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014) explains that:

That understanding tended to regard the state as being holy. Nevertheless, there has been a shift in thinking. For example, the tendency to keep information confidential for the purpose of securing the interests of the state has transformed into a tendency to keep information open and transparent to the public, no matter what the state's interests are.

Interestingly, in terms of the governors and district governors' perceptions about the 'sacred' state, some respondents claimed that the governors and district governors used to feel themselves as being more powerful concerning their ability to protect the interests of the state, but that now, for them, this understanding has changed in that they give more importance to the interests of the citizens and their relationship with the citizens. Bilal Karaca (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014) explains this difference in perceptions in the following way:

The governors and district governors were virtually demigods on the behalf of the state. They lost this characteristic, however, when the reforms were passed. They have now partially renounced their protecting the state and its interests, instead becoming waggons for the purpose of carrying the demands of the citizens regarding public services to the government.

Furthermore, the interviewees claimed that they tried to establish good relationships with the citizens. They also stated that, today, there are more governors and district governors who value the importance of their relationships with the citizens when compared with the past.

Back then, there were only one or two governors who gave importance to the relationships that they had with citizens. However, if you look at today's governors, many of them give importance to the relationships they have fostered with citizens. Whether intentionally or not, they pat citizens on the back and try to visit the citizens in their homes. (Davut Gul, District Governor, 03/07/2014)

Concerning the traditional administrative mentality and understanding, the respondents claimed the profession had originally held an authoritarian administrative understanding. For instance, "the governors and district governors were more authoritarian back then. This cannot be denied. Thus, they tended to deal with issues from the framework of authority and written rules" (Mehmet Seyman, Deputy Governor, 19/06/2014). Even though today they have changed that perception of

themselves, some governors and district governors still insist on that maintaining that authoritarian understanding. In sum:

The traditional administrative approach of the governors and district governors has been changing based on the new government policies and reforms. In the past, the governors and district governors maintained a state-centred approach. In contrast, today, a citizen-centred approach is preferred. This consists of having close relationships with citizens, as well as protecting the interests and rights of the citizen. Thus, we no longer see ourselves as being the representatives of the old state-centred approach, even though some of them still see themselves as being the representatives of that idea. (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

With regards to participation, the participants claimed that the reforms passed in the 2000s forced the governors and district governors to become more participatory in their activities and transactions when compared with the past. Indeed, they have started to give more importance to their governance role. In addition, they also pointed out that, after the reforms, the governors and district governors began considering the opinions and ideas of non-governmental organisations, political parties' district units, and trade association more so than in the past.

As far as I am able to understand, it has become increasingly more likely that governors favour building their relationships with non-governmental organisations, trade and industry chambers, trade unions, local governments, judicial and military authorities, and universities and ensuring that harmony is retained between those institutions. We ask the universities what their opinion is. We sometimes advise the local governments. Therefore, we can say that we govern. In other words, the governor attempts to develop these relations, but he does not give enough effort to develop his or her relationships with citizens one-by-one....The governors are aware that

it is not possible for them to behave like sultans or monarchs. They recognise this. Therefore, they open their authority up to external actors such as non-governmental organisations, trade and industry chambers, and trade unions. You can no longer hear the expressions whatever I say will happen or I am the state from the governors and district governors. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

Related to the above issue, some interviewees stated that there has been a change in the way the governors and district governors understand participation when compared with the past. For instance, “the governors and district governors had an imperious understanding in the past; now, however, they are participatory, close to the citizens and listen carefully to the public” (Selim Capar, President of the Research Centre of the Ministry of the Interior — District Governor, 19/06/2014).

The respondents also pointed out the fact that, with the public administration reforms of the 2000s, they were required to account for their activities and transactions with the citizens. Thus, according to them, the reform process triggered a change in their traditional administrative understanding. Moreover, some electronics mechanisms were established by the Prime Minister to the effect that, if a citizen wishes to complain about the governors and district governors’ activities and transactions, or if their rights were violated, they would be able to apply to BIMER (a centre in the Prime Minister’s office which deals with the complaints and applications of the citizens). Moreover, if the governors and district governors do not give enough importance to the questions and problems of the citizens, the citizens can use social media as a way to critique them. Therefore, the governors and district governors are more careful with regards to the accountability issue. In the past, however, the respondents mentioned that they were not more careful with regards to accountability and that they did not like to be accountable for what they did before. They have, nevertheless, changed their traditional understanding concerning accountability and have taken into consideration the demands of citizens with regards to accountability.

The governors and district governors' administrative understanding has been changing. If there is a problem in an orphanage, the citizens ask, "Where is the governor?" They do not ask, "where is the minister or Prime Minister?". Furthermore, they ask why the governor did not deal with that problem already. If the event occurred in the district, the citizens ask, "Where is the district governor?" Again, if the education in the schools is not the best or if the teacher behaves badly towards his or her students, the citizens immediately start to ask where the governor or district governor is. In other words, the citizens can call the governors and district governors into account. This brings accountability to their front door. It might have been difficult to call the governors and district governors into account in the past, but now, the citizen can ask questions of the governors and district governors. If they cannot tell you anything to your face, you can see what they said yesterday on Twitter, read yesterday's newspaper or internet page. You can even watch it for yourself on the TV in the evening at your home. (Aziz Yildirim, Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 18/07/2014)

We must not forget the role of the media. Even a small event can have widespread media coverage. Therefore, governors should be careful about their activities. Moreover, there is the BIMER (a centre in the Prime Minister's Office). If a complaint is made by the citizens, they can apply to the BIMER. Therefore, you have to take into consideration the BIMER. In this sense, there are not many governors and district governors who behave according to traditional approach of the past. (Gungor Azim Tuna, Governor, 23/06/2014)

Some participants mentioned that the reforms to the public administration in the 2000s not only have affected the governors and district governors' approach towards the state and its citizens, but also that they have affected their ideas and opinions about, and their relationships with, the private sector, non-governmental organisations. Some of the respondents mentioned that they have closer relations with the private sector —

especially with businessmen — today when compared to the past. For them, their traditional administrative understanding was not adequate enough to engender close relations with businessmen in the past since that that training model and traditional administrative approach and understanding was not compatible with having close relationships with them. After the reforms of the 2000s, however, businessmen have come to fore much more. According to the respondents, the governors and district governors have changed their approach concerning their relations with businessmen since they have given more importance to the private sector, its problems and its potential solutions. Moreover, businessmen want them to deal with their problems and to establish closer relationships with them. The participants believe that, in order to be successful as a governor or district governor today, it is necessary to have close relations with the private sector. The following two excerpts explain this issue in greater depth:

Governors and district governors nowadays perceive things very differently to how they used to perceive things 20 years ago. Can you imagine? Did we live together or have close relations with the business world? Did any governor or district governor in the past have on his agenda his or her going to international fairs in order to advertise their city or for the purpose of establishing foreign trade relations, inviting other countries' businessmen to do business in their district or province, or going to foreign countries and investigating investment opportunities with that country's businessmen? Was there anything like this? More importantly, there may not have been any such opportunities back then; we did not have that kind of vision. Next month, the members of the chamber of commerce are going abroad. They insistently invited me, asking my secretary whether "Mr. Governor" could participate with us. Why do they want me to participate? Namely, my participation contributes positively to their travel aims. (Ahmet Zahterogullari, Governor, 01/07/2014)

There is a need for a civil administrator who can work in collaboration with the private sector. In my day, it was very difficult to be in league

with the private sector because we were not trained to meet the needs of private businesses. However, the governors and district governors should try to help the private sector — he or she has to do something in order to provide for the necessities of the private sector. (Saffet Arikan Beduk, Retired Governor and General Director of Police and the President of Union of Turkish Administrators, 27/06/2014)

Another important issue arose during the interviews when talking about the changes being made to the traditional administrative approach; the governors and district governors' relations with non-governmental organisations. The participants pointed out that today; they have an understanding to establish close relations with non-governmental organisations, but that in the past, they did not develop close relations with them because it had not been necessary for them to establish relations with them. For them, however, the reforms forced them to establish relations with non-governmental organisations. They also expressed that, with the help of their having close relations with non-governmental organisations, they were also able to establish better, closer relations with citizens.

Today, governors and district governors establish good relations with non-governmental organisations and, with the help of these organisations; they have an opportunity to advertise what they have done for the citizens, listen to the citizens' problems and learn about their problems. Therefore, we can say that we have a state that can speak to its citizens, and, furthermore, that we have a public which can speak. We have witnessed the changes in the behaviour of the governors and district governors. In the past, the governors and district governors just sat in their offices, supervised the state institutions and organisations, and visited the villages; when we look at today's governors and district governors, on the other hand, we observe that they go to places where the public usually is. Furthermore, they tend to make connections with the non-governmental organisations that represent the public. (Huseyin Avni Mutlu, Governor, 13/08/2014)

Some respondents also claimed that, in the past, the governors and district governors did not keep relations with non-governmental organisations because they believed that they knew everything better than everyone else; thus, there was no reason for them to have relationships with the because they did not need to ask them about their opinions. As Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014) explains: “nowadays [however] they have a tendency to establish and promote relations with non-governmental organisations. In the past, the governors and district governors were under the impression that, being the representatives of the state, they knew everything”.

Besides, the respondents stated that they had believed that their maintaining relations non-governmental organisations meant that they had to share their administrative powers with those non-governmental organisations. Therefore, they were hesitant to promote relations with them. Nevertheless, they stated that they gave importance to those organisations and that they often met with them and spoke about many subjects with them that they had not talked about before. They also mentioned the fact that, in the past, discussing some subjects with them, such as human rights, was seen as being either sensitive or dangerous. Today, on the other hand, they not only discuss human rights issues with them but also the protection of the environment because of the changes which occurred to their traditional administrative mentality, such as their unwillingness to their share their duties and responsibilities and powers with others (as was mentioned above).

For years, the governors and district governors did not accept to share their administrative powers with non-governmental organisations. The governors and district governors did not accept to come together with certain kinds of organisations, like non-governmental organisations, for a long time. For example, when the Human Rights Committee was established, the governors and district governors met with difficulties with relation to coming together around the same table in order to talk about human rights issues with non-governmental organisations and with people who were committed either to fighting against human rights violations and to protecting human rights. Moreover, we had difficulties about talking about environmental problems and the

protection of the environment. However, today, we come together with these non-governmental organisations and activists and make decisions together. (Mehmet Seyman, Deputy Governor, 19/06/2014)

As made apparent by the above excerpt, some of the respondents stated that, after the reforms made in the 2000s, some subjects became more prominent, such as the protection of the environment and the respect and protection of human rights and freedoms. They also stated that they were not very sensitive towards those subjects before and that they did not hold an important place in their traditional administrative understanding. Today, however, a high importance has been assigned to those subjects. Moreover, they claimed that, with the help of the reforms, the citizens wanted them to be sensitive about those subjects as well. Nowadays, when they visit hospitals, they are revered by the citizens for protecting their basic human rights and freedoms. They also concede that they should delve deeper into topics regarding environmental protection; in other words, the governors and district governors should ensure that citizens are able to live in a healthy environment. As Bilal Karaca (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014) points out:

40 years ago, the citizen had complaints regarding why we did not have any skyscrapers or shopping centres. They had expected that the governors and district governors should have ensured that they have them. Today, however, this expectation has changed. Now, the citizens expect that the governors and district governors should ensure the protection of the environment. Furthermore, they also desire to live in a healthy environment. Who will ensure this? The governors and district governors will be the ones who shall ensure this by ordering the municipalities to stop building shopping centres in problem areas.

Apart from their above mentioned duty to protect the environment, the protection and respect of basic human rights and freedoms are also seen as being important topics by the governors and district governors. They stated that, in the past, the protection of human rights and freedoms were not under their scope of duties and that those issues did not attract their interest at all. Rather, they gave most importance to infrastructure

works. Today, however, they claim that, without ensuring that others respect human rights, these other infrastructure works are neither very important nor valuable any longer in their own eyes and in the eyes of the citizens. Moreover, they expressed that, without respecting basic human rights and freedoms, the state would not be able to maintain its existence given that its citizens would not be living happily any longer.

Moreover, as mentioned above, some respondents stated that they preferred dealing with infrastructure works in the past than addressing human right issues. This latter subject, however, is a prerequisite for carrying out their roles as governors or district governors. First and foremost, it is necessary that they be the father of the citizens.

With respect to prevention the police forces from transforming into a military force, governors who have a civil mentality are very important. If the civil administrators want to be real fathers of the Republic, they should guarantee that citizens should not be tortured in police station when they go to the poles. In this respect, the governors and district governors should ensure the security of the citizen and should keep the police and gendarmerie forces under their control.
(Yusuf Erbay, Governor, 24/06/2014)

On the other hand, some participants claimed that the governors and district governors do not understand the logic of those changes. They have not internalised those changes, and thus, those efforts at change were not institutionalised. The respondents tried to explain the reasons why some of them have not changed their traditional administrative understanding. According to them, the state tradition of Turkey, its administrative and bureaucratic culture, and the training of the civil servants are the main obstacles in front of those changes being effectively internalised. The following two excerpts explain this opinion of theirs at much greater details:

The traditional administrative mentality of the governors and district governors has not changed dramatically. Of course there are some colleagues who say that our traditional administrative mentality has been changing and that we now have a more flexible, citizen-oriented, output-oriented administrative mentality. In my opinion, these

expressions are just paper tigers. You cannot see these changes in practice. You do not see these changes in practice because the traditional structure of the profession of governorship and district governorship, the traditional institutional culture of the profession, its organisational structure and its administrative incapacities impede those changes from being effectively enacted. (Erkan Capar, Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014)

Our colleagues do not internalise the new management approaches because the Turkish state's tradition, as well as the tradition of the profession itself, do not give them permission to change its meaning. Moreover, some attitudes and behaviours concerning the new management approach are affected by the political and societal structure of the country and the expectations of the ruling party. The traditional structure is as follows. Within this structure, you tell the governors and district governors to behave differently. Under these circumstances, our colleagues are in a dilemma; we sometimes witness the governors and district governors behaving in a tragicomic fashion. Furthermore, we expect civil servants and the public to treat us with respect. For example, I put a director in his place when that director came into my office and crossed his legs. We expect this kind of reaction from a governor or district governor. In other words, we still make it clear to others that we are the ones in charge of those places. Those people are my personnel and I am in charge of them all due to my being in a superior position to them. Yes. We say those kinds of things. On the other hand, when a citizen crosses his legs in our office, can we say anything to him or her? In order to prove our new understanding of our profession and that we are administrators who are close to the public, we do not say anything. Moreover, we sometimes even go to a citizen's house unannounced, knock their door, we hug his or her child and we eat a meal with them on the floor table [a special table commonly used in Turkey]. All that being said, we still

do not act like this with our directors or any other civil servant. (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

Some participants expressed the reasons why the changes have not been internalised in a different way. They asserted that, although there have been many reforms, the traditional administrative understanding of the governors and district governors is still in force because of there not being a similar change with respect to politics and the attitudes of the politicians who want to interfere with their affairs. Mustafa Yildiz (Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014), for instance, conveys this opinion in the following excerpt:

In my opinion, the traditional understanding of the public administration is still in force. There have been no changes in Turkey since the politics has not changed. We see that the politicians play the dominant role in the administration. In other words, the politicians play the role like bureaucrats. Therefore, the traditional administrative understanding still continues. There were only some symbolic changes made to the bureaucratic process.

With respect to the internalisation of those changes, another respondent mentioned that some governors and district governors still continue their traditional behaviour though many of them have changed their approach because of the powerful effect that the traditional understanding has on them. For instance:

There are some problems in relation to internalisation. There are still some governors who believe that I have an effective position in the province, but the reality is quite different. You witness some governors saying “I do not answer or account myself to anyone”. It is not possible to say that the traditional administrative mentality has changed completely. Even though there have been some significant changes in the traditional administrative mentality which was adopted by a number of important governors and district governors, it nevertheless is not easy to escape the traditional administrative codes

seeing as they have permeated into us so deeply. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

In addition to the above approach regarding the internalisation of the administrative changes, a respondent stated that the governors still continue thinking according to their traditional understanding, even though they show themselves to the public — and especially the politicians — differently. They behave differently with their interlocutors when the topic is with regard to their power. In this sense, these respondents asserted that the governors and district governors have not changed.

For example, let us think of the deputy governors who work closely with the governor of their province. They are the cadres of the governor, but they are not able to say anything which would completely contradict what the governor has said. Even though governors get tough with their teammates and subordinates, they have to tolerate what the politicians say. In other words, while they implement their traditional administrative style with their subordinates, they show their ‘modern’ faces to the politicians. [With regards to how they behave towards citizens], it depends on who the citizen is or on how powerful they are.... [It is all a matter] of public relations management. For instance, if the governor goes to a village for putting on the back of the citizens and there are journalists around, the governor can be more tolerant towards the citizen. However, if you are asking me whether the governor behaves tolerantly towards the citizen during normal times that is an open question. Moreover, regarding the behaviour of the governor, it also depends whether the citizen is very important or not... [i.e. whether he or she] is a member of any powerful non-governmental organisations. These are the main determinants which decide how the governor will behave towards the citizen. (Hudayar Mete Buhara, Deputy Governor, 19/07/2014)

Furthermore, some of the participants argued that there has not been a regular or gradual change in the administrative mentality of the governors and district governors. In other

words, according to them, the change is more parallel to the needs and conditions of the day and that there has been a similar, compatible change with the perspectives of politicians as well. In this regard, some of the respondents pointed out that the ruling party's understanding affects the behaviour of the governors and district governors. This is because they do not want to conflict with the politicians. Therefore, their administrative understanding depends on the ruling party and its politicians' behaviours. Furthermore, they also mentioned that when they have conflicts with the politicians of the ruling party, they are at risk of losing their posts and opportunities.

Protecting the governors and district governors' positions depends on certain conditions. If a district governor comes into conflict with politicians or other power groups, he or she can be appointed to another district, but if a governor conflicts with politicians and other power groups, the governor will most probably be transferred to Ankara where he or she will be given a passive position, not an active one. In other words, a governor can lose his or her post easily if he or she quarrels with politicians and other power groups. These developments and issues affect the traditional behaviour and mentality of the governors and district governors. Moreover, the governors and district governors can easily adapt to different administrative approaches in line with what the government says. (Hudayar Mete Buhara, Deputy Governor, 19/07/2014)

Some of the participants also claimed that, after the implementation of the public administration reforms, politicians became more important, thereby affecting the attitudes of the governors and district governors. Huseyin Karamese (District Governor, 26/08/2014) explains this phenomenon in the following excerpt:

As you know, the governors and district governors, being powerful representatives of the state, were conferred with the modernising role; viz., that of ensuring the implementation of the official ideology of the republic in the field, the organisation of the state, and the directing of the public. However, the shoe is now on the other foot and politicians

have become more important. Politics tells the bureaucracy, the governors, and the district governors that they should change in line with their understanding and values. Since the politicians represent the national will, we are elected by the majority of the people. In other words, we as governors and district governors are not determining actors — rather, we are those actors who are shaped by the politics of the politicians which, in turn, is also in line with the desires of the public weal. You do not pull the strings, the national will does. Politicians hold the aces. Therefore, they determine your roles. In the past, the bureaucracy, governors and district governors, as representatives of the state in the field, could inform the public of their roles. Now, we are directed by the public.

As can be discerned from the above, the governors and district governors' traditional administrative understanding has changed greatly even though there are some governors and district governors who have tried to keep their traditional administrative understanding. After the reforms, the participants had to adopt a citizen-oriented approach, even though, in the past, they were mainly state-centred. They have given more importance to the protection of human rights, the protection of the environment, and the implementation of governance. Moreover, relations between the governors and district governors and non-governmental organisations and the private sector have increased when compared to the past. However, as some respondents made clear, a small number of governors and district governors have not internalised the efforts at changing their profession. Instead, they have maintained their traditional administrative understanding because of several reasons, including the effects of politics, politicians, and the state tradition, as well as the tradition of the profession itself. In short, a majority of the governors and district governors believed that their administrative understanding has been changed due to the public administration reforms of the 2000s.

7.3. Resisting Change

In order to grasp the changing roles of the governors and district governors due to the public administration reforms of the 2000s, it is helpful to analyse whether the

governors and district governors have any motivations for preserving their traditional administrative understanding notwithstanding the fact that there have been massive public administration reforms in Turkey. In this sense, if they have motivations for preserving their traditional understanding, the reasons for their wanting to preserve it will be explored from the perspectives of the governors and district governors themselves.

A majority of the participants claimed that there are not many governors and district governors who want to preserve the traditional public administrative understanding and roles. According to them, even though there exist a small number of governors and district governors who wish to preserve their traditional public administrative understanding and roles, within time, those who do not keep pace with the changes will eventually be weeded out. Furthermore, they have also stated that most of the governors and district governors have kept pace with the changes in the public administration. According to Ahmet Zahterogullari (Governor, 01/07/2014), for instance:

The governors and district governors have changed much. Which traditional habits or understandings have they maintained? In my opinion...[t]here are only a small group of district governors who say “I am the district governor of this district; everything goes through me”. This understanding, however, is no longer valid.

The respondents also explained that, after 2000, the administrative understanding and mentality of those governors who were appointed after that date run in parallel with the government’s own understanding of the government’s policy. In terms of the district governors, moreover, they have stated that they have completely integrated into the new system. Therefore, a majority of governors and district governors have not resisted adopting the changes which were made to the public administration in the 2000s.

I can say that the number of governors and district governors who are motivated to preserve their traditional understanding is maybe 10% or below. Moreover, after the year 2000, many new governors who have adopted the new government’s approach have been appointed. There are nearly no governors appointed before 2000 who are still in power.

Furthermore, the district governors have almost entirely adapted to the new system and approach. They have integrated into the new system. In this manner, we cannot claim that there are governors and district governors who are motivated to preserve the traditional administrative mentality. (Yucel Yavuz, Governor, 13/07/2014)

Also, as was mentioned above, the interviewees stated that, even though there is a small number of governors and district governors who resist the new changes, they believe that those who continue to resist to those changes will not be able to effectively resist them and that they will not be able to find a place for them in the bureaucracy in the long run. Mehmet Seyman (Deputy Governor, 19/06/2014), for instance, stipulates that,

although there have been massive changes to the public administration, there are still some civil administrators who think that they have all the power and are the sole authority able to solve problems, but there is no place for this kind of understanding in the administration anymore

Furthermore, the respondents believe that, within time, the small number of governors and district governors will adapt to the new changes to a great extent. They stated that it is normal for those governors and district governors to be hesitant about those changes since they come from a long professional tradition. Adapting to such changes requires time. Their hesitation regarding their adapting to the changes in the public administration will disappear in time since there does not exist another option for them.

The majority of the profession has adopted the changes. There is no resistance to preserve their traditional roles. Many of them know their new position. However, there is a bit of hesitation in our colleagues. In my opinion, this hesitation will disappear with time. (Mustafa Eldivan, District Governor, 23/08/2014)

As mentioned above, the interviewees pointed out that their approach and administrative understanding in time will have to change with their experience with the profession. While they gain more and more experience, they will inevitably have to change their minds and keep pace with the changes made to

the public administration, as well as having to change their mentality and understanding in line with the logic of those changes. Erkan Capar (Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014) expounds upon this in the following excerpt:

When I entered the profession, I had the idea that I knew everything well, that I could do everything, that I could decide on every issue, and that no one could logically contradict what I said. Now, I know that my not knowing everything is better. Moreover, I know that I should not make decisions about everything. I know, too, that, in order to perform my job, I should continually be training myself. And finally, I know that I should not put my nose into everything.

Most of the governors and district governors have adopted the changes and have not resisted those changes. A majority of the interviewees mentioned that there are many reasons preventing them to resist those changes. One of them is the strong government which is currently in power. They stated that the ruling party has governed Turkey for over thirteen years and is very powerful. The governors and district governors cannot maintain their traditional understanding or their traditional administrative approach and role. If they try to resist the changes to the public administration, they might lose their post. Therefore, they stated that the governors and district governors do not have a chance to entertain motivations for preserving their traditional administrative understanding when there has been a one party government in power for the last thirteen years. In other words, they pointed out the fact that today in Turkey, the politicians are very powerful which, in turn, pressures them to conform to the new order.

The government says that this is my policy and you have to assist us with its implementation. In other words, you cannot resist the government's policies or the authority of any of its ministries. In the past, there may have been civil administrators who resisted the government's policies because of the weakness of that government's early politics. Today, however, there exists only a one-party government seeing as there is a consensus among the top echelons of the state and central government. Therefore, it is very difficult to resist

implementing the reforms. If they tried to have motivations for preserving their traditional roles and administrative mentality and if they did not keep pace with the government's policies or reforms, the government would have demoted them and would have appointed them to a more passive position. There has been a fast circulation regarding their appointments lately. In other words, many new governors have been appointed by the government lately. (Gungor Azim Tuna, Governor, 23/06/2014)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the governors and district governors are the representatives of the state and central government in the province and districts. Thus, following government policies and implementing them in the provinces and districts are one of their main roles and responsibilities. Therefore, they have easily adopted the changes made to public administration. Some participants pointed out that, if they tried to resist those changes, they would potentially lose their post and transferred somewhere else. Maybe, if there was a coalition government in Turkey like in the past, they could try to maintain their traditional understanding. Today, however, there is a one-party government in power. Therefore, the government has absolute authority over the bureaucracy and, ergo, the governors and district governors. As Mustafa Yildiz (Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014) explains:

They are the representatives of the government and the state. If they resist, they can easily lose their posts. Therefore, it would not be advisable for them to resistance and to maintain the preservation of their traditional roles. They can easily transform themselves, especially when they do not have the power to stand in front of the pressures of the government. In my opinion, then, they have been transforming in line with the desires of the government.

During the interviews, one of the respondents mentioned an interesting point concerning the above issue. The governors and district governors, who cannot determine and identify their roles, cannot maintain their traditional administrative understanding in front of the government:

You, as the governor and district governor, do not hold the rope. The ropes are in others' hands; viz., the politics which represents the national will. Politics determines you and your roles. Politics says what your role will be. In the last the bureaucracy determined the roles and informed the citizens about your role. In other words, the civil administrators do not determine their own roles. Thus, how can they have motivations for preserving their traditional roles? (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

Moreover, apart from the fear of losing their posts, the participants claimed that the governors and district governors have to be concerned about their promotion and their future. Therefore, they easily adapt to these changes. They do not have enough power to resist for the purpose of preserving their traditional administrative understanding.

The governors and district governors are flexible. In other words, they are not motivated to preserve their traditional roles and administrative mentality since they are more concerned about their receiving promotions. They have to struggle in order to retain the position of being governor. Therefore, they are a much more flexible profession nowadays. (Mustafa Yildiz, Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014)

Another point was raised when the interviewees pointed out that the governors and district governors have the skill or capacity to transform themselves in line with the expectations of the government and that they must adjust themselves according to those changes since they are cognizant of how much power they have vis-à-vis how much power the government has. Moreover, they know that they should keep pace with the government and its policies.

The governors and district governors should remain flexible enough to keep abreast with the changes being made to the public administration. When the governor was removed from the head of the Provincial General Council, some governors organised a ceremony. In my opinion, they are unable to preserve their traditional roles and

mentality. They try to keep pace with the changes. Their capacity will determine the kind of position they shall be given in the future. (Kadir Kocdemir, Governor, 25/06/2014)

With respect to their not being able to resist these changes, some of the participants mentioned that the governors and district governors have a very flexible administrative understanding and experience and know that, if they resist those changes, they will not be able to find a place in the administrative system. Therefore, they have to easily adapt to the changes. Since they know the working system of politics and the administrative mechanisms and they know the power and effects of the government and the politician, they understand that they are not as powerful as in the past or during the time of the coalition government.

It is unthinkable that, if there is a change in the administration, you should not keep pace with those changes. Otherwise, you will not be able to continue your existence and will not be able to gain any place in the system. Therefore, you should transform your traditional roles and mentality. (Muammer Turker, Governor, 20/06/2014)

Another reason that some of the respondents gave for the governors and district governors' not preserving their traditional administrative role and understanding is that the reforms, as well as the pressures made upon them by the politicians and the one-party government, have decreased their attempts and have made them passive in Turkey. In other words, they have lost their energy. Moreover, the reforms have created a kind of civil administrator who is afraid of taking responsibility for the affairs of his or her province or district. As mentioned above, with the reforms, the local governments and politicians have been getting stronger while the governors and district governors have been losing their power and efficiency. Therefore, they feel more passive when compared to the past. In this sense, the respondents argued that those who are afraid of taking responsibility cannot preserve their traditional administrative roles and understanding while a strong one-party government with its own antithetical agenda is in power. Nevzat Tastan (District Governor, 11/08/2014), for instance, notes that: "the reforms have created a kind of civil administrator who does not want to take

responsibility [for his or her duties to the province or district]. They have been passivized, thereby decreasing their effectiveness and power.”

As mentioned above, according to the majority of respondents, a large number of governors and district governors no longer have enough motivation in order to preserve their traditional administrative understanding. During the interviews, however, some of the respondents claimed that there are a small number of governors and district governors who are motivated enough to preserve their traditional administrative understanding, even though most of the governors and district governors have had to keep pace with those changes in line with government policies. Indeed, a discussion regarding this very point was made between one of the respondents and the researcher. It went as follows:

ARIF KAHRAMAN (district governor, 14/07/2014): There are a small number of civil administrators who have put up a resistance with regards to those changes. They have a tendency not to change their traditional administrative mentality, though the reform changes have come fast. Are there any more? I think there will not be any more.

RESEARCHER: What kind of resistance do you observe? What are your observations?

ARIF KAHRAMAN: There are self-styled or self-proclaimed governors and district governors who put themselves at the centre. In other words, there are colleagues who try to maintain their traditional administrative understanding or approach, but in this era, it is not possible to sustain the traditional administrative mentality.

RESERACHER: What kind of administrative understanding should there be in this era?

ARIF KAHRAMAN: In my opinion, during this era, the citizens should participate more with the administration and the governors and district governors should take into consideration what those citizens say. You should not look at or evaluate the events with the state-

centred approach. You should be innovative. You should give up the mentality “go today and come tomorrow”;³ you should produce the solution to the problems immediately. You should implement these kinds of changes in the administration. Otherwise, you cannot maintain your profession.

Furthermore, during the interviews, some of the respondents claimed that, although most of the governors and district governors’ traditional administrative understanding has changed a small number of the governors and the district governors still try to preserve their traditional understanding as mentioned. They mentioned that today, the source of the administration’s legitimacy is their respect and loyalty to basic human rights and freedoms. If the administration’s actions are not based on a fundamental respect for basic human rights and freedoms, they are not legitimate, no matter whether they were conducted in the names of democracy, monarchy or oligarchy. In this sense, some participants pointed out that the governors and district governors should respect basic human rights and freedoms.

During one of the interviews, a respondent tried to explain why that small number of governors and district governors want to preserve their traditional understanding despite of the fact that there have been massive public administration reforms in the 2000s. The discussion which occurred between that respondent and the researcher is as follows:

BILAL KARACA (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014): The civil administrators should abandon the role of being a ‘Knight Templar’. In other words, they should not attempt to determine their roles themselves. If the laws do not provide them with a role, they should not contend that they have it.

RESEARCHER: Does the understanding of being Knight Templar continue?

³ It is a Turkish proverb which means that the civil servants are not dealing with the affairs of citizens closely and that they are being negligent about the problems and affairs of the state’s citizens.

BILAL KARACA: Of course, this understanding continues because there are some civil administrators who continue to protect this understanding. However, we have to change this understanding ourselves — we should not wait for change from others. This is because civil administrators are not the civil servants of the Ministry of Interior Affairs; rather, they are the representatives of both the state and central government.

RESEARCHER: Why do they believe that they are ‘Knights Templar?’

BILAL KARACA: Our administrative mentality comes from Ottoman times and with the effect of the Ottoman fall regarding to protect the state or state’s interests still maintain. Their fears nourish this idea.

RESEARCHER: What kind of problem in this idea of the governors and district governors do you perceive or see?

BILAL KARACA: Now, the civil administrators should take to heart what the Prime Minister meant when he said that a “living nation entails maintaining the state”. Protecting the state is not the primary function of the civil administrators. The state must be protected by the political powers and the National Security Council, not them. Our role or duty is not that of ensuring the indivisibility of the state. The government, not the civil administrators, are responsible for the indivisibility of the state.

RESEARCHER: Do the governors and district governors have any responsibility to protect the interests of the state.

BILAL KARACA: The desires of the governors and district governors to protect the interests of the state reflect the traditional administrative understanding. The decisions made by the governors regarding naturalisation are often cancelled by the courts because the governors make those decisions with the aim of protecting state. When you

examine their reports, they say “According to our intelligence reports...” However, that does not concern them. While the law makers establish the relevant regulations, they attempt not to follow them by behaving according to the intelligence reports that they, themselves, made. Instead of implementing the law, they are taking into consideration the interests of the state. By doing this, however, you, as governor, are violating the real will of the parliament. In other words, you, as governor, are saying that “the parliament is not protecting the state well, that the ruling power does not know the issues, and that we can protect the state better”.

Regarding the motivations for preserving the traditional administrative role and understanding of that small number of governors and district governors, one respondent hypothesised that, since many district governors enter the profession in their 20s, they are liable to feel like kings when they observe citizens’ treating them differently by conferring to them such a high importance. And this, says the respondent, might be why some of the district governors (and, eventually, governors) keep adhering to the traditional administrative understanding — because it makes them feel powerful. The conversation that the researcher had with that particular respondent is truly telling:

RESEARCHER: In your opinion, do the governors and district governors have a motivation for preserving their traditional roles though there have been massive reforms?

OSMAN TURAL (General Director of Turkish Posta and Telegram — District Governor, 20/06/2014): Of course. We have a motivation.

RESEARCHER: Do they still maintain that motivation?

OSMAN TURAL: They still do. In this manner, I also have a motivation.

RESEARCHER: Really? Could you explain that, please?

OSMAN TURAL: Since it makes me feel more powerful than others. This feeling gives the feeling that we are more superior when compared to others.

RESEARCHER: What is the reason for this?

OSMAN TURAL: What is the reason? They go to district at around the age of 22. In the district, citizens behave towards him or her like a “king”. The citizens even tell them that they are a king even though they are not. Even though they know that they are not a king, they are affected by their saying this because it sounds good to their ears. Thus, even your walking style in the streets would change if you thought you were a king!

Similarly, another participant opined that the governors and district governors have high prestige in the eyes of the citizens. This gives the governors and district governors satisfaction which, in turn, provides them with a motivation to preserve their traditional administrative understanding. Moreover, they pointed out that they wanted to protect their positions because they believe themselves to be the sole authority in the provinces and districts. This thought results from their being adulated or flattered by the citizens.

RESEARCHER: Have there been any changes in the governors and district governors’ traditional administrative mentality over the last 15 years?

MESUT KOSE (General Director of Cereal Products — District Governor, 09/07/2014): They are obliged to change that mentality.

RESEARCHER: What do the governors and district governors not want to change? Do not they want to change?

MESUT KOSE: In my opinion, they do not want to change. When the profession of civil administrators was formulated, they had many roles and powers. Their prestige was very high, though they did not earn much money. The social status of the profession was very high in the

society as well. They do not want those powers and roles to erode or be taken away because they think that they do not abuse their powers and roles under any circumstances. They think that they use those roles and power temperately. They also believe that they do not use that power against the society or the public. [Therefore, since they believe that they would not harm anyone with the powers that they used to legally possess, they do not believe that they should wilfully give those powers and roles up.]

Some of the respondents pointed out that there is not much motivation for preserving the traditional roles and administrative mentality any more, although there are a small number of governors and district governors who say that they have an effective role and that they do not account for anybody in the province or districts. In other words, it is possible to see some effects of the traditional administration understanding still present nowadays. The participants also stated that, even though the traditional codes still remain in some governors and district governors' minds, those civil administrators do not have any motivation for preserving their traditional roles and mentality. For, according to the participants, the changes made in the public administration have forced the governors and district governors to change, not to preserve their traditional roles — albeit some of them have not fully internalised those changes. Thus, the problem of internalisation still continues. Due to some governors and district governors' problem with internalising those changes, politicians and citizens now believe that many governors and district governors are resisting the reforms even though that that is not the case. In short, there has been a misunderstanding. The reality is different. However, for the respondents, some of the governors and district governors' wrong behaviour has brought about this misunderstanding in the eyes of the politicians and citizens. Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) explains this at greater length in what follows:

The legal regulations have forced the governors and district governors to change their traditional administrative roles and mentality, though they have not internalised the changes completely. For example, there is a committee regarding the protection of children in our province of Malatya. According to the Law for Child Protection, that committee

has to be organised, but our colleagues sometimes say that ‘there is no need for the committee, we already protect the children.’ For the governor, there is no need for him or her to meet and discuss the issue with mayor or any of the heads of the relevant non-governmental organisations. He thinks that he or she already gave a decision regarding the protection of children, even though the law clearly stipulates that they have to meet every two months.

Regarding the internalisation of the public administration reforms made in the 2000s, another interviewee related an interesting story:

As you know, there is a story about the governors under the Ottoman Empire. Our old colleagues sometimes tell the story that governors once had the right to mete out capital punishment and that later this right was removed. Then the governors claim that ‘the governorship could not be performed effectively since we could not hang men.’ I try to tell the story as a caricaturisation of what is happening today. After the legal regulations which were passed during the 2000s, the governors were removed from the head of the provincial council. And, just as when the right to hang men was taken away from them, the governors say, ‘If a governor is not the head of the provincial council, what can a governor really do?’ (Aziz Yildirim, Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 18/07/2014)

Furthermore, a woman interviewee gave an example in order to illustrate the internalisation of the reforms and the governors and district governors’ motivations for preserving the traditional administrative understanding:

On the one hand, we expect some respectful or honorific behaviours from society; for example, that everybody stand up, button up their jacket when I come into a gathering or meeting, and that, whatever I say, it should be done instantly. In other words, we do not want to change, so we do not internalise the changes. On the other hand, we

tend to behave that way in order to show off. We behave like this because the non-governmental organisations press, and politicians expect these kinds of behaviours from us. (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

Furthermore, although the majority of governors and district governors do not show any sign of resistance towards the changes, a problem arises when there is not a strong will to determine their new roles clearly. Therefore, not knowing or determining the new roles creates confusion in their minds and leads to others' believing that the governors and district governors are being resistant to the changes. In this sense, a respondent tried to explain the problem as follows:

See, the civil administrators tell us that we should change, but they do not tell us how we are to change exactly. For example, imagine you telling a man wearing a suit that: "There is no need to wear the suit so change your suit". That person would probably respond to you: "Okay, I will take off my suit, but is it alright for me to wear a t-shirt?" (Adnan Cimen, Deputy Governor, 12/06/2014)

With respect to the above issue of the governors and district governors' not knowing how they should make sense of their new roles, sometimes they are not able to direct their futures. This is because they have motivations for persevering their traditional administrative understanding. For two participants, the governors and district governors know the realities and know that it is not possible for them to maintain their traditional administrative understanding.

In my opinion, some of the governors and district governors have the motives for protecting or resisting their traditional administrative mentality, though there have been many reforms to the public administration. However, it is unrealistic to continue maintaining the traditional administrative mentality, with many of them knowing that they have to change. However, they are unable to predict how they should direct those changes. (Erkan Capar, Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014)

Many of the civil administrators do not have the intention to preserve their traditional roles and mentality; some of them, however, do want to maintain their traditional roles because they consider themselves to be the sole authority in their province and district.... Meanwhile, the people around him or her flatter them. The governors and district governors may also believe that they know everything.... Therefore, they behave like this because of their being affected by the people around them. (Hudayar Mete Buhara, Deputy Governor, 19/07/2014)

For some respondents, the governors and the district governors do not have any motivations for preserving their traditional administrative understanding. Nevertheless, when the reform was made, politicians searched for a scapegoat. During the reform process, the scapegoat for them was the governors and district governors. Therefore, the respondents claimed that, even though the governors and district governors did not resist for the purpose of preserving their traditional understanding, the politicians reflected them to the public and the media as having motivations for preserving the traditional administrative understanding. The point is illustrated by Cengiz Aydogdu (Governor, 16/06/2014):

CENGIZ AYDOGDU: In my opinion, the governors and district governors are not trying to protect their traditional administrative mentality. First of all, the bureaucracy is one step ahead of the politicians. Secondly, no reform is accepted as satisfactory if it is made by the bureaucracy.

RESEARCHER: Why is that?

CENGIZ AYDOGDU: The politicians that made the reform wanted to punish someone and “put them in their place”. This is the bureaucracy. When the reform was made by the politicians, there was someone in their minds that they wanted to punish. These were the governors and district governors. Of course they told the public that “the governors and district governors are not abandoning their traditional understanding, their power, and the opportunities that they once had!”

RESEARCHER: Why do the politicians think like this?

CENGİZ AYDOĞDU: When the reforms were being made, the civil administrators could not take part in the process actively. Moreover, the civil administrators did not think about themselves and their system and did not make any original contributions to the reform process. Therefore, they were perceived as being the opponents of the reform. In this sense, the governors and district governors are being “put in their place.”

As was seen above, the majority of the governors and district governors did not have any motives for preserving their traditional understanding after the massive public administration reforms. However, a small number of governors and district governors have had difficulties keeping pace with the changes and have motives for preserving their traditional administrative understanding for many different kinds of reasons. For instance, since the politicians have become more powerful, they did not have the chance to preserve their traditional understanding. Otherwise, they would be liable to lose their post. Thus, the majority of governors and district governors have grasped and understood the changes which have been made and know the limits of their power.

7.4. The New Emerging Roles

During the elite interviews, the topics of which new roles will emerge and be important in the future were mentioned. According to a majority of the participants, given the effect of the public administration reforms which were passed during the 2000s, although the classic traditional roles had been eroded by the time of those reforms, after they were adopted by the state, those classical roles have once again gained importance. In this sense, most of the respondents claimed that the role of representing the state and central government was an indispensable one for them. Without that role, the concept of governorship and district governorship, itself, cannot be thought. This is because, for them, the role of representing the state and central government is the most important of their roles. The following two excerpts clearly explain this point:

The role of representing the state and central government will continue to be important as long as the understanding of central state continues to exist; and the central state will continue to exist; so there shall always be a representation of the central government and state in the field. If there were no longer any roles of representing the state and central government, the other roles would no longer be important either. Therefore, the role of representation is important and will gain importance with time. (Cengiz Aydogdu, Governor, 16/06/2014)

If there is a central state, there will be governors and district governors; and, in this sense, they will continue to represent the central government and state because there is only one authority who can ensure that the state organisations in the field coordinate with one another and these are the governors and district governors. (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

As mentioned above, ensuring the security of the citizens and the public order is the second most important role that the governors and district governors play. This role is performed under the supervision and control of the governors and district governors by the police and gendarmerie forces. Most of the participants claimed that this role is a classic, traditional one. Nevertheless, according to the participants, this role cannot be delegated to the local governments or any other authority. For them, however, this role is indispensable for the governors and district governors. With the increased migration from rural to urban areas and the increased level of urbanisation, many security issues have become clear. Moreover, the participants mentioned that, given the developments made to communication, transportation and technology, new types of crime have appeared. Therefore, now more than ever, citizens expect the state and its representatives to guarantee and ensure their security and public order. According to the interviewees, citizens want to live safely and do not want to deal with any security problems. In this sense, the participants believed that the governors and district governors' role of guaranteeing the public's security has gained in importance. Furthermore, they also expect that role to continue to be performed under the responsibility of the governors and district governors. Moreover, most of the

participants claimed that, while infrastructure works could be conducted by certain other government organisations, the role of ensuring public security should be performed by the hand of the governors and district governors. This view is defended by what the following three interviewees stated:

The most important function of the state is to ensure the sense of belonging and feeling of security of its citizens. In other words, the citizens have to know and feel that they are citizens of the state and that the state will protect them. In the provinces and districts, everybody knows that there are governors and district governors who protect them and their interests because of their being citizens of the state. Moreover, the citizens know that if they meet with any problems, the governors and district governors will be able to help them (Vecdi Gonul, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Old National Defence Minister, 16/07/2014).

The citizens want to live in a safe environment. Therefore, they want us to ensure their security and safety. For example, they want us to prevent burglaries. I too am especially annoyed when I see a beggar trying to pick my trouser leg in the streets. Who will solve this problem? Of course, the governors and district governors should solve the problem! (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

We can deal with the problems created in the provinces and districts by using the resources of the Provincial Special Administration and the Union of Village Delivery Service. In this sense, the governors and district governors supplied many important services to the people who had had significant shortcomings and deficiencies. However, after the 2000s, the local government has become more prominent in addressing those types of issue. The direct role of conducting infrastructure works is not expected from us anymore. Other roles are expected from us. The most important necessities for the citizens that we can provide are that of ensuring their security and the public order in general. In

this sense, if you ensure their security, the citizens will provide you much support. (Huseyin Avni Mutlu, Governor, 13/08/2014)

Furthermore, according to most of the participants, after the roles of representing the state and central government and that of ensuring the public order, the role of coordinating and cooperating was mentioned as being the third most important role that the governors and district governors' play. Moreover, for them, this role has also gained added importance recently. According to the participants, the governors and district governors guarantee the coordination and cooperation of the various state institutions, the other non-state institutions found in the provinces and districts, the local governments and the citizens. Given the effect of the public administration reforms made in the 2000s, many roles have been given to the local governments and, with the development of transportation and communication technologies and with the widening and increasing of the governments' civil service area, the state has taken upon itself many new responsibilities and roles, with the role of coordination and cooperation being given to the governors and district governors. According to most of the respondents, if there were no governors or district governors in the provinces and districts, chaos and conflict would ensue between the different power groups and citizens. For them, the governors and district governors would reconcile these conflicting interests and become a kind of bridge between the central government and the provinces and districts. This thought is echoed in the following milieu of excerpts:

The governors and district governors' role of coordination and arbitration will become important. In other words, say that there exists a conflict between the local community and the municipality, between two non-governmental organisations, between the local government and the central government, or between the municipality and the field administration of the central government. Who should intervene? Of course, the governor and district governor intervene in order to reconcile these different persons and organisations with one another. In this context, the role of coordination and arbitration becomes significant. (Kasim Turgut, Inspector — District Governor, 04/07/2014)

As you know, the governors and district governors represent the state and central government in the provinces and districts. The mayors, on the other hand, are selected by different political parties. Therefore, in this sense, an authority is needed in order to ensure the coordination and cooperation of the local governments with that of the central government. In this sense, civil administrators can ensure their cooperation and coordination. They will have to develop a direct relationship with the state's citizens because of their representing the state and central government. In order for the citizens to solve some of their problems, they will have to contact either the governor or district governor of their province or district, respectively. As you know as well, the governors and district governors represent the central government and state. Therefore, they can ensure the relations between the provinces, districts, and the central government. Otherwise, imagine whether there was no governor or district governor. Who would ensure the relations between the citizens and the central government? If there were no governors or district governors, the relations between the central government and the rest of society would break down. (Saffet Arikan Beduk, Retired Governor and General Director of Police and the President of Union of Turkish Administrators, 27/06/2014)

Thus, most participants claimed that the three traditional roles have not only gained importance but that they will also keep their importance. In short, these classical traditional roles are indispensable elements of the profession of civil administrators and will be the most important roles of them.

Moreover, apart from these classic traditional roles, during the interviews, the majority of participants pointed out that, because the profession has had such a long history spanning from the Ottoman Empire, the citizens naturally trust the governors and district governors. When the citizens have a problem, be it with the local governments, the central government, provincial or district organisations, and problems with other citizens, they have retained the habit of applying to the governors and district governors

for solutions. Moreover, the citizens know the former power of the governors and district governors and trust them to be able to do that which they used to. They also believe in the objectivity of the governors and district governors in representing the state and central government. In this sense, the interviewees mentioned that the relationships that the citizens have with state organisations and local governments have increased. Sometimes, however, they also have conflicts of interest between different parties. It is then that the citizens want the governors and district governors to play the role of arbiter between them and the other parties with whom they are quarrelling. This role was especially emphasised by the participants. The following four excerpts are examples-in-point of this opinion:

While a draft law was being debated, I was sitting with the Minister of Industry and Technology. I asked him what he would be doing about the organised industrial region. He told me that they would be making another law and that we will be giving a role to the governors in the sector of organised industry. Furthermore, he told me that that demand regarding the role of the governor came from businessmen and not from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Minister told me that, according to businessmen, they could not accomplish anything without the governor's participation in the organised industry regions. This is because the governor has traditionally taken on the role of arbitrator. Indeed, a given project's chance of economic and social success drastically increase whenever the governor is involved because the governors and district governors are signs of the state's approval of a project, thereby also engendering confidence in people. (Ahmet Zahterogullari, Governor, 01/07/2014)

When a citizen is in trouble or is experiencing problems, there should be an authority to which they can apply for a solution. The citizen requires an objective, impartial and depoliticized person in order to help them with their problems. This authority belongs to the governors and district governors. (Davut Gul, District Governor, 03/07/2014)

With regards to the governors and district governors' new or emerging roles, the majority of participants stated that the role of leadership will be important. They also mentioned that, when compared to the citizens' past expectations of the governors and district governors' role of leadership, today, the citizens, business associations, and other power groups wanted the governors and district governors to play that role. According to the participants, the businessmen and their associations especially want the governors and district governors to play the role of leadership because, even though they have many other important resources, they still require a leader who would have the power to bring the businessman associations, governmental organisations, and citizens together. The only people capable of accomplishing such a feat. For them, since the governors and district governors have both vision and a good reputation among the citizens, it can play these roles. Moreover, the participants mentioned that the provinces and districts are getting richer. Therefore, the provinces and districts need leaders who do not intervene in everything, but who instead support and encourage the businessmen, the non-governmental organisations, and the citizens. As Kasim Turgut (Inspector-District Governor, 04/07/2014) explains "leader administrators will be important. As is known, there had been leader administrators, but in the future, the role of leader administrators and in this sense, the governors and district governors will become more important".

Furthermore, Gungor Azim Tuna (Governor, 23/06/2014) also points out why the governors and district governors' leadership role is so important in what follows:

We went to China with 100 entrepreneurs before leaving Canakkale (the governor's old province). There was a food fair. Imagine. We went to China with 100 businessmen, even though only 20-25 businessmen had gone there last year. Of course, this visit yielded significant results, for the businessmen. The links which the businessmen established were important for the province of Canakkale. Everybody benefited from that visit to China. In essence, even though the businessmen went to China, with my leadership, they thought that they could more easily find addressees and open official

doors in China simply because of my official position of being a governor of a province.

According to most of the participants, after the reforms passed in the 2000s, the social policy implementation became especially important. In this sense, the protection of disadvantaged groups, like children, women, and the disabled, became an important government policy. The government wanted the governors and district governors to follow this policy closely. For the interviewees, these social policy implementations will gain more importance in the future. Therefore, many active social roles are expected, and will continue to be expected, from the governors and district governors. According to them, the government provides great importance to these roles, and the government believes that the governors and district governors can perform this role effectively. For the participants, these roles are proffered to the citizens in an objective and equal way by the governors and district governors. The following interviewees explicate this role as follows: “the governors and district governor will be the representatives of the social state. Their roles concerning the social state will be very important” (Ahmet Zahterogullari, Governor, 01/07/2014). Moreover,

In Turkey, according to some statistics, there are about 7-8 million disabled people. Up until yesterday, it was said that these people should have been at home not outside. However, in Europe, I saw with my own eyes that a paralysed person, who was paralysed from the waist down, could get on the bus alone, cross the roads alone. Thus, the governors and district governors have the responsibility to provide and ensure that disabled and disadvantaged peoples have better opportunities. (Ilker Haktankacmaz, District Governor, 28/06/2014)

Moreover, during the interviews, a majority of the respondents claimed that the protection human rights and freedoms will also be an important role for the governors and district governors to play. They mentioned, however, that, in the past, the governors and district governors did not play enough roles regarding the protection of citizens’ basic human rights and freedoms. Today, on the other hand, the citizens are more informed about their basic rights and freedoms. Turkey is also now a member of the

some international organisations concerning human rights issues. Moreover, since Turkey is working towards becoming a member of the European Union, it is expected that the governors and district governors should be more sensitive about violations of human rights and freedoms which occur under their purview. In addition, governors and district governors are expected to adopt the necessary measures in order to guarantee citizens' human rights and freedoms. Indeed, most of the participants mentioned during the interviews that the modern state should be based on human rights. For them, if Turkey wants a democracy which respects the rule of law, Turkey should guarantee the basic human rights and freedoms of their citizens. Furthermore, many of the participants stated that, even though the governors and district governors used to be in charge of conducting infrastructure works, they do not have those responsibilities anymore and should, in turn, improve the standards of their citizens' human rights and freedoms. In addition to all of this, they mentioned that the governors and district governors, in being not only the representatives of the state and central government but also the ones who have first degree responsibility for ensuring the security of the country's citizens and the public order in general, not to mention being the head of the police forces and gendarmerie, have important roles regarding human rights and freedoms. The participants also confessed that, if Turkey wants to have a place in the contemporary world, they must respect everyone's human rights and freedoms. In this sense, the governors and district governors play, and will continue to play, significant roles in the areas of human rights and freedoms. The two excerpts which follow are cases-in-point of this opinion:

The role of the governors and district governors relating to the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms will come to the forefront. The prestige of the state can be ensured by simply respecting and protecting basic human rights and freedoms. Therefore, one of the most important roles which are played by governors and district governors is that of protecting basic human rights and freedoms. (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

When we compare the roles of the governors and district governors who performed years ago, we can say that their roles have changed greatly when we look at the roles that they play today. The governors and district governors' roles have changed, not only with the effect of the public administration reforms, but also with the effect of the socio-political, economic and cultural developments made at home and abroad. The governors and district governors will play an important role in protecting their citizens' basic human rights and freedoms and guaranteeing that those rights may be freely expressed and used by its citizens. (Saffet Arikan Beduk Retired Governor and General Director of Police and the President of Union of Turkish Administrators, 27/06/2014)

Moreover, and as a corollary to the role of ensuring essential human rights and freedoms, most of the participants mentioned that the governors and district governors' responsibility of supervising and controlling the state's police forces and gendarmerie will be another important role that they will continue to play in the future. For the interviewees, for the further democratisation of Turkey, their ability to monitor and supervise the police forces and gendarmerie is very important. Ahmet Zahterogullari (Governor, 01/07/2014) and Erkan Capar (Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014) both explain this role in what follows, respectively: "the police and gendarmerie force should be watched and controlled by the governors and district governors who have a civil point-of-view" and

In a democratic society, the civil surveillance, monitoring and control of the police and gendarmerie forces by the governors and district governors is inevitable. In this sense, in Turkey, the democratisation efforts and institutionalisation of democracy with all of its requisite organisations and checks and balances will increase. Therefore, the district governors will play an important role in the area of ensuring security and safety.

One of the other emerging roles is that of having relations with civil society and non-governmental organisations. According to the participants, the state and central government's having relations with civil society and non-governmental organisations are necessary for being successful. Therefore, any governors and district governors who do not give importance to their relations with civil society or non-governmental organisations will not be successful. Moreover, they mentioned that, with the effects of the public administration reforms, civil society and non-governmental organisations have become ever more important and, in turn, want to participate with the administrations. In this sense, for the participants, the governors and district governors cannot ignore the demands of these non-governmental organisations. As Kasim Turgut (Inspector — District Governor, 04/07/2014) explains: “the governors and district governors who do not attribute any importance to non-governmental organisations and civil society's participating in the administration will not be able to be successful” and “Here, also with regards to the importance of the role of communicating with non-governmental organisations, I think it would also be quite instructive to provide an extended excerpt from the interview made with Huseyin Avni Mutlu (Governor, 13/08/2014), who is Istanbul governor.

The citizens expect us to be pioneers, or leaders, in motivating non-governmental organisations; they expect us to benefit from the non-governmental organisations' powers; and they expect us to help direct the non-governmental organisations' projects towards society's basic necessity areas by accessing their national, or international, funds. In other words, it is expected from us to benefit from the power of society. In this context, we can lead the non-governmental organisations.... I would like to give you an example. We have a kindergarten where we have children who do not have any support. Now, we started a project in line with one of the policies of the Ministry of Family by giving children up for supporting to families who want to support these children with the help of some non-governmental organisations. We give these children to voluntary non-governmental organisations. Under their purview, these children are

given morale and material support and are guaranteed to receive their education in a family environment. Now, in Istanbul, there are around 60 to 70 homes where the children are looked after by voluntary non-governmental organisations....5-10 years ago, [however,] there were no such implementations. However, today the non-governmental organisation look after the children in a family environment. Who takes the lead? Of course, the governors and district governors take the lead in this implementation. You, as a governor or district governor, can establish good relations between governmental and non-governmental organisations by utilising the latter's resources. In this sense, we, as governors and district governors, create synergy by using all of this city's opportunities.

Moreover, a majority of the respondents pointed out that the issue of protecting the country's cultural and artistic values is becoming an important responsibility for the governors and district governors. According to them, the citizens want the governors and district governors to protect, restore, and give importance to these values. As Huseyin Karamese (District Governor, 26/08/2014) claims:

Turkey is getting richer and becoming urbanised. In this sense, the citizens' demands are differentiating. They demand that the governors and district governors protect their country's cultural heritage and artistic value. Therefore, the governors and district governors are expected to play great roles with respect to the protection of our country's cultural and artistic heritage and values.

Also, according to many of the participants, the issue of disaster and conflict management has become ever more important. In this sense, it is expected that the governors and district governors should play a more active role in those types of management. As Ilker Ozerk Ozcan (District Governor, 29/06/2014) and Kasim Turgut (Inspector — District Governor, 04/07/2014) state, respectively: “the governors and district governors' roles in the area of natural disasters and earthquakes will increase”

and “conflict management will eradicate the tension existing between the different classes of society. The civil administrators will play a role in the area”.

Furthermore, during the interviews, most of the respondents stated that, after the reforms, just being representatives of the state and the central government is not sufficient for the governors and district governors. According to them, they also have more active, closer relationships with the public. For them, they should not behave like traditional bureaucrats; instead, they should behave like elected politicians — a thought echoed by Vecdi Gonul (Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Old National Defence Minister, 16/07/2014) in the following excerpt:

As is known, the governors and district governors are known as the representatives or agents of the central government. However, the governors and district governors cannot govern a province and district in future and cannot carry out their roles and profession successfully if he or she does not behave like a person elected by the citizens. If they say that they are the agents of the central government and that, therefore, they only implement the rules and orders given to them by the central government, he/she will not be able to perform his/her profession in Turkey. Of course, they should represent the state, implement its laws and rules, and ensure the coordination of the different actors in their provinces and districts. In other words, they should be the ears and eyes of the state in the provinces and districts. These roles look like to the roles of the ambassadors of Turkey abroad. As you know, ambassadors do not use a special budget; rather, they represent the state and ensure the coordination of other state organisations abroad. Thus, in my opinion, after the reforms, the governors and district governors should play the role of the “activist.” By this I mean that they should be the pioneers of the people and that they should advocate for those things which would benefit their citizens whilst not gaining any benefit or interest from it.

As a kind of conclusion, I shall quote at length from the summary that the governor of Istanbul, Huseyin Avni Mutlu (Governor, 13/08/2014), provided during the interview that I conducted with him:

In my opinion, with time, the necessity of providing security to society will come to the forefront. The ensuring of that security will be a preferential problem that will have to be solved. Moreover, the fight against drugs; security and public order issues; the protection of the young; the strengthening of the family; social policies; improvements made to the quality of the country's education and its relevant infrastructures; the promotion of technological innovations; supporting and providing leadership to the civil society and non-governmental organisations; dealing with environmental problems; protecting, developing and transferring one's local culture; restoring the country's cultural assets; protecting its cultural richness and heritage; ensuring the safety of their province's (or district's) consumers; and the solving of human rights issues will all come to the forefront for the governors and district governors in the future.

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter has identified the changes made to the concept of the state, evaluated the shift from the traditional state-centric view of governors and district governors to a more citizen-centric governors and district governors, and analysed whether the governors have any motivations for retaining the previous administrative understanding and new emerging roles.

The traditional administrative understanding of the governors and district governors has also changed a great deal, though there are some governors and district governors who have tried to maintain the traditional understanding. Even though, in the past, the governors and district governors mainly adhered to a state-centred understanding, after the reforms, they have adopted a citizen-oriented approach instead. Furthermore, they have given more importance to protecting human rights, protecting the environment,

and implementing government policies. Moreover, the relationships between the governors, district governors, non-governmental organisations and the private sector have all been strengthened now when compared to the past.

Nevertheless, as some of the participants have declared, a small number of governors and district governors have not internalised these changes and have attempted to maintain their classical administrative understanding. This is due to the effects of politics, politicians, and the state and professional tradition. Most of the governors and district governors, however, have grasped and understood the changes which have been made to their profession and are cognizant of the limitations of their power.

Finally, with respect to the new emerging roles, it can be said that arbitrating between groups, dealing with the social policy implementations of the government (like supporting disadvantaged groups and helping the poor), supervising and controlling the state's police and gendarmerie forces, having close relations with civil society and non-governmental organisations, leading others, protecting the country's cultural and artistic values, defending basic human rights and freedoms (and removing the barriers to protecting basic human rights and freedoms), managing disaster and conflict situations will all be the most important roles that the governors and district governors will play in the future.

In order to complete the analysis of the semi-structured elite interviews, the reforms made to the local governments and the effect that they had on the roles of the governors and district governors will first have to be examined. It is in the next chapter that that last analysis will be supplied.

CHAPTER 8: LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORMS, POLITICISATION, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

8.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, the change in the traditional administrative understanding, whether the governors and district governors have any motivations for preserving the traditional understanding and new emerging roles were examined. In order to restructure the Turkish public administration, the AK PARTY (the ruling party in power for about twelve years) passed many important administrative reforms in the 2000s. According to the information obtained by conducting the elite interviews, the most effective and influential public administration reforms which changed the governors and district governors' roles was that in the area of local governments. Therefore, in order to understand the changing roles of the governors and district governors which occurred after the public administration reforms were implemented in the 2000s, the effects that those local governmental reforms have had will be examined in this chapter.

Firstly, the way in which the local government reforms changed the roles of the governors and district governors will be explored. Secondly, the reforms which were made to the Provincial Special Administration and its effects on the changing roles of the governors and district governors will be evaluated. Finally, the effect that the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration had on the governors will be examined.

As shall be seen, these reforms led to the politicisation of the Turkish Administration System and its civil administrators, a shift of power away from the governors and district governors towards the local administrations, and the establishment of a two-tier system of governorship between the provincial and municipal administrations over the same swathe of land.

8.2. The Effects of the Local Governmental Reforms

After the AK PARTY's (the ruling party that has been in power for around thirteen years) coming to power in 2002, massive local government reforms made under the

scope of the public administration reforms. In this sense, the local governments' reforms are very important because those reforms have made some significant changes to the roles of the governors and district governors. In order to understand the changing roles of the governors and district governors well, an analysis of how the local government reforms have affected those roles will be especially helpful.

Most of the respondents claimed that the legal regulations for local governments — especially in the municipalities — which were made within the context of the public administrative reforms of the 2000s have given many roles and powers to the municipalities those were not under their jurisdiction before. For them, the scope of the duties and roles given to the municipalities has widened, whereas the scope of the duties and roles of the governors and district governors have been narrowed. This means that the government has recently transferred importance from the governors and district governors to that of the municipal officers. As Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) proffers:

With the municipality code which was passed in 2005, some roles were given to the municipalities, such as that of building schools, making investments in the youth and sports areas, and giving microcredit to the poor needy. In other words, we see that, with expanding mission of the municipalities, they have been provided with a stronger voice. In contrast to this, we can also discern the narrowing or shrinking roles and functions of the governors in the areas of socio-economics and culture.

Moreover, the respondents pointed out that, before the reforms, the governors and district governors, to a certain extent, acted like supervisors for both the mayors and the municipalities. For example, the municipalities had to exchange correspondence with the governorship and district governorship. Furthermore, the mayors had to ask the governor to go on official visits abroad. In addition, the governors and district governors was able to make financial audits of the municipalities. However, these controlling tools that the governors and district governors could use on the municipalities were removed

with the reforms. Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014) elaborates on this at great length in the following excerpt:

Before the changes in the Municipality Code which was dated in 2005, the municipality could write official writings or exchange correspondence with the help of the governorship. Moreover, the mayor could only go abroad after acquiring the governor's permission. ... Before the changes were made, the governors also had the power to form a commission for the purpose of making financial audits whenever there was a problem regarding financial affairs in their relevant area. At least, there was no barrier blocking them from forming a financial commission. The governors had this kind of auditing power over the municipalities. However, today, no governor can say that I will form a commission and will control your accounting books.

Most of the respondents pointed out that the municipalities were, to some extent, under the tutelage of the governors and district governors before the reforms of the 2000s. According to the respondents, this tutelage provided the governors and district governors powers over both the municipalities and the mayors, though they did not use their tutelage powers very often. However, after the local government reforms within the context of the public administration reforms, these tutelage powers were removed. For example, it had been necessary for the municipalities to ask for the approval and opinions of the governors and district governors before they undertook any actions of their own. Thus, the decisions made by the Municipal Council were only valid after the governor and district governor approved them.

Moreover, the majority of respondents pointed out that the governors and district governors could have been an obstacle to the municipalities' decisions whenever those decisions were illegal by utilising their tutelage powers over the municipalities. The tutelage powers deterred the municipalities from making decisions because those decisions would have to be reviewed by the governors and district governors. Therefore, they had to be more attentive about their decisions' compatibility with the law. For the

respondents, as a result of these changes concerning tutelage, the governors and district governors' controlling powers over the municipalities were removed. In other words, this change in tutelage powers entailed a transfer of power from the appointed to elected persons. As two of the interviewees made clear:

As a result of removing the tutelage powers of the governors and district governors, the municipalities now perform their duties without the control and surveillance of the governors and district governors, thereby allowing them to carry them out freely and with self-confidence. In other words, the mayor, who always in the past sought the advice of the governor and district governor with respect to certain plans and programmes that they were developing in the provinces and districts, no longer needs them today. The mayor even sometimes considered the governors and district governors' existence as an obstacle because some of the promises that they had made to the electorate were, in fact, against the law. Thus, in the past, these pledges and decisions were summarily criticised and resolved by the governors and district governors. Therefore, the governors and district governors' behaviours often displeased the mayor. (Adnan Cimen, Deputy Governor, 12/06/2014)

With respect to this issue, I could compare the governors and district governors to that of an army. Everyone knows that, even though the army carries very potent weapons, normally, they do not use them. They do not use them because they are mainly meant to deter their enemies. In this sense, the tutelage powers of the governors and district governors deterred the municipalities from overstepping the bounds of the law. After the government removed their tutelage power over the municipalities, the municipalities now themselves feel and that whatever they want to do is automatically right. (Hasan Huseyin Can, District Governor, 18/06/2014)

As mentioned above, according to some of the respondents, the tutelage powers was given the governors and district governors the power to control some of the transactions and activities of the municipalities. However, the respondents also pointed out that, after the removal of those powers, the governors and district governors were left without any tools to control the transactions that the municipalities make and that, ergo, the municipalities now live in a vacuum void of checks and balances. Thus, in this sense, during the elite interviews, some of the respondents spoke about the municipalities as if, with the relinquishment of the governors and district governors' tutelage powers over the municipalities, there was no authority controlling their activities any longer. Furthermore, the interviewees also stated that, even though the government is now giving cornucopious amounts of money to the municipalities, the citizens still believe that that money is being controlled effectively given the fact that, before the reforms, the governors and district governors were always the ones responsible for identifying whether the municipalities were making unlawful transactions or not. As Selim Capar, (President of the Research Centre of the Ministry of the Interior — District Governor, 19/06/2014) notes:

In the provinces and districts, the citizens always traditionally expected the governor and district governor to have enough power to control the municipalities on behalf of the state. If the municipalities attempted to implement an action which was against the law, even if the citizens voted for the mayor, they would complain, asking “What is happening? There are injustices! Why do the governors and district governors not intervene?”. However, the governors and district governors cannot intervene in the affairs of the municipalities because they no longer hold any overseeing powers over the municipalities or do not have the requisite legal tools to stop them from committing any injustices.

As mentioned above, in the elite interviews conducted with the governors, deputy governors, and district governors, the majority of the respondents mentioned the importance of their tutelage powers over the municipalities. According to them, the removal of their tutelage powers meant their losing power over the municipalities, even

though they had not used them very often before the reforms. For the respondents, the mere existence of the concept and institution of tutelage was enough to control and supervise the municipalities to some extent. On the other hand, unlike the majority of the respondents who accepted the removal of their tutelage powers as a loss of power, some of the respondents claimed that the removal of their tutelage powers was not important for them for various different reasons. First and foremost, they claimed that they had not used the tutelage power over the municipalities that frequently. Therefore, the removal of that power did not entail any substantial loss of power for them, reasoning that a power that is not used often is not a power at all.

The tutelage power over the municipalities did not mean anything. It was just on paper. If you know about and want to use your tutelage powers, it can be accepted as being a powerful instrument. We should say, however, that 90% of the governors and district governors did not know how to use them. When the municipal budget was sent to the governors and district governors, it was simply sent to two ordinary civil servants who worked underneath them to be examined and approved. That's all. (Namik Demir, Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

Tutelage over the municipalities was not strong before the code. For example, when the municipal budget was brought in to be approved, it was simply approved. It can be said, then that their tutelage powers were not being used effectively. (Ayhan Nasuhbeyoglu, Governor, 27/06/2014)

After the local government reforms, especially in the municipalities, in addition to the removal of the governors and district governors' tutelage powers over the municipalities, most of the respondents also claimed that the municipalities and mayors gained more powers and roles in the eyes of the citizens. Indeed, they have become more prominent and the governors and district governors have lost many of their roles and powers when compared to the municipalities and mayors. Moreover, the respondents pointed out that, after the reforms, the mayors and local politicians have

come to believe that the government has given more importance to them than the governors and district governors. Furthermore, the government wants to implement many local projects with the help of the local governments, though many of those kinds of projects were once conducted by the governors and district governors in the past. Therefore, for the respondents, the mayors have come to feel themselves more powerful politically. This opinion is reflected in the excerpts which follow:

With the change, more roles and powers have been given to the local governments, but the scope of the roles of the governors and district governors has been shrinking. Therefore, we, as governors and district governors, nowadays do not have a say about the transactions, activities, and performance of the municipalities. After the reforms, whenever the governor wants to intervene in the affairs of the municipalities, the mayors can simply say to the governors: “Who are you? You are not our superior. We are not your subordinate. What we do does not concern you.” (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

The mayor considers himself directly linked to the country’s Prime Minister, especially if his or her political party is the one that is in power. In this sense, after the reforms which were made to the way the local governments work, the mayors have started to feel more powerful and effective than the governors and district governors. (Selim Capar, President of the Research Centre of the Ministry of the Interior — District Governor, 19/06/2014)

The respondents also mentioned that, after the public administration reforms, the scope of the roles and duties of the municipalities mentioned above have widened to such an extent that they have become a detriment to the governors and district governors, with some of their roles and powers that they used to conduct being transferred to the municipalities. In this sense, for the participants, the expectations of the citizen from the governors and district governors have changed. Before the reforms, the citizens had come to their offices in order to find solutions for their problems. Today, however, they

go to the mayor's office instead to find solutions to their problems. Moreover, in the eyes of the citizens, the mayors and local politicians are more powerful than the governors and district governors, as is clearly demonstrated in the following excerpts: "the citizens respect the elected authorities more because the most important roles, responsibilities and powers, not to mention a large budget, are all in the hands of the municipalities" (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014).

The local government reforms within the context of the public administration reforms made in the 2000s means that the government is telling the citizens that "You should not go to the governors and district governors in order to solve your problems; instead, you should go to the mayor and the politicians" (Omer Faruk Gunay, Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014).

With respect to the local government reforms, some respondents claimed that, with these new reforms, there have emerged new associates which share the leadership role which was once the sole responsibility of the governors and district governors. As Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014) makes clear: "with the new reform to the local governments, the leadership role which once performed only by the governors has been shared with the local powers."

Moreover, some respondents have asserted that the reforms have made the governors and district governors passive. In this sense, a respondent pointed out that: "these changes have pacified the governors and district governors even though they have great potential to do something of importance for the benefit of the provinces and districts" (Nevzat Tastan, District Governor, 11/08/2014)

Unlike the respondents who think that they have lost their powers and roles after the local government reforms within the context of the public administration reforms, other respondents think that, with the changes in the local governments, the governors and district governors are able to play their traditional roles well. According to them, the civil administrators were able to conduct many infrastructure works successfully. In today's world, however, there are many things that the governors and district governors have to do in order to be in line with public expectations, not to mention their traditional

roles. For them, the governors and district governors should carry out these activities. In other words, this provides them with the opportunity to be able to deal with their essential and traditional roles. In this sense, they evaluate these changes regarding the local government from varying points-of-view, not negatively. Thus, they approach the changes with a positive attitude. The following two excerpts echo this opinion:

In my opinion, these reforms have affected the roles of the governors and district governors positively. The governors and district governors do not deal with infrastructure works anymore. The infrastructure works can be carried out by other state organisations. Therefore, they can carry their traditional roles, such as the role of representing the state, coordinating the state institutions and organisations, and ensuring the security and safety of the citizens. In this sense, the criterion of success by which one should evaluate the governors and district governors is not defined by their building roads, establishing schools, or providing drinking water. This is because they no longer deal with these kinds of activities. Rather, the criterion should be defined by the quality of their relevant area's education, the level of security which they provide, and the quality of the services that they (the state) offer. (Davut Gul, District Governor, 03/07/2014)

When we look at the local governments, we can see that they are getting more powerful in terms of the economy, human resources, and budget size. The governors and district governors performed in the past some things that must have been carried out by the local governments. However, they are now getting more powerful and we, as governors and district governors, have been leaving these areas to them. It has been a good development. In other words, it is necessary in order to develop the local democracy. (Bilal Karaca, Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs — District Governor, 03/07/2014)

Some respondents approached the issue from a different point-of-view. According to the respondents, the governors and district governors did not express enough authority over

the municipalities in the past. Moreover, for them, the changes which have affected the local government have not also affected the roles of the governors and district governor that dramatically. However, as noted earlier, for these respondents, they have observed that the changes which have been made to the local governments and municipalities have given more importance to the municipalities; furthermore, they believe that this was done partly because the government does not want the governors and district governors to implement some developments, infrastructure works and projects. Indeed, according to some of the respondents, this has physiologically affected the governors and district governors negatively. Kasim Turgut (Inspector — District Governor, 04/07/2014), for example, states that:

In my opinion, even before the legal changes were made to the local governments, the governors and district governors did not have any important authority over the municipalities. We, as governors and district governors, conducted certain symbolic affairs like approving the municipal budget. In other words, the changes in the local governments have not changed the governors and district governors' roles significantly, but only physiologically. This is due to the fact that the local governments have more spending power (i.e. they have a larger budget). Moreover, the government has started to deal with the municipalities more and more while the government has been giving more importance to the municipalities. Therefore, the governors and district governors have begun to believe that they have lost all of their roles and powers.

As can clearly be seen, after the reforms made to the local government, the roles and powers of the municipalities have increased whereas the governors and district governors' tutelage over the municipalities have been removed. According to the majority of the participants, while some changes have been made to the municipalities, especially to their given roles and powers, the roles and powers of the governors and district governors have been affected negatively. Unlike the majority of the respondents, however, a small number of the participants claimed that, even with the reforms being

made to the local governments, the governors and district governors are still being able to conduct their traditional roles well.

8.3. The Effect that the Changes have had on the Provincial Special Administration

As has already been mentioned, before the changes, the governor was the head, both of the Provincial Special Administration and its main decision-making body, the General Council of the Provincial Special Administration. Therefore, the governor was the head both of the decision-making and executive bodies of the Provincial Special Administration. However, after the change, the Council Presidency was formed and the governor was removed from being the head of the General Council. Thereby, the governor was made the head of the execution body, named the Provincial Standing Committee, not the head of the decision-making body.

According to the majority of the respondents, before the changes, the governors were very effective heads of the decision-making body of the Provincial Special Administration. Moreover, the governors, district governors and the other members of the Provincial Special Administration's General Council were able to make decisions regarding the infrastructure of the province that would, in turn, ensure the economic development of the province. In other words, the governors and district governors both had a pivotal role in the decision-making process. The respondents pointed out, however, that today "it is rather difficult for the governors to make decisions in the General Council. They are no longer able to dictate decisions to the General Council; rather, they can only propose suggestions to the General Council. Furthermore, if the General Council approves the governor's proposal, the governor is the one who will have to try to implement that decision." (Omer Faruk Gunay Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014)

Before the changes made in 2005, investment plans were determined by the governor, the budget was approved by the governor as the head of the General Council, and the decisions regarding their implementation were also taken by the governor. We saw many examples in practice. However, we sometimes witness that today; the programme that the governor wants to pursue in the Provincial Special Administration is not necessarily approved or implemented by the General Council any longer. ... Before these changes, however, it was not possible to see such kind of event that because the governor was the head of the General Council. (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

Changes have been made to the Provincial Special Administration as part of the Public Administration Reforms. According to most of the respondents, the most important change in the Provincial Special Administrations is the removal of the governors from being the head of the General Council (i.e. the main decision-making body of the Provincial Special Administration). In addition to the removal of the governors from being the head of the General Council, some changes were also made which affected the roles of the governors and district governors. One of these changes includes that of determining the agenda of the General Council. Before the changes, as the head of the General Council, the governors were able to determine the agenda of the General Council. It can be said that the governors were the sole authority which determined the agenda of that council, though there were some exceptions. In this manner, the respondents pointed out that, after the reforms, the governors did not determine the agenda of the General Council. The governors now have to ask the elected president of the General Council whether he or she wishes to discuss a particular topic or ask that a particular decision be made in the council. In short, the governors do not any power in determining the General Council's agenda today. For the respondents, this change entails a loss of power from the part of the governors. With respect to this issue, they have also stated that the governors seem to be under the control of the General Council even though they are the legal representatives of the state and central government. In this respect, Enver Salihoglu (Governor, 18/07/2014) has stated that:

The power to determine the agenda of the General Council now belongs to the president of the Provincial General Council. Before the changes were made, however, the governors had the duty of determining the General Council's agenda. Therefore, it can be said that the council is commanded by the hand of the president of the Provincial General Council.

After the removal of the governors from being the head of the General Council, the majority of respondents claimed that there has been a large loss of power from the side of the governor. This change has thus made the governors' position in the Provincial Special Administration merely symbolic. Moreover, they stated that the governors have lost their powers and roles with their being removed from being head of the General Council. After the change, the politicians' intervention into the affairs of the Provincial Special Administration has increased and that the politicians have become more prominent because of their now playing that decision-making role. They can decide everything within the scope of the role and duty of the Provincial Special Administration without asking the governors for their permission. According to some of the respondents, the politicians had asked from the governors the ability to either perform some certain activities or to invest in some certain areas of the district seeing as the governors were very powerful at that time. Today, however, the politicians do not need the governors regarding decision-making. For the respondents, the politicians have come to the understanding that they are the decision-making authority and that, whenever the Provincial Special Administration makes a decision, the governors are the ones who implement those decisions in line with the dictates and will of the General Council. In this sense, they also emphasised the fact that, before the changes were made, in order to take any decisions, at least half of the members of the General Council was required. But, as mentioned above, it was difficult to make decisions and implement them, even though the governors also had the power to determine the agenda. Moreover, the respondents stated that the citizens do not come to the office of the governors anymore; rather, they go to the office of the politicians, especially the head of the General Council and the other members of the General Council. The following two excerpts expound upon this issue further:

After the reforms made in 2005, the governors have lost a great deal of their power. The citizens prefer the politicians that they have endorsed to be the head of the Provincial General Council than the governor. Moreover, the mayors have also come to forefront in power as well. (Yusuf Erbay, Governor, 24/06/2014)

The reforms in the local government decreased the number of applications made by the citizens to the governors and district governors. In other words, the governors and district governors have been by-passed in a way. As you know, with the changes that occurred in 2005 regarding the Provincial Special Administration, the governor was removed from the presidency of the Provincial General Council which once made the governor the symbolic head of the Provincial Special Administration. Back then, the General Council had the capacity to take and implement the decisions preferred by the governors. With the changes, however, the intervention from the politicians has increased, especially given the fact that there has been a one-party government in power for over twelve years now. (Gungor Azim Tuna, Governor, 23/06/2014)

In addition to their being removed from being the head of the General Council, as mentioned in what was stated above, the governors were also the heads of the Provincial Standing Committee (i.e. the main executive organ of the Provincial Special Administration). However, the respondents expressed the opinion that it is also difficult for them to pass decisions in that committee even though they head that committee. However, the respondents pointed out that, even before the changes, it was just as difficult for the governors to pass their decisions in those committees. Muammer Erol (Governor, 17/07/2014) further explains this situation:

After the removal of the governor from the Provincial Special Administration's General Council, they continued to head the Standing Provincial Committee, which is the executive body of the General Council. However, it is very difficult to take and implement decisions

if the elected members of the Standing Order Committee are opposed to the decision, no matter whether the governor is the head of that committee or not.

As mentioned above, most of the respondents believe that the changes which have been made to the Provincial Special Administration—especially the removal of the governors from being the head of the General Council—have affected the roles and powers of the governors negatively. They also think that the abovementioned changes have not only eroded their roles but that many of their roles have been transferred to the politicians as well. However, a small number of respondents do not agree with the majority. Some of them have claimed that these changes have not affected the roles and powers of the governors. According to them, the governors would have been able to play their roles effectively and in line with the law and the local democracy if only they knew about their roles' importance. In this sense, an interesting discussion developed between the researcher and one of the experienced interviewers:

RESEARCHER: How do you evaluate the changes made to the Provincial Special Administration?

ŞEVKET CİNBİR (District Governor, 08/07/2014): The reforms made to the Provincial Special Administration have simply ordered the governors to be and work as governors!

RESEARCHER: Could you please explain what you mean by that?

SEVKET CİNBİR: I would like to explain it by means of an anecdote. When the Provincial Special Administration reforms of 2005 were first being promulgated... I visited the governor of my province in his office. When I looked him at, he was sitting alone and was very sad. I asked him "Oh my dear governor, what has happened?" He replied to me "I think you do not know". I asked him, "Oh dear governor, what do I not know?" He said that there had been many changes to the Provincial Special Administration. "How can we perform as a governor after those kinds of changes?" he asked. He did not believe

that I had examined the new laws regarding the Provincial Special Administration. I told him that I had followed the law from its draft stages and that I knew the law. I told him that it is a modern law. And I told him that, after the passing of those laws, the governors will be the ones running the state in the provinces. He asked me what I meant by that. I, in turn, said: “Oh my dear governor, as you well know, the governor still represents the Provincial Special Administration as a legal entity and continue to head the Standing Provincial Committee — the main executive body of that organisation. Therefore, there is no problem. The governors will still run the state”. Furthermore, I told him to please call the director of the provincial hospital and ask how much the hospital’s budget is. He would be able to inform him that the hospital’s budget is around 50 million Turkish liras (around 15 million pounds). As he well knew, the budget of the Provincial Special Administration at that time was around 38 million (around 11 million pounds). Moreover, I also reminded him that he had the province invest in the Gordes Dam recently. The annual investment budget for the dam’s construction is around 30 million (8-9 million pounds). I concluded, saying, “Oh my dear governor, the government spends billions of Turkish liras in your province. All of these investments and expenses are made by the state. You, as the representative of the state and government, are the owner of all that budget. You are the one who will receive the credit!”

RESEARCHER: Why did the governors think that they could not govern effectively?

SEVKET CINBIR: They do not believe that they can govern effectively because, when three to four village leaders come to governor to ask for repairs to the drinking water pipes, the governor is not now able to tell them “Here, take 300 meters of pipe and make the repairs”. Likewise, they cannot easily give money to any particular person or village from the Provincial Special Administration’s budget. The governors should

not be concerning themselves with small, unimportant matters. We, as governors, run the state. We should not be concerning ourselves whether there are long queues in the hospitals. Police torturing people, on the other hand, are a matter which concerns the governor. How much time do we spend, as governors and district governors, controlling and governing the police and gendarmerie? We do not. The governors should deal with crucial matters. Thus, the changes which were made to the Provincial Special Administration have made the governors more effective in that they allow the governors with the most important issues, but the governors have not yet understood this. Why have the governors not understood this? Because they cannot perceive that the power actually belongs to them when they are not able to freely spend whatever they want to spend. They want to use the budget freely, no matter whether that budget is large or small.

RESEARCHER: Why do you think they feel that way?

SEVKET CINBIR: Since they were able to use the budget easily, they were also able to utilise their discretionary powers easily as well. Some governors do not know what the governorship really means. They think that the governorship is the body which carries out the building of village roads. However, the governors have much more important roles, if they only knew that they had them and had the capacity to use them. The governor should instead ensure the effectiveness and efficiency of the central government's field organisation services.

As has been seen, according to most of the respondents, the removal of the governors from being the head of the Provincial Special Administration's General Council have affected the roles of the governors and district governors negatively. They intimated that they have lost, not only their roles and powers — especially their decision-making powers. And, while the governors have lost many powers and roles, the politicians, in turn, have been gaining roles and powers. On the other hand, a small number of

respondents claimed that, with the abovementioned changes, the governors and district governors have not lost any power. In fact, according to them, they are still able to conduct their traditional roles well.

8.4. The Establishment of the Greater City Municipalities

With the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities in thirty of the provinces and with the removal of the Provincial Special Administration and the Village Delivery Services Union in those provinces, the roles and powers of the governors and district governors were dramatically affected. In the interviews, almost all respondents claimed that the first and foremost reforms made in the 2000s that have affected the roles of the governors and district governors was the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration. Therefore, examining the effects of establishing the greater city municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration will be helpful for coming to a better understanding of the changing roles of the governors and district governors.

Most of the participants claimed that the removal of the Provincial Special Administration and the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities in thirty out of the eighty-one provinces in Turkey have weakened and undermined the governors and district governors' roles and powers. For the respondents, the governors were responsible for a very important job in working with the Provincial Special Administration's budget because they had the capacity of bringing the provinces and district's local sources together and ensuring the development of the provinces. According to the respondents, since the economy is the essence of everything, since the Provincial Special Administration, and ergo its budget, was removed, the governors are no longer able to contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of the provinces any more. In this sense, the participants asserted that this has caused the erosion of both the legal and traditional roles of the governors and district governors. The following two excerpts are indicative of this opinion:

In order to realise the social, economic and cultural development of the district or province, you, as a governor or district governor, need

money and a budget. If you do not have money and a budget, how can you realise those kinds of words? You cannot contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of your relevant region by simply pontificating. (Mehmet Ozel, Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)

The governor in a province that has been turned into a greater city municipality today was a person who implemented improvement plans and who carried out infrastructure activities for the development and the improvement of the provinces. However, because the Provincial Special Administration was removed, they now no longer have a budget. Therefore, the governor has lost some of his or her powers and roles. The governor has turned into a person who merely represents the state and who simply welcomes and sends the guests off on their way. (Turan Eren, Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014)

With respect to the erosion of the roles and powers of the governors and district governors, an interesting elite interview was had with a female deputy governor:

SELDA DURAL (Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014): The reforms concerning the Greater City Municipalities terminated the role of the governors in the greater cities. While I was conversing with our governor yesterday, I told the governor that our colleagues have always tried to be the governors of the greater cities but that, after the code relating to the Greater City Municipalities, I am afraid that nobody will want to be a governor for the greater cities any longer.

RESEARCHER: Why do they not want to be a governor of the greater cities any longer?

SELDA DURAL: There is nothing for them to do as governors if they became the governors of a Greater City Municipality. All of their powers and roles have been passed on to the Greater City Municipality mayors.

RESEARCHER: What kinds of roles and duties have been passed from the governors and district governors to the Greater City Municipality mayors?

SELDA DURAL: They have all been transferred to the Greater City Municipality mayor. You, as a governor, no longer have a role or responsibility to conduct or plan public works. In other words, all of your roles and responsibilities concerning provincial environmental planning, all provincial plans, the effectiveness of the organised industrial zones, the activities and infrastructure works in the rural areas, and the right to grant licences have all passed on to the Greater City Municipality mayors.

RESEARCHER: How has this transfer of roles to the Greater City Municipalities affected the roles of the governor?

SELDA DURAL: According to you, can an authority that does not have any power or duties have a substantial, effective existence? In my opinion, without any powers or duties, that authority can only exist in name.

The governors have been the heads of the Provincial Administration, or Prefectural, System and the Provincial Special Administration for a long time. In this sense, the respondents pointed out that, on the one hand, the governor, who represents the state and central government in the province, is responsible for ensuring the public order (and, ergo, is in charge of the police forces), as well as having the power to coordinate all state organisations and institutions in the province. This, in itself, gives much authority and powers to the governor. On the other hand, the governor, as the head of the Provincial Special Administration, has the opportunity to use the Provincial Special Administration's budget. As mentioned above, their being able to control the Provincial Special Administration's budget enabled them to build roads, invest, build schools, provide clean drinking water to the rural areas, etc. According to the respondents, however, today, due to the removal of the Provincial Special Administration from the thirty greater cities, the governors can no longer perform the above activities any longer

because of their having lost so much power and so many roles. Moreover, the balance between being the head of the Provincial Special Administration and being the representative of the state and government in heading the Prefectural System has broken down with the removal of the Provincial Administration System. As Yusuf Erbay (Governor, 24/06/2014) explains:

In the past, the governor was in charge of carrying out two roles together. In other words, they wore two hats. The first one is that of being the head of the Provincial Special Administration. The other one is that of representing the state and central government in heading the Prefectural System in the province. However, after removing the Provincial Special Administration, that equilibrium between the provincial special administration and the prefectural system broke down.

According to most of the respondents, in the past, the governors and district governors communicated more about economic, cultural and social issues than security and safety issues. In other words, they used to spend more time managing the economic, social and cultural development of the provinces and districts. Today, however, they are no longer in charge of managing the budget, carrying out public works, or making public investments in the rural areas. In this context, the respondents pointed out that, before their being removed from the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors visited the villages in order to realise some infrastructure works and to better control them. When they go the village, the village leaders and villagers make demands which would ensure the governors and district governors' having a close and warm relationship with the villagers of that village. However, the respondents pointed out that, after the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors are not able to realise the infrastructure demands of those villagers. And this, in turn, has led to a decrease and erosion of the governors and district governors' roles. Two of the interviewees expounded upon this in what follows:

There was an event in a village recently. The Greater City Municipality had not asked the villagers of a particular village their

demands. Therefore, the villagers blocked the road. With respect to the role of ensuring the public order, the district governor went to the village and talked to the villagers and the village leader, telling them that the municipality will come and attempt to solve your problem. Can you imagine that, before the code or reform, the district governor was able to tell the villagers Okay, I will solve your problems, but that now, he has to wait for the municipality to solve the problems? (Mevlut Atbas, Governor — Member of Court of State, 15/07/2014)

Imagine that you are a district governor in the Balikesir province and you neither have the Village Delivery Services Union or the Provincial Special Administration to help you. You go to the village. What shall you talk about with the villagers? Why should you even go to the village? Which of the villagers' needs will you be able to meet? What will the head of the village want from you as a district governor? You are not able to build the village's roads. You are not able to provide clean drinking water to the village. In short, you are not able to meet any of the villagers' needs — especially in terms of infrastructure works since all infrastructure works are now carried out by the Greater City Municipality. I would like to ask you in all seriousness: what will you be able to accomplish in the district or the village to which you go? (Selda Dural, Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

With respect to carrying out the infrastructure works in the rural areas, the respondents pointed out that, before the reforms, the governors and district governors were responsible for the maintenance of the schools and other common public places in the villages, as well as the requisite financial resources for their maintenance. After the change, however, the Greater City Municipality became the body responsible for their maintenance in the greater cities. Therefore, the respondents claimed that the changes forced the governors and district governors into a position of dependence which required of them to request the greater city mayor to do something for the schools even though the governors and district governors are the ones who are legally responsible for their maintenance. This is because they cannot make the requisite improvements if the

central government, via the greater city mayor, does not provide any. Nevzat Tastan (District Governor, 11/08/2014) commenting on this issue, states:

There are schools in the villages. If there is a sewage problem in the school, you cannot repair it because the municipality is the body which is responsible for such repairs. Besides, you do not have a budget with which to solve that problem. Repairs take both time and money. Moreover, add to this the fact that the glass of the mosque in one of our villages is broken and that the muftu, who is responsible for performing the religious affairs of the district, comes to you asking whether you can repair the glass. But, of course, you do not have the money to make such a repair. In other words, our hands are tied. I mean we, as district governors, have come to the point of always sitting in our chairs. Thus, we either make demands of the municipality or do nothing at all. Before these changes, however, we were able to solve all of these types of problems since we had the Provincial Special Administration and the Village Delivery Services Union at our disposal.

Moreover, most of the respondents pointed out that the removal of the Provincial Special Administration and the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities in thirty of the largest cities have not only decreased and undermined the role of the governors, but also have decreased and undermined the role of the district governors as well because the district governors used to also be able to benefit from the resources of the Provincial Special Administration and the Village Delivery Services Union. As mentioned above, the district governors no longer have the power to utilise these institutions' resources anymore. With this in mind, Hudayar Mete Buhara (Deputy Governor, 19/07/2014) explained that:

It is well known that the district governors receive support from their governors by using the budget of the Provincial Special Administration. After the crippling reforms which weakened the roles and powers of the governors, however, where can the district governor

take support? Thus, the district governors' roles have decreased and have been undermined because their governors' roles have been decreasing as well.

As mentioned above, according to the majority of the respondents, the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration in the 30 provinces have affected the roles of the governors and district governors negatively. In other words, the changes have decreased and undermined their roles and powers. In this sense, the respondents pointed out another negative result: viz., that they have weakened the formal leadership roles of the governor and district governor. According to them, if the governors and district governors do not have money and do not have the use of a budget, their leadership powers have lessened in importance. One must therefore ask, "Why do the citizens turn to them if they do not have money?" As Muammer Turker (Governor, 20/06/2014) puts it,

If you, as a governor or district governor, do not have access to a budget, your leadership capacity in the eyes of the citizens decreases. If you do not have powerful instruments, why would the municipality listen to you and why would the citizens come to you?

Moreover, some respondents mentioned that, after the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities, the question whether governors and district governors are even needed has been asked by both politicians and academics. On this score, Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014) comments that:

The reforms which have been made to the thirty greater cities have generated a debate concerning the very existence of the governors and district governors. With time, the public questions your existence. They even go so far as to say that, since the municipality carries out all of the needed services, there is no need for governors and district governors anymore.

Apart from the abovementioned claims made by the respondents, some respondents asserted that, with the removal of the Provincial Special Administration and the Village Delivery Services Union — and, ergo, the removal of the relevant financial resources — , the governors and district governors has lost their enthusiasm to develop the provinces and districts any further. Moreover, first and foremost, they claimed that the governors and district governors have lost their trust and confidence in themselves. According to the respondents, the worst outcome of the creation of the Greater City Municipalities on the profession and roles of the governors and district governors was the removal of the Provincial Special Administration. For example, Cengiz Aydogdu (Governor, 16/06/2014) opined that:

In my opinion, the governor can still conduct many important roles in the province, even though, after the reforms made to the Greater City Municipalities, he or she can no longer perform any improvements to the provincial infrastructure. Nevertheless, in the view or perception of the public, all state organisations, including the governors, are important. However, we, as governors and district governors, have lost faith in ourselves. No one in the profession of civil administrator believes that we have not lost both prestige and societal status. Everyone in the profession agrees that we are not how we were before.

According to some respondents, with the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors have lost important legitimacy tools. As mentioned before, the Provincial Special Administration's General Council's members are elected by all of the electors of the province. Therefore, according to the respondents, the representative power of the General Council is very great because every citizen who lives within the borders of the province is represented by their elected representatives in that council. In this sense, the General Council provided more power and legitimacy to the governors in virtue of their representing the Provincial Special Administration as a legal entity, not to mention being the head of the Provincial Special Administration's executive body, the Provincial Standing Committee that is the executive body of the provincial special administration as mentioned. Moreover, as already mentioned the governors also represent the state

and central government in the provinces in virtue of the fact that they are also the head of the Prefectural System and represent the Provincial Special Administration. Both representations give more powers, roles and sense of legitimacy to the governors. As mentioned, however, the governors have lost source of their power; viz., the Provincial Special Administration. Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014) explains this in more detail as follows:

Before the reforms, the governor wore two hats. The first one was related to their being the head of the Provincial Special Administration, even though the Provincial Special Administration's General Council had its own chair and the governor represented it as a legal entity. When the governor carried out the administrative powers of the Provincial Special Administration, he or she had a vast amount of legitimacy because he or she implemented the Provincial Special Administration's General Council's decisions whose members, themselves, were elected for by all of the citizens of the province. In terms of the Provincial Special Administration's General Council's right to represent, that body was more powerful than the Municipality Council because the Provincial Special Administration's General Council at least represented the entire province. Therefore, the governors lost one of the most powerful tools for legitimacy that they had.

On the one hand, as already mentioned above, the majority of respondents thought that the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administrations decreased and undermined the roles and powers of the governors and district governors. On the other hand, some respondents expressed that these changes did not have a negative effect on the roles of the governors and district governors. According to them, there is no need for the governors and district governors to deal with some of the problems that occur in the rural areas (such as developing their relevant areas' infrastructure works, fixing sewage problems, and providing clean drinking water) any longer because these services can be ensured by the municipalities. Moreover, they claimed that these services take much more of the governors and district

governors' time. For these respondents, their having to deal with these types of problems weakened their ability to execute the traditional roles which the governors and district governors were supposed to have been carrying out. Thus, these respondents made it clear that, after the changes which were made, the governors and district governors have, in effect, been given more time to concentrate on and perform their traditional roles. The following excerpt is prime example of this opinion:

Due to the fact that the governors and district governors do not have to worry about the infrastructure works which had taken so much of their time, they are now able to invest more of their time in playing their essential traditional roles and, in turn, become more successful governors. (Ilker Ozerk Ozcan, District Governor, 29/06/2014)

Moreover, some respondents mentioned that, in addition to dealing with their traditional roles, the governors and district governors also have more time to deal with the quality of the other public services which the state provides, such as increasing the quality of education and health. This is because they believe that the governors and district governors' having to deal with the projects of the Provincial Special Administration, such as infrastructure works, had taken them more time to complete and distracted them from their promulgating their traditional roles. The respondents noted, however, that, the removal of the Provincial Special Administration from the greater cities has provided the governors and district governors more time to deal with the services that truly matter for their profession as a whole. In this sense, they believe that the rural infrastructure works can easily be performed by the greater city municipalities and that their not performing those services does not entail that they have lost the roles that are the most significant. The following excerpts reflect this opinion more clearly:

After the reforms made to the local governments, your responsibility as a governor or district governor is that of increasing the quality of the province's, or district's, education and health services, solving your citizens' problems, and coordinating the different state institutions and organisations. (Ahmet Zahterogullari, Governor, 01/07/2014)

In my opinion, the governors and district governors can carry out their traditional roles as well, if not better, as before the reforms because they have gotten rid of the responsibility to manage infrastructure works. In other words, before the reforms, the governors and district governors were working as contractors. But is that right? (Yucel Yavuz, Governor, 13/07/2014)

When the governors and district governors are mentioned, the KOYDES Project (village infrastructure support project) comes to the minds of everybody. Due to the fact that eighty to ninety per cent of the citizens' requests were related to this project, that project took up an extremely large amount of time from the civil administrators. According to others, we did not have any other roles to perform besides that of improving the infrastructure of either the province or the district. That infrastructure project consumed most of our time and energy. Furthermore, we had to deal with certain investigations arising from that project. Only after finishing that project were we able to play our traditional roles effectively. (Huseyin Karamese, District Governor, 26/08/2014)

With respect to governing or ruling, as mentioned above, most of the respondents pointed out that they needed money in order to ensure the needs of the public and to contribute to the social, economic and cultural development of the provinces and districts. In this manner, some of the respondents thought that the governors and district governors did not need a budget because there exist many things in the provinces and districts which they could do which would benefit the citizens without their having to utilise a budget. In other words, money is not everything for them. In this sense, they mentioned that the governors and district governors were still influential and had important roles without having to use such a large amount of money as they did in the past. The following two excerpts are indicative of this particular opinion:

I do not agree with the idea that one has to have a large amount of money in order to be powerful. This is because, in the past, even

though we did not have a great deal of money, we were still influential and had many crucial roles. When we think about the vast structure of the state, there are many things that the governors and district governors are able to do without having to spend money. (Gazi Simsek, Governor, 17/06/2014)

I was a district governor in Istanbul. There did not exist a budget to speak of, but I conducted my duties and responsibilities well. In terms of the greater cities, in my opinion, the roles of the governors have not changed whatsoever. The only things which have changed is that the border of the greater city municipality was broadened and that the Provincial Special Administration (and, ergo, its budget) were removed. (Sevket Cinbir, District Governor, 08/07/2014)

With respect to using money, as was already mentioned above, the majority of the respondents gave high importance to the governors and district governors being able to ensure their roles effectively. In this sense, they claimed that, after the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors have lost an important financial instrument for carrying out some activities. Some respondents, on the other hand, pointed out that emphasising their being able to utilise the Provincial Special Administration is not logical because they believe that, before the reforms, many works were not completed in virtue of the very fact that the governors and district governors were responsible for the Provincial Special Administration's budget. In this sense, Huseyin Karamese (District Governor, 26/08/2014) provided an example from his district:

How many financial resources did the Provincial Special Administration and the Village Delivery Services Union have? For example, in Iznik (the place where I work), there are many investment areas in terms of historical places. I would like for you to ask what I did when the Provincial Special Administration and the Village Delivery Services Union were still under my purview. Only the excavation of the Roman theatre was conducted. If the important thing

is to provide those kinds of services, I can say that, with the passing of these last reforms, we have been granted more opportunities to make many other things. With the leadership of the district governor, the civil administrators can have a role in influencing something's being done. In this sense, I can say that the code has increased the roles of civil administrators, not the reverse.

Moreover, some respondents stated that the Provincial Special Administration's share in the general budget was not high. Thus, they believe that the removal of the Provincial Special Administrations and their budgets from the greater municipalities has not decreased or undermined their roles at all. As Mustafa Yildiz (Deputy General Director of Local Governments-District Governor, 17/06/2014) makes clear:

I do not think that our not being able to utilise the Provincial Special Administrations' budget has decreased the roles of the governors or district governors given that the governors and district governors were not using more than that budget. When we look at the Provincial Special Administrations' budget's share in the central government's general budget, we observe that the Provincial Special Administrations takes up 1.15% of the central government's budget and that 70-80% of that budget was spent for running and personnel expenses. In other words, the amount of money used for investments in the Provincial Special Administrations' budget is approximately equivalent to 0.002% of the central government's budget.

For them, the thing which undermines their roles the most is the central government's approach towards them. In other words, for the respondents, there is a close correlation between the active and successful performance of the governors and district governors' roles and the approach that the government adopts towards them. In this sense, they believe that:

By using budget, the governors and district governors do not come to the forefront. That which makes them powerful is the roles which are given to them by the central government. Imagine the government's

saying that we, as the government, have given these kinds of roles and duties to the local governments. However, in the provinces and districts, the governors and district governors are my main representatives and who survey and control the citizens on behalf of the government. In other words, they behave or play like small prime ministers. If this perspective is realised, then they can become more powerful without adding any extra roles and duties to their already existing ones. (Mustafa Yildiz, Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014)

In sum, according to the vast majority of the respondents, some public administration reforms were made effective in the 2000s, but there is no other reform which has affected the roles of the governors and district governors besides the establishment of the greater city municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administrations from those municipalities. Also, according to this majority, after the reforms, the governors and district governors lost many powers and roles, whereas the municipalities, conversely, gained many powers and roles. Furthermore, after the reforms, the governors and district governors lost opportunities to utilise the budget of the Provincial Special Administration and, thus, were unable to invest in the infrastructure works of the rural areas of the province. For most of the respondents, they lost their motivation to continue their profession and have lost their leadership roles. Moreover, with the effect of the reforms, debates concerning the profession's very existence have arisen such that many have openly wondered what purpose the governors and district governors have now that the municipalities have gained so much control. However, unlike the majority, several respondents thought differently about the issue. According to them, with the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors have been able to conduct their traditional roles more effectively because they now have more time to invest in the services which their professional traditionally should be supporting.

8.4.1. Who have become more prominent? The Governors, District Governors, or Mayors?

The municipalities have been transferred more powers and roles after the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration. The mayors have become more prominent than the governors and district governors. In this sense, in this section, it will be examined whether the municipalities — and especially the Greater City Municipalities — have become more prominent and powerful in relation to the governors and district governors.

According to the respondents, with the removal of the Provincial Special Administration in the greater cities, many of the roles and powers of the Provincial Special Administration were transferred to the Greater City Municipalities. In this way, the respondents believe that the Greater City Municipalities have gained more power. As mentioned before, before the reforms, the governors and district governors played an effective role in improving the infrastructure of the rural areas. In this sense, the participants claimed that this code dealt a large blow to the effectiveness and influence of the governors and district governors in the development of the rural areas. For example, the heads of the villages do not visit the governors and district governors any longer for the purpose of receiving services; instead, they go to the district and province mayors in order to ensure those same services. Therefore, the respondents asserted that the Greater City Municipalities removed the effectiveness and influence of the governors and district governors in the rural areas. In this context, the respondents also pointed out that, due to the fact that economy is everything, after the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the citizens can easily perceive where the economic power is located. In other words, they see the power of the municipalities. This has led to the erosion of the roles, powers and image of the governors and district governors in the eyes of the citizens because the municipalities — and, indirectly, the mayors — have become more prominent than them. In this regard, the following two excerpts are especially salient:

After the reforms regarding the Greater City Municipalities, rather than go to the governors and district governors in order to ask for them

to build better infrastructure (such as good parks, drinkable clean water, and strong roads), the citizens have instead been going to the mayors. This is because they know that the mayors have the capacity to spend money for the needs of the citizens. (Davut Gul, District Governor, 03/07/2014)

After the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, based on my own observations, the mayor is getting more powerful while the governors and district governors are getting weaker. Before the Greater City Municipalities were established (i.e. when there were Provincial Special Administrations and Village Delivery Services Unions), the citizens perceived the governors and district governors as people who transferred resources to their villages and towns. Therefore, they tried to influence and persuade the governor and district governor by trying to communicate with them. Today, however, the citizens have tried to enter into connection with the mayor or the local administration units. Therefore, the public opinion characterises the governors and district governors as simply being figures who just sign documents, remit the documents, and deal with unnecessary bureaucratic procedures and affairs. (Erkan Capar, Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014)

The majority of the participants claimed that, after the public administration reforms, especially after 2002 (i.e. after the AK PARTY became the ruling party), the municipalities came to the forefront while the governors and district governors blended into the background. Furthermore, they also stated that the mayors have started to play the leadership roles which were once played mainly by the governors and district governors. “The role of leadership that the governors have played until recently is played by the Greater City Municipality’s mayor. Therefore, the top executive role that the governors have traditionally played has been affected” (Mustafa Yildiz, Deputy General Director of Local Governments — District Governor, 17/06/2014).

Most of the participants claimed that, on the one hand, the government has empowered the Greater City Municipalities in terms of financial resources and roles. And yet, on the other hand, the government is telling the governors and district governors that you have the power to control and coordinate the Greater City Municipalities. However, the respondents also pointed out that these tutelage powers and duties are just on paper since, in practice, it is very difficult to implement them. Moreover, the respondents pointed out that there is sometimes a conflict between the governors, district governors, and the mayors because the mayors feel themselves powerful than the governors and district governors in two respects: the first is that they have more financial resources and roles than the governors and district governors have; and the second is the fact that they were elected into their positions and thus have the mandate of the people, whereas the governors and district governors were simply appointed into their offices. In this sense, two of the respondents noted as follows:

For example, the district governor tells the mayor that there is no other way. This is my responsibility. I have the role of implementing the codes to you and to the municipality. On the other side, though, the mayor remains indifferent, asking the district governor why are you in a hierarchically higher position than me?. I am an elected mayor. Many citizens chose me. I took a great amount of votes from the citizens in order to be elected. Thus, I have more power than you, not to mention control over the budget. (Selda Dural, (Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

After the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities, the roles of controlling and coordinating those municipalities were given to the governors. So, what's so odd about the fact that you, as governor, are able to control and coordinate those persons who came to the post via elections? But you, as governor, cannot control the mayor because, after one or two interferences, the mayor tells you Oh my dear governor, mind your business since this job is mine. Your powers, duties and tools for controlling the mayor have been removed. (Galip

Demirel, Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014)

As can be discerned, after the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors — especially those who work in the greater cities — have lost their powers and roles, but the Greater City Municipalities and, ergo, the Greater City mayors, have gained more powers and roles. In this sense, the greater city mayors have become more prominent and have started to play the leadership role in the cities.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated three things in particular: (1) the governors and district governors have been losing powers and roles; (2) a two-tier system of governorship has been established between the greater city mayors and the governors; and (3) politicisation of the administration and the governor and district governors.

After the reforms which were made to the local governments, the roles and powers of the municipalities have increased and their tutelage over the municipalities has been removed. With some of the changes which have been made to the municipalities, the roles and powers of the governors and district governors have been affected negatively. However, unlike the majority of the respondents, a small number of them claimed that, even with these reforms to the local governments, the governors and district governors are still able to conduct their traditional roles well.

The removal of the governors from being the heads of the Provincial Special Administration's General Councils has affected the roles of the governors and district governors negatively. They have lost not only roles and powers, but also prestige. Governors have also lost many decision-making powers as a result of the reforms, with politicians, in turn, filling the vacuum. A small number of participants, on the other hand, have claimed that the changes mentioned above have not resulted in the governors and district governors' losing powers. In fact, they claim that they have been able to conduct their traditional roles better in virtue of these same reforms.

Even though there have been many public administration reforms that were passed in the 2000s, no other reform has affected the roles of the governors and district governors to such an extent as the reform which established the Greater City Municipalities and which removed the Provincial Special Administrations entirely from the greater cities. The Greater City Municipalities Code no. 6360, for instance, expanded municipal borders to encompass the relevant cities' provincial borders, thereby creating a two-tier system of governorship in the provinces between the provincial and local administrations. This reform, in turn, led to the governors and district governors losing many powers, as well as leading to the municipalities, conversely, gaining them. In this sense, the greater city mayors have become more prominent and have started to play the role of leadership in those cities. Furthermore, the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administration and Village Delivery Services Unions from the greater cities have broken the governors and district governors' connections with the people who live in the rural parts of the areas under their purview, even though they could have established relations with the important actors in the field. In addition, after these reforms, the governors and district governors for the greater cities lost the ability to utilise the Provincial Special Administration's budget and were excluded from conducting infrastructure works in rural areas. They also lost their ability to lead the Provincial Special Administration's General Councils. All of this has, therefore, contributed to the politicisation (the transfer of powers from appointed official to elected officials) of the Turkish Administration System.

Due to all of these developments, most of the participants stated that they had lost the motivation to continue their profession. Moreover, debates have also arisen concerning whether governors and district governors are needed in those areas where the municipalities are now in charge. Several participants, however, have expressed a different opinion regarding this issue. According to them, with the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities and the removal of the Provincial Special Administrations from those areas in which there are greater cities, the governors and district governors are now able to conduct their traditional roles more effectively because of the fact that they now have much more time on their hands.

Having analysed the findings of both the survey and the semi-structured elite interviews, the next, and final, chapter shall draw some conclusions regarding these results. A summary of the contributions that this research has made to the literature and suggestions for further academic research will be provided.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

9.1. Introduction

Many public administration reforms were introduced in Turkey during the 2000s as a result of various internal and external factors. This study set out to explore the effects of these public administration reforms on the roles of the governors and district governors from their own viewpoints. By examining these effects, this research has also pursued other aims as well; e.g., that of understanding in detail how and to what extent the public administration reforms have affected the roles of the governors and district governors, specifying the intended and unintended consequences of the reforms and understanding which new roles have emerged.

For the purpose of concluding the findings of this research in an orderly way, this chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, the contents of this research and the methodology applied will be summarised. Then, the key findings of the research will be presented. Next, before the concluding remarks, the academic contributions of this research and suggestions for further research will be explained.

9.2. What was researched and how was it conducted?

In Turkey, a large economic crisis occurred at the beginning of the 2000s. Following it various public administration reforms were introduced in order to find solutions to the shortcomings of the public administration with the aim of providing public services more effectively, efficiently, and productively. The reforms covered many different areas, from the reconstruction of the central government to the local governments and from the reconstruction of the government's personnel system to the financial management of the government.

This research has mainly examined the effects that the public administration reforms which were introduced during the 2000s had on the roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey. It has also examined how and to what extent they have affected the traditional and historically important roles of the governors and district governors; to identify the intended and unintended consequences of the reforms on governor and

district governor roles; which new roles have emerged; whether the traditional philosophy of public administration has changed or not; and whether or not the governors and district governors have resisted the reforms given that their powers and roles have been reduced.

A survey and semi-structured elite interviews were used as main data collection tools. A survey was conducted with governors, deputy governors, and district governors (the survey was sent to 1,426 governors, deputy governors and district governors, with a total of 304 of them responding to the survey) to learn their general opinions and experiences concerning the Turkish public administration reforms' impacts on their roles. Then, considering the limited depth that the survey offered in answering the research question, its results were used as the basis for the semi-structured elite interviews. The semi-structured elite interviews, 65 governors, deputy governors, and district governors took part, were conducted to provide a broader and more in-depth body of knowledge about the reforms' effects for answering the research question. Apart from the primary data which was generated by the survey and the semi-structured elite interviews, some primary and secondary documentary data, including the constitution, legal regulations, and official records from the libraries of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior, as well as other relevant libraries, were used as helpful materials regarding the research agenda. The primary data proved to be excellent sources which provided additional support for the context and analyses chapters.

9.3. The Key Findings

The public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s in Turkey were clearly inspired from some of the ideas of the NPMT. The government developed these reforms according to the basic elements of that theory. The basic aim of the reforms was to ensure the effectiveness, efficiency, productivity, openness, transparency, and accountability of the public administration and to ensure that it was able to cope with contemporary social, economic, and technological developments in order to provide better public services. In order to achieve the above mentioned aims—both during the implementation process and after the reforms— however, many legal arrangements were passed after the publication of the report produced by a team headed by Dincer

(Dincer and Yilmaz 2003), including, *inter alia*, the Municipalities Code, the Provincial Special Administration Code, and the Greater City Municipalities Code (See Appendix 1). These reforms significantly affected the roles of the governors and district governors in a negative way.

Apart from the outcomes that were in line with the reforms' basic aims, they also affected the roles of the governors and district governors in unintended ways. When both the report produced by the team headed by Dincer and Yilmaz (2003), and the survey and interview findings of this research are examined in tandem, it is clear that the government deliberately wanted to decrease the roles of the governors and district governors by transferring roles, powers, and resources from the central government to the local governments. Moreover, the government also wanted the local governments and mayors to play a more active role and become more important and influential in delivering services to the citizens living in the provinces and districts. Therefore, it is important to note that the roles of the governors and district governors have been either changed or eroded by the reforms. Furthermore, when both the report and the findings of the survey and interviews are examined together, one can conclude that the intended outcomes of the reforms were as follows: to erode the traditional and historically important roles of governors and district governors; to increase the politicisation of the roles which they used to play (i.e. the local governments, and especially the mayors, have become more prominent because of the aforementioned transferral of powers and roles); and, finally to switch the traditional, state-centric view of the Turkish administration system into a more citizen-centric view. This is significant because all of these outcomes were the *intended consequences* of the reforms. Now, although not explicitly stated by the government at the beginning of the reform process, when the aforementioned report and the findings of the survey and interviews are examined carefully, the decrease in the roles of the governors and district governors must be seen as intended, and not unintended, consequences of the reforms. On the other hand, the new emerging roles which were mentioned in Chapter 7, can be considered to be unintended consequences of the reforms. Why were there unintended consequences? It can be argued that the unintended consequences are a result of the politicisation of the

reforms. The government said the reforms were about the delivery of public services but they ended up as a power grab by elected politicians.

9.3.1. Erosion of the Roles and Powers

The roles of the governors and district governors have been negatively affected after the adoption of the public administration reforms during the 2000s. After the reforms gave more powers, roles, and financial resources to the local governments and raised the number and prominence of the regional organisations, the effectiveness and influence of the civil administrators in the provinces, districts, and in the administrative system overall decreased. This effect was intensified as the reforms also removed the control of the civil administrators over some state organisations and institutions, politicised their roles, and allowed politicians to intervene in their affairs.

9.3.2. Erosion of the Classical Traditional Roles

The governors and district governors identified three roles which they considered to be the most traditional for their profession, the most important of which is that of representing the state and central government in the provinces and districts. The second most important is that of ensuring the security and safety of the public. Finally, the third most important role is that of ensuring the coordination between the government and the other institutions working within the provinces & districts and the citizens (e.g. state organisations, local governments, the private sector, non-governmental organisations, and the citizens). After the reforms of the 2000s, the governors and district governors' traditional role of representing the state and central government has been eroded, now many other agents have emerged who share that role with them. These agents include mayors, local politicians, other state organisations, and the judiciary — especially the prosecutors. Nevertheless, before the reforms, many businessmen and non-governmental organisations developed close relationships with the governors and district governors in virtue of their role of representing the central government; however, the number of relations between the civil administrators and the citizens has decreased. Furthermore, with the removal of the Provincial Special Administration, the governors and district governors' ability to represent the state

effectively has been reduced, whereas the mayors, and especially the metropolitan municipality mayors, have come to the forefront in terms of effectively representing the Turkish government. With respect to the government's expectations on the civil administrators, on the one hand, the government wants them to solve the citizens' problems on time, to coordinate and control institutions, supervise the police force, and implement the government's policies; and, on the other hand, the government wants to undermine their roles by making the municipalities and politicians more powerful.

The governors and district governors share the role of ensuring the security of the citizen with the judiciary to some extent. Moreover, the governors and district governors' philosophy regarding civil monitoring and the protection of human rights (including their violation by police forces) has been under reconstruction. They now have a more citizen-oriented approach towards security and safety issues. Furthermore, this role has gained importance, with the citizens and government also expecting them to be more active in this area as well.

The governors' role of controlling local affairs has been lessened with the demotion of the governor from being the head of the Provincial Special Administration's General Council. After the reforms, the mayors and politicians have become more powerful, thereby hindering the governors and district governors' ability to effectively implement their role of coordinating the state organisations and private sector institutions under their purview. In addition to these, the tools used for coordinating and controlling—and even the meaning of the terms 'coordination' and 'control'—have changed significantly. Moreover, even though the roles of coordinating and controlling were conferred upon them legally, in practice, it is very difficult for them to perform these roles.

9.3.3. Erosion of the Historically Important Roles

As an impact of the reforms, the historically important roles of the governors and district governors, such as their economic, modernising, and paternal roles, have lost their power and importance.

9.3.3.1. Erosion of the Economic Role

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the governors and district governors carried out the government's new economic policies. Although there have been fluctuations regarding this role over time with changes in the government's economic policies, the governors and district governors have contributed to the development and improvement of the country. However, the research findings reveal that they believe that the roles of investing in rural development and in pioneering economic and social development have lost importance following the implementation of the public administration reforms. According to them, this loss has been rapid. The majority of them believe that the economic role will eventually disappear, following the reforms, as both the government and the citizens do not want them to play an active role in the country's economic development. Moreover, after the reforms, the governors and district governors were not expected to play an active economic role in the provinces and districts. Yet, their roles of coordinating, cooperating, and leading the state organisations, private sector, non-governmental organisations and citizens, as well as the role of motivating and encouraging the private sector, have come to prominence. Moreover, with their decreased ability to fund themselves, they have more time and opportunities to perform their traditional roles, such as controlling state organisations (i.e. whether they are operating in line with the law or not), protecting the rights of the citizens, and providing public services to the citizens, with consideration to both citizens' desires and the law.

9.3.3.2. Erosion of the Paternal Role

The governors and district governors, as representatives of the state and central government in the provinces and districts, are seen as embodying the paternal state in the eyes of the citizens. In the past, when the citizens had a problem they expected the governors and district governors to solve them. Nowadays, after the reforms, the perception of the citizens of the state and the civil administrators has changed and this mentality has been eroded to a certain extent, though it remains prominent in some (less fortunate) parts of Turkey. After the reforms, in the eyes of the citizens, new agents have emerged that share the paternal role of the state with both the governors and

district governors. Indeed, the mayors, local politicians, and other state organisations have become especially prominent in the sense.

9.3.3.3. Erosion of the Modernisation Role

In terms of the historically important role of modernisation, during the early years of the Turkish Republic, the governors and district governors played an active role in modernising Turkey by “raising the nation above the other contemporary civilisations.” This role has endured for a long time since then. Today, however, this role and its effect on the development of both the state and society have significantly changed. After the public administration reforms made in the 2000s, it can be said that the civil administrators’ modernising role has finally come to an end. Nevertheless, there still are some governors and district governors who want to continue playing this role, even though both the government and society do not want them to any longer. Instead, they would prefer the governors and district governors to focus on their traditional and other roles given to them by the government in an effective way.

9.3.4. Local Governments have Gained More Roles and Powers While Governors and District Governors have Lost Power and Role

The surveys and interviews indicate that governors and district governors believe that many of the public administration reforms have affected the roles of the governors and district governors, but for them, the local government reforms have had the greatest effect on the roles of the governors and district governors among the reforms. In particular they believe that the local government reforms have decreased their roles. Instead, the municipalities have gained more powers and roles and they have, therefore, become more prominent.

For the governors and district governors, the establishment of the Greater City Municipalities resulted in the removal of the PSA, the union for the Delivery of Village Services, the removal of the governors from presiding over the PSA, and their losing their ability to use the PSA’s budget. Furthermore, all of the roles, duties and financial resources regarding rural development and infrastructure were passed on to the municipalities, even though the governors and district governors had been responsible

for those activities before the laws were passed. Therefore, according to the respondents' responses, the chief civil administrators have lost their powers and roles because of the Greater City Municipalities Law. Instead, those powers and roles have been transferred to the municipalities, where the mayors have become ever more prominent. The majority of the governors and district governors are particularly worried that, after all the local government reforms which have been passed—and especially the Greater City Municipalities Law— not only their roles and powers, but also their existence and reason for being, have become subjects of debate.

9.3.5. The Politicisation of the Governors and District Governors

Politicisation of the roles of governors and district governors occurred after the public administration reforms but also; politicians' began to intervene in the governors and district governors' affairs and decision-making which has weakened their roles and powers. Traditional roles changed after the public administration reforms were implemented as local governments were provided with more powers, roles, and resources, which caused an erosion to the governors and district governors' representative roles, a decrease in their authority to represent the state over the local government, and, made the mayors more prominent. The adoption of the reforms reduced the authority of the civil administrators as their role of representing the state over the local government, from which it derived, diminished. The politicisation process of the governors and district governors' powers and roles also contributed to this. No matter whether it is considered to be hostile or amicable, the politicians' powers and roles have increased after the reforms made during the 2000s.

9.3.6. A Shift from the State-Centric View of Governors and District Governors to the Citizen-Centric View

The governors and district governors' traditional administrative philosophy has changed greatly, even though some have tried to maintain the old one. After the reforms, civil administrators had to adopt a citizen-oriented, vis-a-vis the state-centred, approach. They have since given more importance to the protection of human rights, the protection of the environment, and the implementation of governance. Moreover, relations

between the governors and district governors and non-governmental organisations and the private sector have increased when compared to the past. However, as some respondents have made clear, a small number of governors and district governors have not internalised the external efforts to change their profession. Instead, they have maintained their traditional administrative philosophy because of several reasons, including the effects of politics, politicians, and the state's tradition, as well as the tradition of the profession itself. In short, a majority of the governors and district governors believed that their administrative philosophy has changed due to the public administration reforms of the 2000s.

9.3.7. The Emergence of New Roles

With respect to the new roles which have been emerging since the reforms, the majority of the governors and district governors stated that, although the traditional roles mentioned above have and in the future will remain important, the roles of arbitrating between groups, dealing with the government's social policies (like supporting disadvantaged groups and helping the poor), supervising and controlling the state's police and gendarmerie forces, having close relations with civil society and non-governmental organisations, protecting the country's cultural and artistic values, defending basic human rights and freedoms (and removing the barriers to protecting those basic human rights and freedoms), protecting the environment and consumers, and managing disaster and conflict situations have been emerging as new roles, which will gain importance in the future.

9.4. Academic Contributions Made by the Research and Possible Fields for Future Research

The research examined the impacts of the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s in Turkey on the roles of the governors and district governors from the points-of-view of the governors, deputy governors and district governors themselves.

The contribution of this study is considered to make an original contribution to the field.

- First of all, the research contributes to the Turkish academic literature by analysing the opinions of the governors and district governors about the changes made to their roles following the public administration reforms made in the 2000s. The existing literature on governors does not provide a comprehensive picture. No other study provides data drawn from both surveys and elite interviews. No other study examines the effects of the public administration reforms of the 2000s on the changing roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey. Therefore, this study fills a major gap in the literature. It is comprehensive, based on a survey, a comprehensive semi-structured elite interview, and archival work on primary Turkish government documents.
- Secondly, this study's findings will help shape the future roles of the governors and district governors in Turkey by providing relevant suggestions to politicians for the purpose of better restructuring the administration system at both the local and central governmental levels. Currently, there are debates about the reconstruction of the public administration and the roles of the governors and district governors. The findings of this research will inform politicians and bureaucrats in their attempts to reconstruct the public administration; both at the central and local level, and redefine the roles of the governors and district governors. Thus, the findings and analyses provided by this research will be of use to practitioners attempting to design the roles of the governors and district governors in the future.
- Finally, this research contributes to the international literature as the changes to the roles of the governors and district governors were affected by external as well as internal factors in the 2000s. The conclusions that this research makes will also be useful for other developing countries with similar administration systems.

The researcher examined how the public administration reforms of the 2000s in Turkey impacted the roles of the governors and district governors from the point-of-view of the governors and district governors by conducting both a survey and elite interviews, this

study's main data collection tools. After examining how and to what extent the public administration reforms affected their roles, the research identified a plethora of important issues. In essence, there are many individuals and factors which have affected the roles of the governors and district governors. However, future research could provide additional understanding of the changes to the roles of the governors and district governors. For instance, studies focussing on mayors, parliamentarians, non-governmental organisations, and commerce chambers could be conducted in the form of interviews. Accordingly, such studies would examine the changes in roles through different eyes.

In addition, political, socio-economic, and demographic factors all had important effects on the civil administrators' roles. Therefore, the impact of the socio-economic, political and demographic factors that Turkey encountered through the 2000s should be examined in order to better grasp and understand how these factors have impacted roles.

Furthermore, in order to better grasp how the roles of the governors and district governors have changed in a holistic way, the internal domestic agents and factors, their relationship to external factors, and how these have affected the Turkish public administration and public administrators should be researched further.

A further component of the reforms should also be examined is the impact that the shift from the traditional state-centric view of the public administration to the citizen-centric view has had on the roles of the governors and district governors.

Moreover, the issue of whether the civil administration profession conforms to Turkey's economic development model and to the model of the information society or not should be examined in detail. Additionally, given the debate that has arisen, research should also be conducted regarding whether or not civil administrators are needed within the new administrative philosophy.

Furthermore, a way to add context to this field, a comparative project should be carried out between two similar countries having similar administrative systems. All of these studies would add understanding the changes made to the roles of the governors and district governors.

9.5. Closing Remarks

This study explored the impacts that the public administration reforms, which were introduced during the 2000s in Turkey, had on the roles of the governors and district governors. The study explicitly posited that, due to those reforms, the traditional roles of the governors and district governors have been eroded. The historically important roles (e.g. the economic, modernising and paternal roles) have also been eroded. The research also put forward that there has been a shift from the state-centric view of public administration to the citizen-centric view. Furthermore, following these reforms, new roles have also arisen.

In conclusion, the profession of governors and district governors has fulfilled the role of representing the state for 151 years old, originating from the Ottoman times. They played many important roles, especially that of modernising the Turkish Republic, newly established in 1923 by contributing to the social and economic development of the provinces and districts. However, the living standards at the beginning of the Turkish Republic, as well as the conditions of the 1930s, 1950s, and 1980s, are very different to those of today. At the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Turkey's population was 13 million, with a large proportion of that number living in rural areas; indeed, the dominant economic activity at that time was agriculture. Today, however, Turkey's population is around 78 million, with the vast majority living in cities. The main economic activity today, however, is not agriculture, the service and industry sectors of the Turkish economy are growing. Moreover, with the help of scientific and technological developments and revolutions, both at home and internationally, Turkish society is changing. Simultaneously, both the demands of the citizens and the government's expectations are also changing. With the local governments gaining more powers and roles, the governors and district governors will not be able to continue their active role in the Turkish public administration whilst maintaining its traditional administrative characteristics. Though many of them are aware of the changes to their roles, knowing about them is not enough in order to survive. Thus, their adopting, internalising, and implementing those changes and their own philosophy are very important for their future existence in the Turkish state. However, there is no need to

worry about the future of their profession. If the Turkish state remains as a unitary and central state, it will continue to need representatives in its provinces and districts, even if their names or roles change. Nevertheless, if the governors and district governors change their way of thinking and keep pace with the transformations being made, both in society and in the state, their place in the future Turkish public administration will be secure.

Appendices

A.1 The Turkish Public Administration Reforms and Related Codes

1.1 Introduction

This section explains the Turkish public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s and the reasons that have affected the roles of the governors and district governors, for the purpose of shedding light on the research question “what are the effects of the public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s on the roles of the governors and district governors?”

The first part of the section will examine the factors that influenced the public administration reforms in the 2000s in Turkey and just those that have affected the roles of the governors and district governors. The second part of the section will first

1.2 Public Administration Reforms in Turkey in the 2000s

There have been public administration reforms introduced in the 2000s from the restructuring of the central government’s organisations to the redesign and reconstruction of the local governments. The fundamental aim of the public administration reforms in the 2000s were to “provide a participatory, transparent, accountable public administration based on fundamental rights and freedoms; to determine the role, duty and responsibilities between the central government and the local governments for the purpose of providing fair, continuous, qualified, effective and productive public services; and to reconstruct the organisation of the central government and to arrange the basic principles and procedures in relation to public services”. This is according to Dincer and Yilmaz (2003, p.140-141) who, as top bureaucrats, were important figures in the team that led the reforms. Dincer worked at the Ministry of National Education and Yilmaz still holds the position of Development Minister in the government, writing report that enables public administration reforms to be made.

1.2.1. Internal and External Factors behind the Reforms

Many debates have arisen amongst politicians, government officials and academics regarding why the public administration reforms of the 2000s were needed in Turkey. They have posited that there exist a milieu of both internal and external factors which have influenced the reform process.

With respect to the internal factors, Eryilmaz (2007), Sozen (2005), and Sezen (2011) have all pointed out that the government decided to introduce the new reforms because of domestic organisational problems, faults, and inefficiencies, a general incompetence, unproductivity and fraud. Furthermore, these same authors believed that the Turkish public administration was not meeting the citizens' expectations regarding the delivery of public services. Similarly, Dincer and Yilmaz (2003, pp. 65-74) enumerated the primary reasons as to why the government wished to reform the public administration system as follows: the "inadequacy of the administration's philosophy and structure, the acute expansion of the administrative structure, the crisis that it has been facing in the realms of public finances, debt management, and public personnel policy, the inadequacy of the public auditing system, the wasteful use of public resources, and corruption". Moreover, another reason for the reforms was that many citizens, private businesses and non-governmental organisations have been demanding that the quality of the public services provided by the government increase (Al, 2004; Parlak, 2003).

Kutlu (2004) and Dincer and Yilmaz (2003) have also included as one of the reasons behind the reform process the political instability of Turkey seeing as, prior to the Justice and Development Party's gaining the majority in the country's parliament in 2002, coalition governments had been in power. This was a problem for these authors because they believed that those governments had caused political instability which, in turn, made it difficult for them to make the necessary enhancements to the public services that they had promised, not to mention its making the delivery of those services inefficient.

Saygilioglu and Ari (2003) and Saran (2005) offer similar views to the above authors regarding internal factors behind the public administration reforms process (Saygilioglu and Saran worked as top bureaucrats in the Turkish government). According to them,

the internal factors behind the public administration reform process in the 2000s are as follows:

- public administration structure did not meet the expectations of the public and citizens due to changing economic conditions;
- the existence of strict rules and bureaucratic principles in Turkish public administration which prevented the transformation and flexibility in the fulfilment of public services;
- the inconvenience of the structure of social and political culture to the participation of the administration and the development of citizen awareness;
- bureaucratic culture and an understanding of administration fed certain attitudes and behaviours such as resistance to change, the status quo, and ill-communication;
- the high expectations of the citizens from the state in terms of public services;
- the Turkish public sector has not met with the expectations of the public or citizens in terms of both its organisation and its functional structure
- the change of the competitive structure of the technological developments in Turkey;
- the gaps in the public budgets created by macro-economic trends and the economic crisis;
- the government's need to develop trust with its constituents (Saygilioglu and Ari, 2003; Saran, 2005).

Besides the internal factors already mentioned, there were also external factors that affected the Turkish public administration reforms which were implemented during the 2000s. The external factors identified by various academics can be enumerated as follows: the process of globalisation and the passing of trade-liberalisation policies; its having to implement structural alteration and stability policies which had been advised by the World Bank and the International Monetary Funds for the purpose of gaining financial aid so as to save Turkey from the economic problems that it was contending with at the beginning of the 2000s; the social (viz. human rights), administrative (viz. the increased political participation of citizens), and political (viz. democratisation)

reforms that Turkey had to incorporate in order to gain admittance into the European Union (Guler, 2005 and 2010, Sozen and Shaw, 2003; Yasamis, 2003, Yayman, 2008).

Furthermore, Yayman (2008) has identified a correlation between the administrative reforms and the global economic developments and neo-liberalist tendencies of modern times. Indeed, he also states that these administrative reforms can be construed as a second attempt at restructuring the country's administrative policies—the first time being the liberalisation policies passed on 24 January, 1980. Those policies not only attempted to metamorphose Turkey's economic model from that of “import substitution” to that of “export promotion,” but also tried to integrate Turkey's economy with the of the international economy. Guler (2005 and 2010) opines that Turkey was pressured, not only by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, but also the globalisation process itself, to adopt these “new-right,” or “neo-liberal,” changes for the purpose of better connecting its market to that of the global one and its trade instruments. Sozen and Shaw (2003) and Yasamis (2003), though, have come to the conclusion that, among all of the external factors that have affected the government's adopting the reforms of the 2000s, the European Union was the most important of them all since their gaining admittance into the EU would be considered by them as the key stone of all of their modernisation efforts.

As can be clearly discerned, then, there were many internal and external factors which influenced the government's adopting the administration reforms of the 2000s.

1.2.2 The Public Administration Reforms which have Influenced the Roles of the Governors and District Governors

There are many codes that have been introduced which fall under the scope of the public administration reform process of the 2000s in Turkey. Not all of them, however, affected the roles of the governors and district governors. In what shall follow, all of the codes which have affected the roles of the governors and district governors are detailed.

1.2.2.1. The Municipal Code (2005/5393)

While the roles and responsibilities of a municipality were described article by article in the old Municipal Code (Code no. 1580/15), the new roles and duties of

municipalities are now generally defined in two articles found in the new Municipal Code (Code no. 5393/14). First of all, according to this code, the municipalities become responsible for providing public services to the citizens, even though the central government had been responsible for their delivery before that code's enactment.

Secondly, before the new municipal code was passed, the governors and district governors had the right to approve or disapprove the decisions made by of the city council, even though, in certain circumstances, the Greater City Municipalities had the right to overrule their decisions (Code no. 1580). The new Municipal Code, however, altered this power of the governors and district governors, stating that it is no longer required for them to approve the city council's decision in order to finalise its decisions (Code 5393/23). The new Municipal Code thereby removed the administrative tutelage that the governors and district governors had over the decisions of the city council.

And thirdly, this new code terminated the governors and district governors' control over the correspondences had between the municipalities and the state's institutions, even though they had that power before the new code was passed (Code 5393/78).

1.2.2.2. The Provincial Special Administration Code (2005/5302)

Important changes have been made to this code that has affected the roles of the governors and district governors significantly. The main change that this code has made is that the governor is removed from the presidency of the general council. According to new code, the president of the general council shall be elected from amongst its own members. With this arrangement, the governor cannot both be the president and one of the members of the general council (Code no. 5302/9).

According to the old code, the council's agenda was to be determined by the governor. With the new code, however, the council's agenda is now determined by the president of the general council. Even though the governor can propose issues to the president, the power to decide which issue the council will discuss belongs solely

to the president. In other words, the governor has no right to participate and direct the decisions of the general council. Rather, he or she is merely responsible for implementing the decisions taken by the general council. Furthermore, the governor's authority to approve the decisions made by the council is terminated. (Code no 5302/15), In short, the administrative tutelage of the governor over the PSA has been terminated.

According to code no. 5302/18, if the explanations in the "activity report" (which cover all of the activities of the provincial special administration throughout the year) presented by the governor are not found to be sufficient by $\frac{3}{4}$ of the members of the council, the council's minutes (including its discussions) will be sent to the Ministry of the Interior; the Ministry of the Interior may then do that which is necessary (i.e. relieving the governor of his or her duty). Thus, at this stage, the performance of the governor in his or her appointed province depends on the general council's decision.

Moreover, one of the most remarkable changes is that which was made to the related ranking organs of the PSA. The old code (Code no 5302) ranked the organs as follows: i) governor; ii) the Provincial Special Administration (PSA); and iii) the Standing Provincial Committee. The new code, on the other hand, has changed the sorting of importance as follows: i) the Provincial General Committee; ii) the Standing Provincial Committee; and iii) the governor. Thus, according to the new code, the governor is placed last in importance.

The new code (No. 5302) also introduced new regulations for the purpose of making the general secretariat of the special administration more effective and efficient. One of the new regulations removes the deputy governor having any duty to the special administration, the intention being that the secretariat general of the special administration should work under the supervision of the governor and that, furthermore, they should execute their duties on behalf of the governor. Instead, the district governor is to supervise the district special administration.

1.2.2.3. The Unions of Local Administrations (2005/ 5355)

In code no.5355, it is mentioned that, in the provinces and districts, the association for serving the villages which is headed by the governors and district governors was established in order to help or create certain services (e.g. providing road services, clean water, drainage and other forms of infrastructure works that the villages and municipalities require). All villages in the provinces, centre, and districts are members of this association.

It is important to mention that three important developments have ensured the effectiveness of these associations. One of them is the Public Procurement Code (no. 4734) which entered into force in 2003. According to the related article of the code, the associations are not necessary for the purpose of implementing the rigid rules of the public procurement law. Therefore, in order not to disrupt the steady flow of services and escape these strict rules, crucial financial sources have been transferred to the association by the PSA and to certain other state institutions and organisations. By means of this method, not only the services delivered to the villages, but also some important investments (e.g. for schools, hospitals, social facilities, and closed sports centres in the centre of the district) have been made by these associations whilst headed by the governors and district governors.

The second implementation that ensures the effectiveness of these associations is the project named KOYDES. This project supports village infrastructure. From the start of the project in 2005, the central government has transferred significant financial resources to those associations, even though there did not exist any steady income sources and opportunities for the villages. With the contributions made by this project, the governors and district governors have used important financial resources for the purpose of supporting the village infrastructure works.

The third application that has increased the effectiveness of these associations was the change in the code which was implemented in 2008. According to this change, the ministries, other central administration institutions, and the PSA can perform certain

public services, like the construction, maintenance, and repairing of village roads, as well as different kinds of electrifications, double roads, and large infrastructure works (both in the village and the centre of the province and the districts) with the help of the associations, with resources all being transferred to the budgets of those associations. These investments are not bound to the service and duty borders of the associations. In other words, the associations can perform these activities outside their designated villages as well.

1.2.2.4. The Greater City Municipalities Code (2012/6360)

Important changes were made to the system of the greater city municipalities in Turkey in 2012. With code no. 6360, the system of the greater city entered a great transformation. The number of greater cities in Turkey was increased to 30. After the code's implementation, it can be said that Turkey is divided into two different administrative models. In 30 provinces, the greater city model has been adopted, whereas in the other 51 provinces, the greater city model has not been adopted.

The first of the reforms made by this new regulation was the removal of the PSA from the greater cities. The scope of the municipality spreads and includes the whole area of the province. Given the expansion of the border of the greater municipality cities into the provincial borders, some important roles and duties of the provincial administration, such as the construction works of the rural areas, were passed on to the greater city municipalities. In this sense, there is no difference between the rural and the urban in the provinces in which the greater city municipality model has been incorporated since the greater city municipality serves not only the urban areas but also the rural areas as well in terms of infrastructure and other activities envisaged by the code.

The second reform made to the municipality was the closure of all small municipalities (i.e. those with a population under 2000). With the implementation of this code, the legal status of town municipalities within the scope of the metropolitan municipality was terminated and bound to the municipality under the new form of "parish."

The third development was the termination of the legal entity of “villages.” With the adoption of the code, the legal status of the village (about 16.082) within the scope of a greater city municipality was terminated. Instead, the villages were converted into parishes. In the Turkish administration system, however, the parish does not have the right to make decisions and implement courses of action by itself since it is not considered a legal entity. Before the code was passed, the villages were able to take and implement their decisions according to the code of each village (code no. 442). Before the code’s adoption, the infrastructure of the villages (i.e. road maintenance and the provision of clean drinking water) was provided by the PSA and the other associations which served the villages (and which were also headed by the governors and district governors). However, as mentioned, the legal status of the PSAs and the associations for serving villages were terminated in those places where there existed greater city municipalities (Code no. 6360).

The fourth important change was the establishment of the presidency for monitoring and coordinating the investments bound to the governor in the provinces. According to the code, the PSAs were abolished in all of the greater cities. In their place, presidents for monitoring and coordinating investments made by the governors were appointed in order to perform the duties enumerated by the code. The presidency for monitoring and coordinating investments was envisaged to be established in all of the greater cities in the stead of the PSAs (code no. 6360/28a). The aim of this presidency is to conduct, make, monitor, and ensure the coordination of public institutions and organisations’ investments and services in the greater city municipalities.

The fifth important reform which was made was that the associations for serving villages in the greater city municipalities were terminated. The legal status of these associations, which were headed by the governors and district governors, were terminated even though those associations performed many infrastructure works, from maintaining roads to the building of new schools, and from the bringing of clean water to the villages to the supporting of agricultural activities (code no 6360/3).

A.2 Pilot Survey Questionnaire

Survey Questions

Background

1- What is your term of employment in the public sector?

- a) 0-5 (below 5 years) b) 6-10 c) 11-15 d) 16-20 e) 21 and above

2- What is your gender?

- a) Male b) Female

3-What level of school did you complete?

- a) Bachelor b) Master c) PhD

4-What is your age?

- a)25-30 b)31-35 c)36-40 d)41-45 e)46 and above

5- Which faculty did you graduate from?

- a) Political Sciences b) Economics and Administrative Sciences c) Law

6-Please describe your occupational status

- a)Governor b)Deputy Governor c)District Governor

Traditional and new roles of Governors and District Governors

7-What are the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors in Turkey?

- 1-
- 2-
- 3-
- 4-
- 5-
- 6-

8-How have the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors changed?

Please give examples

9-What are the new roles of Governors and District Governors?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....

Public sector reform

10-The role, duty and functions of the state have changed substantially in the last decades.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

11-There has been a shift from the traditional public administration approach to the new public management since the mid-1980s.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

12-What are the most important reforms of the 2000s?

1-

2-

3-

4-

5-

13-The international organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and OECD are influential in the process of public sector reforms in Turkey.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

14-Pressure from citizens is effective in the process of making public sector reforms in Turkey since 2000.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

15-Party political ideas are influential in the process of making public sector reforms in Turkey since 2000.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

16-New public management affected public management reform in Turkey.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

17-Socio-demographic change since 2000 has affected public management reform in Turkey.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

18-National socio-economic policies have affected public management reform in Turkey since 2000.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

19-Public management reforms related to local governments in the European Union Membership Negotiation Process have increased the role of Governors and District Governors.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

The Effects of Reform

20-Public sector reforms speaking to downsize the state have increased the role of Governors and District Governors.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

21-The implementations of certain private sector principles such as performance management, contracting out, strategic management, in the public sector have affected the role of Governors and District Governors positively.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

22-Provision of public services by private sector has complicated the role of Governors and District Governors

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

23-The delivery of the public services by the private sector has produced good results

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

24-In order to be successful in the public sector, Governors and District Governors should manage like managers in the private sector.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Local Government Reform

25-Local governments are more effective organisations than the Governorships and District Governorships in providing local public services.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

26-Why are local governments more effective?

Please give examples

27-Why are not local governments effective?

Please give examples

28-Decentralisation reforms have increased the role of governors and district governors.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

How have decentralisation reforms affected the role of Governors and District governors?

Please give examples

29-The scope and power of the duties of the central government should be limited; all public services except justice, diplomacy, security should be provided by the hand of local governments.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

30-There must be one local authority elected by citizens rather than appointed by the central government in the territorial administration of Turkey

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

31- Development Agencies have increased the role of District Governors..

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

How have Development Agencies affected the role of District Governors?

Please give examples

32-Local government reforms especially Greater City Municipality enacted in 2012 have decreased the power of Governors and District Governors

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

Changing Roles

33-Governors and District Governors have important roles in economic and social development.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

34-Governors and District Governors play crucial role in delivering social services.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

35-Governors and District Governors have important roles in protection of the unitary state.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

36-How have public management reforms affected the efficiency of Governors and District Governors?

Please give examples

37-Developments in communication, economics, transportation, information technology and rising urban problems challenge the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

38-Developments in communication, economics, transportation, information technology and rising urban problems challenge the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

How do these developments and problems challenge the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors?

Please give examples

39-Governors and District Governors insist on a traditional management approach, they have not adapted to new public management reforms .

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

40-The desires of citizens to participate to the decision-making increases the roles of Governors and District Governors.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

41-The roles of Governors and District governors are determined not only by legislation, but also by administrative traditions and local dynamics.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

42-Governors and District Governors should give up their roles in rural development.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

43-Governors and district governors should continue to the coordination of public services, but they should not serve the public services to the citizen directly

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

44-Governors and District Governors should not only be crisis managers, but also they should govern risks, perceptions and future.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

45-Governors and District Governors will play important roles in protection of fundamental rights and freedoms.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

46-Governors and District Governors will have crucial roles in providing security and secure environment to the citizens.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

47-Governors and District Governors are aware of their changing roles.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

48-Governors and District Governors are willing to become more professional managers and less bureaucrats.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

49-Governors and District Governors have the capacity to work different in parts of the state successfully.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

50-Governors and District Governors have an increased and growing managerial role

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

51-Public management reforms that have been realised in the area of local governments and the central government in the 2000s have increased the role of Governors and District Governors.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please give examples

Thanks for your participation

A.3 Main Survey Questionnaire

The roles of Governors and District Governors

1--What are the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors in Turkey?

(Please select 5 important traditional roles according to their importance to you)

- 1- The duty or role of representation of the President and the Government
- 2- Auditing, coordination, cooperation and planning
- 3- Security
- 4- Rural development
- 5- Education and health
- 6- Tutelage over local governments
- 7- Social policies
- 8- Implementing codes, regulations and orders
- 9- Protection of the unitary state
- 10- Public relations

2-How have the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors changed after the 2000s public management reforms?

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

3-What are the new roles of Governors and District Governors?

(Please describe the new roles)

1-

2-

3-

4-

5-

4-The effectiveness and influence of Governors and District Governors in Turkish public management system have increased with the new roles.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

5-Which roles of Governors and District Governors will less important in future?

1-

2-

6-Which roles of Governors and District Governors will become more important in future?

1-

2-

The changing role of the

7-The changes in the concept, role, duty and functions of the state since 1980 have affected the roles of Governors and District Governors positively in Turkey.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

8-The shift from the traditional public administration approach to the new public management since the mid-1980s has had a negative effect on the role of Governors and District Governors.

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

The public management reforms

9-Which public management reforms of the 2000s have had the greatest effect on the roles of Governors and District Governors more? (Please select five reforms from the list below in order of importance)

- 1- Local Government Reforms (Law no.5393,5302,5216,)
- 2- Establishment of Development Agencies
- 3- Privatisation in the provision of certain public services.
- 4- Health Reform (Establishment of the union of state owned hospitals)
- 5- Public Financial Management Act (Law no.5018)
- 6- Democratisation and human rights reforms
- 7- Establishment of new 31 Greater City Municipalities
- 8- Reforms regarding with the openness, accountability and transparency
- 9- Establishment of Regulatory and Supervisory Bodies.
- 10- Reform on e-government

Are there any other reforms worth noting?

.....

10-Decentralisation reforms such as delegation of power to the local governments have decreased the role of governors and district governors

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

- 1-
- 2-

11-The Greater City Municipalities Code (N0.6360) will decrease the role of Governors and District Governors

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

12-It is accepted that Greater City Municipalities Code is an administrative reform, but it will affect the political system of Turkey in the medium and long run and this will influence the existence and existing role of Governors and District governors dramatically

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

13-Development Agencies affected the role of Governors and District Governors positively

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

14-Recent public management reforms have decreased the roles of Governors and District Governors in protect unitary state

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

15-Developments in communication, transportation and information technology challenge the traditional roles of Governors and District Governors

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

16- Rising political intervention to the bureaucratic processes after the last public management reforms have decreased the roles of Governors and District Governors in the decision making process

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

17-How does the implementation of accountability, openness and transparency change the role of Governors and District Governors

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

18-The participation of citizens in the decision making process has increased the arbitration role of Governors and District Governors

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

19-Introducing E-government supports the role of Governors and District Governors

a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

20-Since 2000, public management reforms have decreased the role of Governors and District Governors in the social and economic development

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

21-The public management reforms of local and central government have decreased the role of Governors and District Governors in the public sector in general.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

The roles of central and local governments

22- Local governments are more effective organisations than the Governorships and District Governorships for providing public services to the citizen

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

23-The scope and power of the duties of the central government should be limited; all public services except justice, diplomacy, security should be provided by the hand of local governments

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

24-Central government`s services in provinces and districts should be ensured by an elected sole authority in the local areas.

- a) Strongly agree b) agree c) neutral d) disagree e) strongly disagree

Please explain with examples

1-

2-

Background Information

25-Please describe your occupational status

- a) Governor b) Deputy Governor c) District Governor

26- What is your gender?

- a) Male b) Female

27- What is your term of employment in the public sector?

- a) 0-5 (below 5 years) b) 6-10 c) 11-15 d) 16-20 e) 21 and above

28-What level of school did you complete?

- a) Bachelor b) Master c) PhD

29-What is your age?

- a)25-30 b)31-35 c)36-40 d)41-45 e)46 and above

30- Which faculty did you graduate from?

- a) Political Sciences b) Economics and Administrative Sciences c) Law

Do you have any more observations about the research that you would like to add?

.....
.....

Thanks for your participation...

A.4 Interview Guide for Semi-Structured Elite Interviews

Theme 1: The Driving forces behind the changing roles of governors and district governors

-What do you think about the effects of developments to the managerial tools in public administration on the changing roles of governors and district governors with the developments of the neo-liberal economic policies?

-What do you think about the changes in the citizen's perspective of the state?

Theme 2: The impact of the transition of the power and roles from central government to municipalities

-How have the roles of governors and district governors changed after the decentralisation reforms implemented by the government in the 2000s?

-What do you think about the roles of governors and district governors in the policy making process after the reforms in the 2000s?

Theme 3: Transformation of the roles

-What is your evaluation of the transition of the roles from a traditional to a managerial focus?

-What do you think about the changes to the values, beliefs, practices, traditions and the attitudes of governors and district governors after the 2000s public management reforms?

-What is your opinion on the compatibility of the new roles with the skillsets, backgrounds and training of governors and district governors?

-What are your comments concerning the motivations of governors and district governors for preserving the traditional roles of public administration despite the massive public management reforms after 2000s?

-What do you think about society's expectations regarding the roles of governors and district governors since the public management reforms in the 2000s?

-What is your opinion on what governors and district governors expect from their own professions/roles, now that the public management reforms in the 2000s have come?

A.5 List of Interviewees

- 1-Abdullah Korkmaz (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs - District Governor, 26/06/2014)
- 2-Adnan Cimen (Deputy Governor, 12/06/2014)
- 3-Ahmet Aydin (Governor, 25/08/2014)
- 4-Ahmet Zahterogullari (Governor, 01/07/2014)
- 5-Alp Arslan (District Governor, 21/07/2014)
- 6-Arif Kahraman (District Governor, 14/07/2014)
- 7-Atilla Osmancelebioglu (Governor, 25/06/2014)
- 8-Ayhan Nasuhbeyoglu (Governor, 27/06/2014)
- 9-Aytekin Yilmaz (Deputy Governor, 14/06/2014)
- 10-Aziz Yildirim (Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Interior Affairs - District Governor 18/07/2014)
- 11-Bilal Karaca (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs - District Governor, 03/07/2014)
- 12-Cemil Ozgur Onegi (Deputy Governor, 07/07/2014)
- 13-Cengiz Aydogdu (Governor, 16/06/2014)
- 14-Davut Gul (District Governor, 03/07/2014)
- 15-Enis Yeter (Governor, 22/07/2014)
- 16-Enver Salihoglu (Governor, 18/07/2014)

- 17-Erkan Capar (Deputy Governor, 20/08/2014)
- 18-Galip Demirel (Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 20/06/2014)
- 19-Gazi Simsek (Governor, 17/06/2014)
- 20-Gungor Azim Tuna (Governor, 23/06/2014)
- 21- Hasan Huseyin Can (District Governor, 18/06/2014)
- 22-Hudayar Mete Buhara (Deputy Governor, 14/07/2014)
- 23-Huseyin Avni Mutlu (Governor, 13/08/2014)
- 24-Huseyin Karamese (District Governor, 26/08/2014)
- 25-Ilker Haktankacmaz (The President of the Ministry of Interior Affairs's International Relations Department - District Governor, 28/06/2014)
- 26-Ilker Ozerk Ozcan (District Governor, 29/06/2014)
- 27-Irfan Demiroz (Deputy Governor, 29/08/2014)
- 28-Irfan Kenanoglu (Deputy Governor, 14/08/2014)
- 29-Kadir Akin Gozel (Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Interior Affairs-District Governor, 03/07/2014)
- 30-Kadir Kocdemir (Governor, 25/06/2014)
- 31-Kasim Esen (Governor, 24/06/2014)
- 32-Kasim Turgut (Inspector - District Governor, 04/07/2014)
- 33-Kursat Atak (District Governor, 27/07/2014)

- 34-Lutfullah Bilgin (Governor, 17/06/2014)
- 35-Mahmut Hersanlioglu (Deputy Governor, 28/08/2014)
- 36-Mehmet Akcay (District Governor, 31/08/2014)
- 37-Mehmet Cangir (Undersecretary of the Ministry of European Affairs - District Governor, 30/06/2014)
- 38-Mehmet Ozel (Deputy Governor, 21/08/2014)
- 39-Mehmet Seyman (Deputy Governor, 19/06/2014)
- 40-Mesut Kose (General Director of Cereal Products -District Governor, 09/07/2014)
- 41-Mevlut Atbas (Member of Court of State – Governor, 15/07/2014)
- 42-Muammer Erol (Governor, 17/07/2014)
- 43-Muammer Turker (Governor, 20/06/2014)
- 44-Mustafa Eldivan (District Governor, 23/08/2014)
- 45-Mustafa Yildiz (Deputy General Director of Local Governments - District Governor, 17/06/2014)
- 46-Namik Demir (Deputy Undersecretary of Ministry of Interior Affair - District Governor, 03/07/2014)
- 47- Nevzat Tasdan (Deputy Governor, 11/08/2014)
- 48-Nuri Okutan (Governor, 21/06/2014)
- 49-Omer Faruk Gunay (Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014)
- 50-Orhan Alimoglu (Governor, 19/08/2014)

51-Osman Tural (General Director of Turkish Posta and Telegram - District Governor, 20/06/2014)

52-Rifat Altan (District Governor, 13/06/2014)

53-Safak Basa (Inspector - District Governor, 11/08/2014))

54-Saffet Arikan Beduk (Retired Governor and the General Director of Police and the President of the Union of Turkish Administrators, 27/06/2014)

55-Selda Dural (Deputy Governor, 09/07/2014)

56- Selim Capar (President of the Research Centre of the Ministry of the Interior - District Governor, 19/06/2014))

57-Sevket Cinbir (District Governor, 08/07/2014)

58-Turan Eren (Deputy Governor, 12/08/2014)

59-Vecdi Gonul (Retired Governor and Undersecretary of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and Old National Defence Minister, 16/07/2014)

60-Yucel Yavuz (Governor, 13/07/2014)

61-Yusuf Erbay (Governor, 24/06/2014)

62-Yusuf Hakan Guner (Governor, 08/11/2014)

63-Confidential 1 (Governor, 10/08/2014)

64-Confidential 2 (Governor, 13/08/2014)

65-Confidential 3, (Deputy Governor, 26/07/2014)

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