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**EVALUATION OF REFORMS IN TURKISH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
AFTER 1980s**

New Public Management Approach and the “Draft Law Related to Fundamental Principles and Reconstructing of Public Management” as a Reflection of NPM on Turkey

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ABSTRACT

Administration is the most tangible part of government and since 1980s, mostly because of the fiscal and economic crises, experiencing a revolution. Traditional Model of Public Administration is criticized because of its being awkward, inefficient, ineffective, and full of procedures and bureaucracy. It is the common estimation that traditional model is unable to answer day's needs and demands of citizens. Thus it is accepted that public sector mechanisms need to change.

New Public Management is the new paradigm, which replaced traditional model and seen as a global phenomenon and claimed to be solution to the problems caused by traditional model. This new approach's techniques and practices drawn from the private sector and its' most important key elements are; decentralization, market type mechanism and competition in public sector together with increasing emphasis on performance, outputs and customer orientation. This study concentrates on this respective transformation and intended to draw attention to the main lines of it.

The NPM approach spread all over the world and one of the most important assumptions of this new model is that it is universally applicable. Most of the countries are experiencing reforms since the emerging of NPM approach in order to improve their public sectors.

The main goal of this thesis, by combining theoretical and empirical analysis coordinately, is studying two models in detail and questions NPM's applicability to Turkey. It is argued that management change in public services and introduction of imported methods may be more to do with cultural factors, administrative habits and characteristics that are embedded in the form of public administration of that country.

Thus after explaining Turkish public sector as an example to traditional model, and examining the administrative reforms and effects of NPM approach on Turkey, the paper concludes that changes in public sector management have to consider the characteristics of the country in question. The thesis will use historical experiences and highly disputed draft law on re-organizing Turkish public sector as an example for this outcome.

KEYWORDS: NPM Approach, Administrative Reforms, Turkish Public Sector, and Administrative Reforms in Turkey.

1. INTRODUCTION

Public administration, whose history dates from the development of the first community and the beginning of the society life, is mentioned in the scientific exercises and experiments only from the late 1800s forward. However, administration, which plays a vital role in carrying on the existence of contemporary societies, “*is as old as government itself*” (Wilson 2003: 22).

As Shafritz, Hyde & Parkes (2003: 1) have affirmed; there is a possibility to find many modern concepts of leadership and management in the works of medieval, classical and pre-modern world writers.

However, until *‘the Study of Administration’*, the article, which was written by Woodrow Wilson in 1887 and which was accepted to demonstrate that ‘administration’ should be examined as a science, for the first time, public administration had not been accepted as a discipline. Wilson was like a fuse igniter when he said, “*administration is the most obvious part of government; it is government in action; it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of government (...)*” (Wilson 2003: 22). After the publication of this article, the world noticed the alteration and the cases that should actually be paid attention. This gave rise to the thought that; instead of just dealing with the concept of ‘government’ it should also deal with the cogwheels that creates it and makes it work. After this date, public administration started to be investigated, discussed and improved in every respect.

Public administration might be accepted as the most important element of modern government and community life. Although we, as citizens’ daily benefit from the goods and services that public institutions produce, cannot say we have much information about its structure, process and problems. Anyway, the academic studies that began with Wilson in 19th century, increased both with the condensing reforms after 1980 and discussions and evaluations, which are committed upon them. These academic studies brought forth a boom in the interest of public administration.

The increase in population, development in new models of ideas, increasing complexity in government proceedings as a consequence in the rise of the demands and the problems in corresponding the demands of the substantial systems, gave birth to the deep revise of the administrations. Development of the capacity of administration, increase of performance, the need of the society's reestablishment of trust towards administration became the focus of interest of all societies as a common goal. Wilson (2003: 23) must have seen the coming of this; he said in his aforementioned article it is easier to create a constitution than to run one.

In the field that is laid in the 19th century, the effect of globalization, technological change and international competitiveness, which was more effective in the last quarter of 20th century, causes important changes in many fields and new quests appeared. Rising rivalry, decrease in the sources, market centered behaviors and configurations revealed the demand for the redefinition of the role of government and accordingly, new concepts came along.

The concept of welfare state, which started to be applied in the first half of 20th century, increased public services and developed governments. As a consequence, the scale of public administration developed and passed through every segment of society.

Besides satisfactory services, bad administration applications such as bulkiness, prescriptivism, bureaucracy (red-tape), budget deficits, debts, dissipation and fraud caused a contrast point of view. As the time went by, this contrast point of view over public administration allowed for the criticism of its structure, process and forms of affairs. In other words, classic understanding of public administration became a 'problem' itself. In this point, public administration's adapting itself to the changing social conditions, refreshing and making it work more effective and productive became a necessity.

These criticisms above make reforms a current issue in order to clear away the inconveniences that cause disbelief by society. These reforms brought forth the concept of New Public Management (NPM). It is wrong to see these reforms as a simple act of

content refreshing or editing. NPM created a new expansion, which is different from classic Weberian approach, to answer criticisms and demands accommodate to the changes around. In brief this alteration period represents a shift in paradigm from the dominant approach of 20th century, 'traditional model of public administration', to 'public management'. In this period the theory of bureaucracy, in governmental context, is being replaced by economic theories (Hughes 2003: vi).

NPM represents a new management paradigm. These reforms express the restructure of public administration in the perspective of such principles as minimization of the government, effectiveness, efficiency, participation, transparency, flexibility, accountability and strategic management.

NPM defends regulatory state instead of social one, minimal government that focused on its essential functions instead of an interventionist one, an alternative organization which is flexible, participant, result-oriented, transparent and accountable instead of bureaucratic settlement which is strict, hierarchical, tightly coupled to the rules and based on secrecy.

The English speaking countries namely, England, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, led the reforms. After the achievement of the reform trials of these countries and with the effect of globalization, public sectors of the world governments have gotten into an innovation. All these developments doubtlessly showed its effects in Turkey, as well. Many changes have been made in many fields, current of overseas expansion and liberalization also affected Turkey.

First wave of these alteration winds was felt clearly during the Özal government. Especially in the financial field, some changes were made in favor of market economy but unfortunately a permanent and comprehensive reform pack could not be prepared.

The reforms, which were tried to put into practice for many years, were merely handled in 2003 in depth after being affected by the management trends in the world and a public management reform pack was prepared. This brought along the discussions.

With the effect of globalization, the decrease of international differences in public administration in specific and government systems in general resulted in the increasingly affiliation of the politics, which will be determined (Kutlu 2004: 2). Although these reform studies, efforts, the results and the precautions show similarities in many countries, the most important issue that should be paid attention is that the private conditions of the administration should certainly be considered because the work of adaptation should be carried out in earnest with executing historical and cultural elements. Many problems may occur in this stage. It is important that policy transfers should be made correspondent with the cultural values.

Turkey has historical experience in this matter. Governmental reforms which were tried to be put into practice with administrative reforms in 1839 (Tanzimat Period) failed to be adapted to the country system because of their being transferred directly from Europe and consequently the system's assimilating new construct got difficult, so the country got into a scrape. In ignoring Metternich's advice concerning this matter, Ottoman made a big mistake. Australian diplomat Metternich (qtd. in Ulusoy 2004: 72) had advised Ottoman to fix the administration, however he had warned Ottoman for not to break down present administration system completely to replace it with another administrative system which is not suitable for their manner of living and customs. According to him it was wrong to apply European methods directly because European systems are based on characteristics, which are not suitable to social environment, historical background and procedures of the Empire.

Bureaucratic, statist, centralist culture of administration and concept of closed system whose roots went back to the Tanzimat Period and which was left as a heritage from the Ottomans to the newly established Republic were to be abandoned by following the trends in the world. For this reason, the general aim of the reform of public administration is to shift the understanding of public from centralism to decentralization, from vertical organization to horizontal organization and from complicated processes to simplified ones. In terms of process, the aim is to shift from ambiguity to strategic administration, from the understanding of secrecy to

transparency, from bulkiness to effectiveness and efficiency, from the budget deficits to financial discipline. The question should be considered in this point is: How?

The process after 1980 gave way to the reform pack of 2003 and many actions, which focused on rapid change and reconstruction, were performed in Turkish public sector. But on the other hand although Turkish public administration, as an OECD member and who took serious steps in accessing European Union (EU), made progress in 1980s and prepared a comprehensive reform pack in 2003, it is, still, by far behind the other countries in terms of success in an active public reform (Kutlu 2004: 2). In the aforementioned term, efforts could not be gone beyond creating regulations and preparing reports.

By considering these general truths, **the aim of this thesis is to examine the reforms concerning public administration after the 1980s, performed works and analysis of the changes, determining the differences of the concept and process of public management in comparison with the previous period and in this entirety, to examine NPM approach and observe its effects on Turkey.**

In this thesis, the literature review made about the issue and relevant regulations has been analyzed.

This study will mainly adopt a qualitative method of analysis since a large part of the study particularly the empirical investigation will entail a series of descriptive comparisons between administrative models and administrative processes. The qualitative analysis is complementary to the quantitative method especially when it is difficult to collect necessary statistical data on subjects, which are to be analyzed.

Gabrielian (1998: 167) has underlined that there is no certain consensus in the academic field on what are the qualitative research methods are but he has listed three concepts that may express qualitative research. They are:

“(1) Underlying research epistemology (i.e., methods based on postmodern, constructivist or naturalistic paradigm of knowledge); (2) specific research

strategy (e.g., research design that aims more to interpret and reveal meanings that actors attach to their actions rather than generalize causal relationships to the larger universe of events); and (3) specific techniques that are not operating with numbers (e.g., interviewing) ”.

However, it is not possible to draw explicit lines between qualitative and quantitative methods; as also Gabrielian (1998: 167) has confirmed it is not possible to say what is not quantitative is qualitative or vice versa. The methodological differences between qualitative and quantitative methods can be seen in the Table 1, below.

Table 1. Methodological Differences between Qualitative and Quantitative Methods (Brower, Abolafia & Carr 2000: 366).

Methodological Differences, Qualitative and Quantitative		
<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Qualitative</i>	<i>Quantitative</i>
Analytic process	Inductive	Deductive
Basis for conclusions	Evidence from naturally occurring, everyday experiences	Replicable, numerical data
Cause-effect explanations	Idiographic; emergent, unfolding process of interconnected actions	Nomothetic; relations among static variables
Research design	Emergent, improvisational; openness of meaning	Static design; meanings closed before study begins
Types of research questions	Marginal or hard to study settings and groups; ambiguous phenomena; open-ended questions	Specifiable, measurable variables and relationships
Goal of sampling	Explanatory power; variation and richness	Generalizability

This thesis, will try to offer a description of the whole picture of administrative reforms and paradigm change in public administration drawing upon substantial citations from official legal documents and literature review. Therefore, qualitative analysis is enough and proper for the purpose of the study. The qualitative approach will be supported by a collection of selected documents published by government as well as related international and national organizations in the case study of Turkey.

On the other hand, a comparative approach will be adapted to this study. The traditional model of public administration will be compared with NPM approach. The type of comparison in this study is a cross-administrative approach analysis for the purpose of discovering distinctions and similarities, if there are any, between the two administrative approaches.

In the second chapter, it is possible to find information about the characteristics of traditional public administration and its structure, its appearance as a discipline, principles and problematic issues about it. Also the structure of Turkish public administration, its process and halting parts will be examined, by this way, at the end of the chapter, the basic reasons of the search of a new administrative model will be determined on the basis of the example of Turkey.

In the third chapter, the transmission from traditional model of public administration to the NPM approach and reconstruction in public administration in the light of new approach will be emphasized. In this chapter, the reasons that brought out a new model search, and NPM concept, which came along as an answer to them, and NPM's basic elements will be overemphasized.

In the fourth chapter, administrative reforms will be examined. The studies that aim administrative reform in Turkish public sector will be dwelled on. This chapter will continue with two sub-chapters as public administration reform studies between 1980-2000 and reform studies after 2000. Although the thesis is mainly about the analysis of the reforms after 1980, there will be short information about public administration and reform attempts before 1980 in order to protect the entirety of the subject.

The fifth chapter is the analysis of the "Draft Law Related to Fundamental Principles and Reconstructing of Public Management" as a reflection of NPM approach. In this chapter, content of the draft bill, its comprehension and aim and criticized points will be discussed. And finally the outcomes of the study will be stated in the conclusion.

2. TRADITIONAL MODEL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND EXAMINING TURKISH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

In this chapter the study will concentrate on the traditional model of public administration, its development process, features and defective points. Also, as a case study, the main concern of the thesis is Turkey. Thus in this chapter, the study will examine the Turkish administrative system as an example to traditional model of public administration.

2.1. Traditional Model of Public Administration

What we, now, name as traditional model of public administration, used to be a major reform movement (Hughes 2003: 17). In the late 19th century public administration began to emerge both as a theory and practice. It started to shape stylistically in 1920s and has affected the world until the last quarter of the 20th century. Although it is now being replaced with another approach, which claims to be more effective and efficient, traditional model of public administration has qualified as “*the longest standing and most successful theory of management in the public sector*” (Hughes 2003: 17).

As Hughes (2003: 17) has indicated:

“The traditional model can be characterized as: an administration under the formal control of the political leadership, based on a strictly hierarchical model of bureaucracy, staffed by permanent, neutral and anonymous officials, motivated only by the public interest, serving any governing party equally, and not contributing to policy but merely administering those policies decided by the politicians.”

2.1.1. The Development of Public Administration as a Discipline

Public administration has a vital importance, without a study of administration there can be no understanding of government and politics. “*Ambitious public goals are empty without the capacity to meet them, so it is impossible to study government adequately without also studying how it is administered*” (Kettl 2002: 28). But although its

importance is obvious the study of public administration had difficulties to found a seat for itself in the academic field. According to Kettl (2002: 28) in part this is because its subjects of study are quotidian. In part because its work is chaotic, it deals with the constant complications of human behavior in complex organizations. In part because of the complex nature of administrative actions creates tremendous methodological problems that obstruct the creation of *robust* theory.

The theoretical foundations of public administration mainly base on ideas of Woodrow Wilson and Frederick Taylor in the USA, Max Weber in Germany and the Northcote–Trevelyan Report of 1854 in the United Kingdom.

As Hughes (2003: 20) has noted:

“the beginning of the traditional model is best seen in mid-nineteenth century Britain. In 1854, the Northcote–Trevelyan Report (...) signals the start of merit-based appointments to the public service and the gradual decline of patronage. The Report emphasizes personnel matters and its recommendations were implemented slowly, but it does represent a beginning to the traditional model of public administration. From Northcote and Trevelyan derive appointment by merit through examinations, and non-partisan, neutral administration”.

Woodrow Wilson’s famous essay ‘*the Study of Public Administration*’ dated 1887, frequently cited as the fundamental essay of public administration as a science. Wilson (2003: 22) is considered as the founder of public administration science, who has expressed the importance of it by clarifying that administration is the government in action, it is the executive, operative and most apparent part of government. In this article Wilson (2003: 22) clarified that *“it is the object of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy”.*

Wilson (qtd. in Hughes 2003: 20) distinguished duties of politicians from administrative bodies; *“politicians should be responsible for making policy, while the administration would be responsible for carrying it out”.*

Many aspects of public administration also stand on Max Weber's works and ideas. Eryılmaz (1999: 85) pointed out that; traditional model of public administration, largely organized in accordance with the 'bureaucracy doctrine' of German economist and sociologist Max Weber.

Literally bureaucracy means; the rule by group of appointed officials. But the term, as this thesis refers to, described by Fox & Meyer (1995: 15) in their public administration dictionary as:

“an administrative system – governmental or private – that carries out policies through standardized procedures and is based on a specialization of duties. In its original sense it was described as a formalized and systemized method of administration based on what Max Weber called calculable rules, organizations with structural characteristics aimed at promoting efficiency and striving towards certain objectives”

Hughes (2003: 20) has assert Weberian formulation of bureaucracy as *“the idea of a distinct, professional public service, recruited and appointed by merit, politically neutral, which would remain in office throughout changes in government”*.

That is to say, both Wilson and Weber have supported that administration should be instrumental and technical and should be removed from the political field.

Frederich Taylor, on the other hand, is regarded as the father of 'scientific management'. According to Taylor (1911), management should be formulated as an academic discipline. He has described how the application of the scientific method could be used in management of workers to increase productivity. For him this is possible with the strong partnership of trained management and a cooperative and innovative workforce.

The main goal of scientific management is to maximize efficiency by standardizing procedures, and simplifying the tasks assigned to workers (Tsutsui 1998: 8). According to Taylor (1911: 26), *“the management must take over and perform much of the work which is now left to the men; almost every act of the workman should be preceded by*

one or more preparatory acts of the management which enable him to do his work better and quicker than he otherwise could” in order to work according to the scientific rules.

The administrative principles, which are designed to create a more rational and efficient administration, are based on scientific management ideas of co-ordination and control including span of authority and unit of command.

As a conclusion the contemporaries Wilson, Taylor and Weber, are the main influences on the traditional model of public administration.

2.1.2. Fundamentals of Traditional Model of Public Administration

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, what is called traditional model today was once a big and major reform in administration. It has such a long history and many features, which had affected the world for many years.

Denhardt and Denhardt (2000: 551–552) have listed the basic features of public administration as following:

“public administration is politically neutral, valuing the idea of neutral competence. The focus of government is the direct delivery of services. The best organizational structure is a centralized bureaucracy. Programs are implemented through top-down control mechanisms, limiting discretion as much as possible. Bureaucracies seek to be closed systems to the extent possible, thus limiting citizen involvement. Efficiency and rationality are the most important values in public organizations. Public administrators do not play a central role in policy making and governance; rather, they are charged with the efficient implementation of public objectives. The job of public administrators is described by Gulick’s POSDCORB”.

The word POSDCORB is an acronym, which represents an attempt to list duties of a top manager in professional public administration, and categorized by Luther Gulick in 1937 in *Notes on the Theory of Organization*. These functions are namely: planning, organizing, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting.

If we examine the general explanations from the beginning to this point, it is possible to collect the basic features that affect and direct traditional model of public administration under three main titles; the Weber's bureaucracy as an ideal organizational model, the dichotomy of politics and administration and the dichotomy of private and public sectors.

The Bureaucracy as an Ideal Model

Weber's bureaucracy is the most important theoretical principle of the traditional model of public administration, but it is appropriate to clarify that bureaucracy existed as a practice even before Weber. Throughout its long history, Weber's theory has accompanied to the traditional model, either implicitly or explicitly. (Hughes 2003: 21).

Weber describes the bureaucracy as the 'ideal type' and in order to set a basis for his theory he argues that there are three types of authority: the charismatic, the traditional and the legal/rational type of authority (see Hughes 2003).

Charismatic authority exists when the control is based on an individual's personal characteristics, such as heroic, or religious ability. Charismatic leaders are obeyed and people respond to this kind of authority because they believe that the individual has some kind of a special calling. In this type of authority, "*the relationship between the ruler and the ruled is personal, and charismatic rule is revolutionary by nature*" (DiPadova 1996: 68).

There are two types of charismatic authority; one of them is the inheritable charisma, which believed to be in the blood, and the other one is the charisma attached to the office held by an individual (DiPadova 1996: 68).

The traditional authority is more related to the experiences and customs. People respond to this kind of authority because they believe that the experienced methods are the best and experience is more important than anything else. In this kind authority "*legitimacy*

is accepted on the basis of patterns of control which have been inherited and have probably always existed” (Fox & Meyer 1995: 10).

In rational or legal authority the relationship between the individuals and authority is formal and impersonal (DiPadova 1996: 68). Its typical representative is the bureaucratic rule. According to the Hughes (2003: 21) this type of authority is the most efficient one among the authority types and it composes the basis for Weber’s theory of bureaucracy. In this type of authority “*relations are determined by rationally developed procedures*” (Fox & Meyer 1995: 10).

There are six principles of bureaucracy and those listed as following by Gerth & Mills (2003: 196–198):

- There is a principle of fixed and official jurisdictional areas, which are generally ordered by rules, that is, by laws or administrative regulations.
- The principles of office hierarchy and of levels of graded authority mean a firmly ordered system of super and subordination in which there is a supervision of the lower offices by the higher ones. Such a system offers the governed the possibility of appealing the decision of a lower office to its higher authority, in a definitely regulated manner.
- The management of the modern office is based upon written documents (‘the files’), which are preserved in their original and draught form.
- Office management, at least all specialized office management – and such management is distinctly modern – usually presupposes thorough and expert training. This increasingly holds for the modern executive and employee of private enterprises, in the same manner as it holds for the state official.
- When the office is fully developed, official activity demands the full working capacity of the official, irrespective of the fact that his obligatory time in the bureau may be firmly delimited.
- The management of the office follows general rules, which are more or less stable, more or less exhaustive and which can be learned. Knowledge of these

rules represents a special technical learning, which the official possess. It involves jurisprudence or administrative or business management.

In his book Hughes (2003: 22) summarizes and explains above-mentioned principles of bureaucracy. First of all in bureaucracy, authority derives from the law or from the legal rules that made according to the law. The second one is supportive to this, points out the principle of hierarchy, which is Weber's most familiar idea. Strict hierarchy meant authority (rational/legal) and power were resumed organizationally not individually. In this point the position the person held in the organization gains importance. The third principle points out the separation between the private lives of employees and organization. The fourth point is that administration is a professional occupation, which should be deserved by training and education. The fifth element clarifies that the bureaucracy is a fulltime occupation. And finally the last element asserts that office management follows general rules and should be learned.

According to Polatoğlu (2003: 43) the procedural characteristics of bureaucracy can be listed as impersonal procedural relationships, formality, adherence to the rules and discipline.

As is seen the principles such as specializing, functional division of labor, professionalism, meritocracy, impersonality, powers and responsibilities regulated by rules, rationalism, neutrality and legality set out the principles of bureaucracy and Max Weber believed that bureaucracy, is more efficient, rational and technically more effective than any other organizational models (Sözen 2005: 27–28).

Weber, who sees bureaucracy as the 'ideal type', has indicated that it can be used in every large-scale organization whether public or private. After 19th century the tendency towards bureaucracy has increased and the ideas of Weber became worldwide.

The Dichotomy of Administration and Politics

The politics-administration dichotomy is often attributed to two early public administration scholars, Woodrow Wilson and Frank Goodnow.

Woodrow Wilson mentioned this dichotomy in his aforementioned essay. Wilson (2003: 28) has stated; “*administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices*”.

Wilson (2003: 28) argued that the administrative field is a business field, which is apart from the haste and contention of politics. It’s studies even apart from the arguable constitutional studies. Additionally, while reading the ideas of Wilson, it is important to be aware of the day’s dynamics. The public administration paradigm in USA has developed in reply to fraud increased in American government at the end of 19th century. In 1881, an office seeker shot James Garfield, the US President; the shooter was a disappointed prospective appointee. After this incident the thoughts about separating politics from administration are brought to the agenda. Two years after this incident the Pendleton Act (1883) prepared in order to prevent political favoritism. Wilson has suggested developing ‘administrative science’ in order to prevent fraud and to develop a public administration with neutral and qualified employees in his essay.

Thirteen years after Wilson wrote the article, Frank J. Goodnow published his famous work ‘*Politics and Administration*’. In this work the main focus of Goodnow was the separation of administration from politics, which are considered as two functions of government. Goodnow (2003: 35) has clarified that; “*politics has to do with policies or expression of the state will. Administration has to do with the execution of these policies*”.

As Sözen (2005: 22–23) also emphasized the dichotomy of administration and politics in public administration had crucial outcomes. The most important one is the prominence of the idea which states the principles of administrative science should be

dominant in the administrative functioning, not the political factors. Public policies determined by politicians but on the other hand application, as a technical issue should be organized by specialists. Since therefore, the politics administration dichotomy makes the implementation of Taylor's scientific management principles to public administration possible.

The Dichotomy of Public and Private Sector

The traditional public administration paradigm accepts that public administration is different from private sector management because of its distinctive characteristics. The ones who are arguing there are differences between two sectors usually use the differences that appears in principal level. According to this point of view public administration has distinctive principles like common good, equality, legality, equity, objectiveness and public responsibility (Sözen 2005: 29). Consequently the public sector operation methods are considerably different than the private sector methods. The natural extend of this view is the principle which led direct production of public goods and services by the government's own bureaucratic institutions. After the 2nd World War, due to the social welfare state policies, the public services increased and the production of goods and services appeared to be serious burden on government. But it is not time to cover this critique yet; it will be mentioned later.

As Wright (2000: 157) also mentioned there are several accepted models of public-private sector relationships with common features nevertheless they have their own distinctive features.

Flynn (2007: 8) in his book argued that, there are four elements that can clarify the distinctions between private and public services. According to him the first one is the existence of 'public goods'. Public institutions produce goods and service that everyone in the community benefit without any exceptions. For example street lighting, in this case people had to pay for these kinds of services collectively instead of paying individually. The second main difference is about the finance of services. Taxes create the main source for public services. The third one is the aim/goal differences. Public

institutions produce goods and services in order to serve common good and community interests; not to commercialize and earn profit out of those services and goods. The last one is based on the public administration's field of activity. Public administration is active in a political and social environment where politicians, electors and various interest groups exist. Public services employed by the political authorities and public policies determine their duties within a framework of law. As a consequence public institutions and employees cannot do any work which law does not authorize them.

According to Sözen (2005: 30) the differences between two can be explained by clarifying their motivations, income sources and fields of activity; private sector motivated to make profit but the government on the other hand has to think about the next elections. Private sector generates its income through customer spending, public sector provides income for the production of public goods and services from the taxes given by citizens, private sector enterprises act in a competitive environment but government carry on its business in a monopolist environment.

Insofar, the goal was to renew the information about the public administration. In the next part, the thesis will cover the distinctive characteristics of Turkish public administration, which can be proposed as an example to traditional model.

2.2. Examination of Turkish Public Administration

All countries have their own political culture, socio-economic conditions, political system and political environment, which has significant effects on their administration. Without taking these into consideration and without understanding them it is impossible to analyze and comprehend the government. In this context, this part of the thesis will examine Turkish government's characteristics and its history in terms of understanding public administration culture in Turkey.

Although Turkish Republic is a fresh beginning, without considering Ottoman Empire's heritage and developments in the early years of republic it is not possible to understand the administrative culture in Turkey. Hence, I will start with giving brief information

about Tanzimat period, which has significant importance for Turkish public administration.

2.2.1. The Tanzimat Period

As indicated above in order to explain Turkish administrative system it is important to examine Ottoman era. Although Turkish Republic is a fresh start, Ottoman heritage has effected the administrative formation in young Turkey. As a consequence, although republic has changed qualifications of Turkish state from ‘sultanate’ to ‘republic’ the bureaucracy and the administrative behaviors remained the same (Çevik 2007: 94).

The Ottoman history is starting from 1299 and ends with the establishment of Turkish Republic on 1923. It is not possible to cover 624 years of administrative details in couple of pages and it is not the main concern of this thesis, either. Thus, this part will concentrate on only the administrative aspect of Tanzimat period.

The ‘Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber’ of 1839, 3 November, which started the administrative modernization era in Ottoman Empire, also has great influence on the formation of the administrative culture in today’s Turkey.

Tanzimat is Arabic word which means ‘to arrange or to re-organize’. The Tanzimat was a period of reformation that began on 3 November 1839 and ended with the First Constitutional Era in 1876. In this era, Ottoman leaders, *“attempted to come to grips with some of the political, economic and social realities of the nineteenth century by introducing certain fundamental structural changes in the institutions of the Ottoman State”* (Kortepeter 1964: 50).

Tanzimat emerged from the ideas of reformist Sultans like II Mahmud and Abdülmecit as well as bureaucrats such as Ali Pasha, Fuat Pasha and Ahmed Pasha who got European education abroad. They realized that the old religious and military organizations could no longer meet the needs of the empire while the European neighbors are developing day by day.

It was not an easy job to introduce new principles and new rules, which aimed to change the deep-rooted structure and it was not easy to internalize them, either. Therefore, the reactions to the reforms were not entirely positive. As a consequence, the Tanzimat reforms first started with very symbolic changes, such as changes in titles and uniforms, in order to prepare imperial administrators for the evolution.

Bab-1 Ali (Ottoman Government) and Bab-1 Defteri (the finance corps like settlement) changed structurally, as a result of the administrative reforms before and during the Tanzimat Period. Dahiliye (Internal Affairs), Hariciye (External Affairs), Devai Nezaret (the Ministry of Health) and Şura-1 Devlet (Assembly) were established during Tanzimat.

After Tanzimat centralization became the main feature of the Empire. The basic requirement of 'centralization' is the existence of bureaucracy. In Ottoman the aim was to establish a bureaucracy which can get the power from the emperor and which can run the state. The architects of Tanzimat were in agreement about the fact that the success of governmental act is possible with establishing bureaucratic institutions and by building up an administrative culture in this sense. The aim was to distribute power among various institutions of civil bureaucracy rather than collecting them in the hands of emperor. The Ottoman administration in the post-Tanzimat era was carrying the features of Weberian type of bureaucracy (see Kutlu 2004).

As Zürcher (2004: 50) also emphasized;

“the main difference was that the center of power now shifted from the palace to the Porte, the bureaucracy. In order to create a strong and modern apparatus with which to govern the empire, Mahmud had helped to start transforming the traditional scribal institution into something resembling a modern bureaucracy, thereby so strengthening it that his weaker successors lost control of the bureaucratic apparatus for much of the time”.

In modern context, the emergence of bureaucracy and institutions in Turkish history extends over 19th century II Mahmud Era. At that time the empire was weak and almost collapsed thus all the bureaucratic elites, including the Sultan were aware of a need of a

re-organization. As Çevik (2007: 94–95) has explained the abolishment of guild of janissaries by Mahmud II in the beginning of 19th century and replacing this establishment with European style of modern army considered as the first step to modernization.

With the beginning of Tanzimat era, Ottoman started to replace the old institutions and methods with European ones. To realize this, administrators studied Europe carefully and tried to modernize the empire according to the outcomes. For this modernization they mostly took France as a model (see Çevik 2007).

During Tanzimat the aim was to adopt Western type bureaucratic organizational model and personnel management to Ottoman Empire. Both effects of traditional values and lack of industrialization have effected the development of Ottoman bureaucracy. While Europe was progressing in bureaucracy with experience Ottoman tried to set its institutions and administrative structure by imitating. As a result of this, unprepared transition has failed. The outcome of this imitation was exactly as Metternich has envisaged (see Chapter 1).

The local power groups were effective in the administration even during the reforms. The administration of some places in Anatolia and Rumelia were under the control of overlords, which caused authority problems. To fix this, Ottoman tried to modernize the organizational structure in provincial level. But the governors always needed to ask opinions of these groups in question about the local issues by reason of the fact that culturally those overlords were having power over their ruled population. During 1840s this cooperation started to be institutionalized. This laid the foundations of decentralization (local administrations) in the Ottoman. But all the authority and supervision power were still accumulated in the center (see Çevik 2007).

Centralization and strengthening bureaucracy brought many problems along. Lack of specialized people in the organizational structure and powerful authorities together with political intervention to public affairs paved the way for European intervention, especially on economics and politics. Notwithstanding a bureaucratic mechanism

emerged, which is consuming public resources and retarding the transactions of citizens. As a result of centralization, the number of employees has increased, dramatically. Even so, works could not be done on time, and citizen complaints increased about the public officers.

One another bringing of the Tanzimat, in term of administration, were the transforming the officialdom to a profession. In the classical period, officialdom was idealized as a service to state and community rather than a profession. Because it was not perceived as a profession, especially within the administrative system (which turned out to be centralized) many problems occurred. For this reason, in oncoming years of Tanzimat ‘talimat-i umumiye’ was published that announce officialdom as a profession which bases on a salary and which should present continuity. This document clarified the duties and authorities of all the employees and servants in all the stages of public services (see Ulusoy 2004).

As a result, when we examine Tanzimat in general we are facing the issues such as, centralization, bureaucracy and transformation in the employee status. When the problems of Tanzimat and Turkish administration today are examined in detail, it can be seen that the foundations of administrative and judicial factors of Turkish Republic laid in Ottoman history. And unfortunately, the problems that Ottoman had to face with; red tape, inefficiency, ineffectiveness and awkwardness still exist in today’s administrative system.

For some, the Tanzimat period is an outcome of West pretension, apery and desire to get European support, but as a result of ignoring cultural differences and historical structure; it sped up the collapse of the empire. The number of people who thinks Tanzimat represents the external and internal facts that drove the Empire to the collapse is not a few. According to the defenders of this idea, the European type of administrative culture and structure did not suit the Ottoman Empire. The biggest mistake here is the direct adaptation of the European ideas and ideals to the Empire with out sewing them for the appropriate size (see Ulusoy 2004, İnan 2004). For example, according to Zürcher (2004: 56) the Tanzimat reforms “*were used to gain foreign*

support (...), but they were also the result of a genuine belief that the only way to save the empire was to introduce European-style reforms”.

On the other hand, there exist the ones who think that Tanzimat means advancement, and it is not West apery or did not mean break away from customs and traditions. The Tanzimat advocates usually think that Tanzimat is not the reason for the collapse but they accept that it is a belated movement to prevent the collapse (see Çadırcı 2007).

2.2.2. The Basic Features of the Turkish Republic

Understanding the administrative system of a country is possible with understanding the structure of its government.

The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (1982) has indicates the form of the state as ‘republic’ in the 1st article. And in the 2nd article the basic characteristics of the republic described as democratic, secular and social state governed by the rule of law, *“bearing in mind the concepts of public peace, national solidarity and justice; respecting human rights; loyal to the nationalism of Atatürk (...)*. These features of the Republic, inevitably will affect the organizational and operational structure of Turkish administration (Polatoğlu 2003: 85). Thus, it is important to understand the characteristics of the frame that Turkish administration is functioning in.

Democratic State: Polatoğlu (2003: 85) has listed the basic characteristics of classical democracy as: free elections and representation principle, general and equal ballot, rule of majority, protection of minorities and principle of legal equality. The principles of general and equal ballot right give citizens possibility to effect administrative process but citizens cannot actualize this by themselves; thus political parties emerged that can band citizen thoughts together and turn them into meaningful politics.

Secular State: Secularism can be defined as the separation of state and religious affairs from each other. Secularism is under the protection of Constitution by Article 24:

“No one shall be allowed to exploit or abuse religion or religious feelings, or things held sacred by religion, in any manner whatsoever, for the purpose of personal or political influence, or for even partially basing the fundamental, social, economic, political, and legal order of the state on religious tenets”.

On the other hand the same Article is protecting the freedom of religion and conscience by clarifying that everyone has the right to freedom of conscience, religious belief and conviction.

Social State: Polatoğlu (2003: 88) has clarified that; the constitution uses the concept social state in the meaning of welfare state. Welfare state is the (Encyclopedia Britannica 2009):

“concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well being of its citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life”.

Constitutional State: Constitutional State is a democratic state committed to the principle of the supremacy of the law and derives its legitimacy, authority and effectiveness from the free will of the people. Polatoğlu (2003: 90–92) calls attention to the fact that in order to have this principle it is important to provide judicial control over administration, judicial control over the convenience of laws to the constitution and autonomy of judicial organs.

2.2.3. Constitutional Principles Concerning Public Administration and Basic Features of Turkish Public Administration

Although the essence of the organization of public administration is related with administrative approaches, policies and service needs, they have entered to constitutions and become constitutional principles (Eryılmaz 2008: 89).

Turkish Constitution under the title of ‘administration’ lists some principles for public administration. It clarifies fundamentals of public administration and organizational composition.

According to the Article 123 the main principle of the administrative mechanism is unity. The administration forms a whole with regard to its structure and functions, and shall be regulated by law. The organization and functions of the administration are based on the principles of centralization and local administration.

Thus, Turkish public administration is a whole with its institutions and functions. And this wholeness of the public administration is the requirement and characteristics of being a unitary state. Although the public administration consists various units such as centralized, decentralized and functional decentralized institutions, there is a connection, order and harmony among them. Hierarchical control and administrative supervision/tutelage are the tools used in order to provide the relationship between these units and main system. (Eryılmaz 2008: 93.)

Eryılmaz (2008: 90) has described hierarchical control as a mechanism that appears in every institution that is organized as an example of pecking order to provide entirety within the institutions. Administrative supervision on the other hand is a mechanism aimed to provide entirety between the centralized and decentralized administrative institutions.

The main goal of administrative integration is to provide harmony and unity among public institutions that organized with various kinds of administrative principles and with different statutes (Eryılmaz 2008: 89–90). As Article 126 also indicates in terms of central administrative structure, Turkey is divided into provinces on the basis of geographical situation and economic conditions, and public service requirements; provinces are further divided into lower levels of administrative districts. And the same article of the Constitution states that, “*the administration of the provinces is based on the principle of devolution of wider powers*”.

That is to say, the Constitution indicates that ‘centralization’, ‘decentralization’ and ‘devolution of wider powers’ principles are in force and these are the basic principles of organization (see Polatoğlu 2003: 92).

In ‘centralization’ the main power and authority concentrated within a central unit, organization or single person. Centralization may occur as preferred principle in administration as a result of needs for national and large scaled solutions for complex problems; need to use of complex technology with advanced skills; to solve complicated disputes in local level; to maintain greater equity and uniformity in handling people; less duplication and relative savings (Fox & Meyer 1995: 19).

Centralization is the feature of Turkish public administration system since Tanzimat period. Centralization may occur in two ways. The first one is geographical centralization and the second one is organizational centralization. In geographical centralization the central administration gives very little authority to provincial and local authorities. Organizational centralization on the other hand means the collection of decision-making and implementation authority in the hands of top authority or organ in an institution (see Eryılmaz 2008: 94).

Decentralization indicated by Fox and Meyer (1995: 33) as a necessary component of democracy and described as the distribution of functions and authority from the national government to sub national or sub organizational units. *“In public management it refers to the transfer of authority on, for example, planning and decision-making, or administratively from a centralized public authority to its field of organizations, local administrative units, semi-autonomous and piratical organizations, local governments, or non-government organizations”*.

And finally the devolution of wider powers can be described as (Fox & Meyer 1995: 37):

“the transfer of power to local units of government which operate in quasi-autonomous manner outside the direct administrative control structures of the central government. To the extent that local units of government and the central

government can be distinguished as separate hierarchical structures, this then becomes an inter-organizational form of decentralization”.

In Turkey while the centralization principle is in force in the organization of central administration, devolution principle is applied to the organization of local units (Polatoğlu 2003: 93). As it is understood from the definitions, devolution principle is the bended form of centralization. And as a result of this principle the central authority has to transfer some of the authorities to the local units. In the devolution principle the power of decision-making is still in the center. According to Polatoğlu (2003: 92–93) the main reason for this authority transfer is to increase efficiency and to abolish disadvantages of centralization. Polatoğlu has clarified those disadvantages in his book with details. To summarize his work the most important disadvantages of centralization can be listed as red tape and the difficulties in identifying the requirements of districts from the center.

Eryılmaz (2008: 90) has specified the area of activity for central administration in general as; public services which’s advantages and effects spread to all over the state, and the area of activity for decentralized administration as public services that can effect the local joint spaces.

In the organization and functioning of local governments in Turkey decentralization principle is in force. The Turkish local governments namely, Municipalities, Provincial Local Administrations and Villages has established and functioning due to those principles (Polatoğlu 2003: 94).

In this point, it will be useful to mention the principles of ‘integral unity of public administration’ and ‘separation of powers’. The principle of ‘separation of powers’ has clarified in the Preamble of the Constitution:

“the principle of the separation of powers, which does not imply an order of precedence among the organs of state, but refers solely to the exercising of certain state powers and discharging of duties which are limited to cooperation and division of functions, and which accepts the supremacy of the Constitution and the law (...)”.

But obviously, it is not possible to argue that ‘separation of powers’ principle is effectively in force in the Turkish Republic. Because as also Polatoğlu (2003: 95) has underlined the constitution gives the executive power to Prime Minister and Council of Ministers, legislative power to Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) and judicial power to independent courts but, on the other hand, there are no special arrangements that separates executive and legislative powers from each other, while the judicial power is independent from all other organs.

On the other hand, the Turkish public administration system is subject to ‘administrative jurisdiction order’ in terms of judicial control and it is contingent upon ‘administrative law’ in terms of applicable branch of law, which is called administrative regime (see Eryılmaz 2008: 93). The cases concerned with administrative issues held in administrative courts. Notably France and countries like Germany, Belgium, Italy and Sweden are performing this system. In this sense it is apart from Anglo-American style of administration. Council of State and administrative courts are the judicial bodies of this order.

Önder Kutlu (2004: 144) states that Turkish public administration organized as an example to Weberian bureaucracy model since the establishment of the Republic. Even, since the Ottoman Era, as indicated in the previous part of this chapter. The public administration system, displays a ‘judicial-rational’ structure in terms of organizational structure, attitudes of employees and administrators, rules and methods applied. At the same time, in practical terms it is possible to see the effects of ‘patrimonial’ bureaucracy (see Kutlu 2004; Eryılmaz 2008). This model is called ‘neo-patrimonial bureaucracy’. This concept represents administrations that enters to the modernization period under the leadership of administrative elites but that could not understand the model of judicial rational bureaucracy of West while succeeding in adapting at least some features of it to their own system. This concept is used to refer the bureaucracies of developing nations, which accommodate both customs and modernization at the same time (see Eryılmaz 2008: 94). Turkey was trying its best to be apart from neo-patrimonial bureaucracy and to adopt a bureaucracy which is efficient, effective and which has high social responsibility.

In order to understand Neo-patrimonialism, it is useful to take a look at Weber. Patrimonialism, in the meaning of Weber has used it, describes a system, in which rule basis on administrative and military personnel who is responsible only to the ruler. Neo-patrimonialism is a modern form of traditional patrimonial form of rule and is a mixed system. In this type, the elements of patrimonial and rational-bureaucratic rule exist together and are sometimes interwoven. In patrimonial system, all type of relationships (ruling, administrative, political) are personal. The difference between private and public do not exist. Though on the contrary; differentiation of private-public is recognized in neo-patrimonial system. In practice, however, the private and public spheres often are not separated. That means two systems, the patrimonial system of personal relationships and the legal-rational one of the bureaucracy, exist side-by-side. (Erdmann 2002.)

As emphasized at the beginning of this chapter, today's organizational structure of Turkish public administration is parallel to the Ottoman's structure. The basic institutions of the state (like Council of State, Court of Account, Supreme Court and Ministry) and local authorities are inherited to Republic directly from Ottoman. It is not just administrative institutions, but also administrative culture and customs inherited from Ottoman.

The Turkish public administration organized in terms of 'secrecy' and 'official secret', and system is full of rigid, hierarchic, bureaucratic, ineffectual and formalist institutions.

2.2.4. Organizational Structure of Turkish Public Administration

It is possible to classify the structure of Turkish public administration in two ways: according to the organizational principles specified in the Constitution and according to the public finance administrative regulation.

According to the organizational principles specified in the Constitution the public administration system, divided into two main groups namely, central government institutions and decentralized functional organizations. The central government

institutions divided into two as ‘central government institutions in the capital’ and ‘central government provincial administration’. Central government institutions in the capital also called as ‘central organization’. This structure consists, President, Prime Minister, Council of Ministers and ministries with other assistive institutions. The basic organizational units of central government are ministries and their affiliates. The provincial administration of central government on the other hand consists of provinces, sub-provinces, bucak (districts) and regional organizations.

Decentralized Functional Organizations consists of ‘geographical local administration institutions’ and ‘functional local administration institutions’. Geographical local administration institutions are namely, special provincial administrations, municipalities and villages. Functional local administration institutions are; autonomous public institutions, public economic enterprises, Public Professional Associations, Regulatory Authorities and universities. Figure 1 illustrates the structure of public administration.

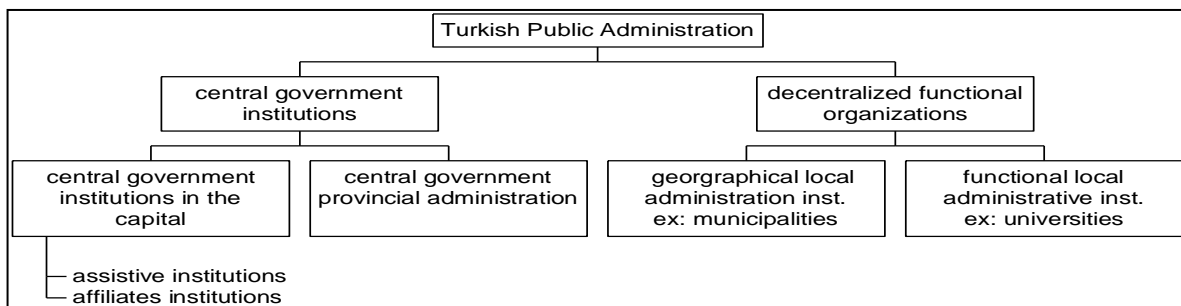


Figure 1. The Structure of Public Administration (Eryilmaz 2008: 92).

Beside this, Public Financial Administration and Control law numbered 5018 has classified public institutions due to their budgets. Accordingly under the title of ‘general administration’ the public administration is divided into three: Central Administration, Social Security Institutions and Local Administrations. The Central Administration budget consists ‘administrations with general budget’, ‘administrations with special budget’ and ‘regulatory and supervisory institutions’, and this organizational settlement can be seen clearly in Figure 2.

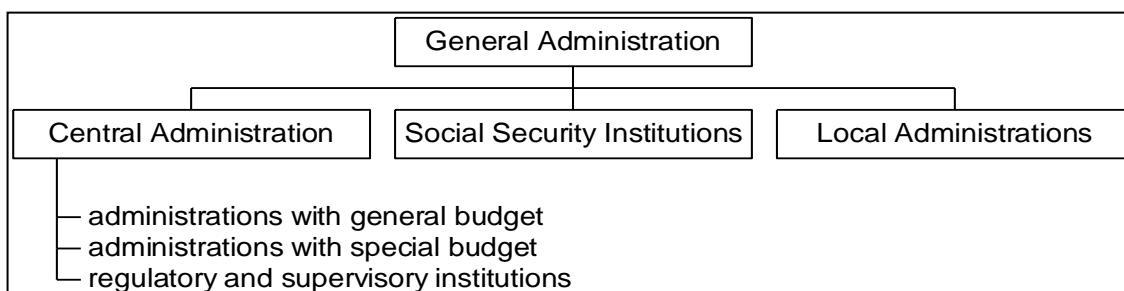


Figure 2: Public Administration Organization According to the Budget (Eryılmaz 2008: 93).

2.2.5. Problems of Turkish Public Administration

The problems of Turkish administration can be classified in two groups, organizational and functional problems.

The Organizational Problems

Centralization: The most important problem of Turkish administration since the Tanzimat is centralization. In accordance with the common practice in Turkey, because local agencies are not fully entitled, solutions to local problems have to be solved by ministries and other public institutions in the capital. Thus, local administration agencies started to work as intermediary institutions that conduct correspondence and institutions that bring public into connection with central administration. This operation order increases red-tape, causes loose of time and creates the key source for the inefficiency in the government (Eryılmaz 2008: 248).

Centralization preference can be understood for the first years of Republic, as a result of lack of cadre and specialized administrators. But today, Turkey has enough educated staff who can handle the complicated problems of public affairs. Hence, the public sector needs a transformation in order to avoid disadvantages of centralization.

Political and administrative regimes of Turkey are not fully open to decentralization and devolution principles and being civilian because the regimes are relevant to control the community and to protect state against community (Eryılmaz 2008: 249). As a consequence, centralization exerts its authority over the system. Nowadays, 'state based' administrative systems are transforming to 'individual based' management; thus a re-settlement is also obligatory for Turkey.

Organizational Growth: The quantitative development of an organization in terms of budget, number of employees, equipment and service units can be named as organizational growth.

In 1930s with the acceptance of statism policy in Turkey many special privileged companies passed under the state control and new economic and commercial institutions established. Such that the number of public economic enterprises increased dramatically, while the number was 10 in 1950s, this number had increased to 40 in 1960. Although the state and public services growth day by day, somehow until 1980s there were no revision efforts (see Eryılmaz 2008: 249–250).

Secrecy and Lack of Transparency in Administration: As clarified before in this thesis the public bureaucracy in Turkey is organized traditionally due to the secrecy and official secret principles. The basic reason for this is to protect governors and public employee against the public criticism. Acquaint public about anything was not a duty of administration until recently. This caused the administration perceived as rigid, close and as an authority above the public (Eryılmaz 2008: 250) and this put up walls between public and government.

Because the limits and scope of secrecy was not clear in the law, the administrators or public employees had to decide what should be open to public and what shouldn't be. According to Eryılmaz (2008: 250) this was establishing an environment, which is suitable for corruption and it was leaving the citizens defenseless and weak against bureaucracy. Lack of an adjustment about right of information acquirement prevents the establishment of a transparent administration.

In Turkey, efforts in establishing a transparent administration started in 2003 with the enacting 'Law on Right of Information Acquirement' numbered 4982. The purpose of this act is to lay down the guidelines and procedures for individuals to exercise their right of information acquirement in accordance with the principles of equity, neutrality and openness that are the fundamentals of democratic and transparent administration.

Conservatism: Conservatism in administration appears when administrators and employees tightly stick to traditional methods and rules of administration and when they reject to learn and adopt new methods (see Eryilmaz 2008: 251). Conservatism in administration is a desperate problem in Turkey. Most of the reform attempts fail to win functionality as a result of lack of support. Changing deep-rooted functions and methods in an institution encounters resistance most of the time and it is always difficult to educate the staff due to new approaches. The most important reason of this is the seniority principle based promotion system, instead of success level. As a result of this, the ones who get position in the administrator level are mostly old people. It is natural that this kind of a structure shows tendency to conservatism.

The Functional Problems

Prescriptivism and Evasion of Responsibility: The functioning of public services is bound to detailed rules in Turkey. This feature slows down the transactions, constitutes an excuse to lazy administrators and establishes an environment for the misuse of power for personal interests. On the other hand, it is hard to amend the detailed rules and it is hard to adopt them to changing environment. And this cause the fall of the system behind the requirements of the age.

Politicization in Administration: Politicization in administration is one of the most important indicators of corruption and this fact is common mostly in developing nations. Politicization in administration emerged when political factors act in the first place about appointing employees to public service duties (Eryilmaz 2008: 253).

Although the most important principles of Turkish public personnel regime are merit and political neutralization, in practice the politicization in administration is very common. As a consequence employees prefer developing political relations instead of specialize in their jobs. Politicization brings along favoritism.

Fraud and Bribery: Fraud can be described as a deception made for personal gain and bribery as a form of corruption, which involves taking money or some kind of a gift in discharge of a public duty, in the broadest sense. Bribery is one of the most important illnesses of Turkish system. Bribery aims to take advantage of something or to avoid damages. These are the proofs of problems in functioning. And it is really hard to control this because as a cultural feature, Turks like to and prone to give and take gifts in exchange for the job. This exchange might not be with the aim of fraud, every time, but still should be kept under control.

Finally, it is possible to summarize the most important problems of Turkish public administration as, multi-stage structure of authority hierarchy and its rigidity, collection of authorities on the top, density of rules, performance and quality problems, lack of authority for discretion in administration, conservatism and inefficiency.

In this chapter the traditional model of public administration has been examined, its historical background, features and defective points clarified. While doing this, Turkish public administration introduced as an example to traditional model of public administration. The basic characteristics of Turkish public administration indicated one by one.

As a consequence of this chapter, it is clear that traditional model of public administration is no more efficient to meet today's developing requirements. Thus, should be replaced. The next chapter will concentrate on the model that claimed to be replacing traditional model.

3. NEW ERA IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (NPM) APPROACH

Economical and political developments in the beginning of the 1980s deeply affected public sector as well as it affected many other fields. Starting from this period, many developed countries witnessed a crucial transformation in public sector.

The rigid, hierarchical and bureaucratic form of public management, which now named as traditional model of public administration in the literature is changing to a more flexible, market based form of public administration. But on the other hand it is important to clarify that, *“this is not simply a matter of change in management style, but it is often considered as a ‘paradigm shift’ from the traditional public administration approach, which was dominant in the public sector for most of the century”* (Ömürgönülşen 1997: 518).

Traditional public administration fails to accommodate with the changing conditions of present day and cannot produce effective solutions to the problems. This makes the administration lose prestige. By considering how it has emerged and what the aims of it are, we can say that NPM approach, as a new paradigm, is a confrontation to traditional public administration.

As from the mid-1970s, governments started to confront serious financial crises. This brought forth new ideas like *“the government’s returning back to its standard boundaries, its being organized according to the basis of efficiency and the use of the esteems, techniques and applications of private sector”* (Özer 2005: 4). In this new era, private sector origin management function was seen to be more important and beneficial than traditional public administration and policy making.

This transition to the idea of ‘management’ in public sector was absolutely not easy and did not take place in a short period of time. Because; the concept of management is a more broader concept than administration, which has more limited functions than management. As a result of this, shifting from ‘public administration’ to ‘public

management' means a major change both in theory and function. That's why understanding the difference between the concepts 'administration' and 'management' has significant importance in understanding the NPM approach. *"The words are close in meaning, but a brief foray into semantics allows a case to be made that the terms 'management' and 'administration' are significantly different and that a manager performs a different role from an administrator"* (Hughes 2003: 6).

"The Oxford Dictionary defines administration as 'an act of administering' which is then 'to manage the affairs of' or 'to direct or superintend the execution, use or conduct of', while management is: 'to conduct, to control the course of affairs by one's own action, to take charge of'" (qtd. in Hughes 2003: 6). Both words are originated from Latin but their Latin roots show significant differences. *"Administration comes from minor then ministrare, meaning: 'to serve, to govern'. Management comes from manus, meaning: 'to control by hand'. The essential difference in meaning is between 'to serve' and 'to control or gain results'"* (Hughes 2003: 6).

According to Al (2002: 112) while the concept of public management expresses rational approach in organizational decision-making, traditionally, it is appraised as associative with private sector. The term public administration on the other hand is used for public sector and gives importance to the effective use of sources secondarily.

As it can be understood, although, there is a definitional conflict, it should be clarified that neither the meanings of the concepts administration and management nor their application to public administration are synonyms. As Hughes (2003: 6) has emphasized:

"Public administration is an activity serving the public, and public servants carry out policies derived from others. It is concerned with procedures, with translating policies into action and with office management. (...) public administration focuses on process, on procedures and propriety, while public management involves much more. Instead of merely following instructions, a public manager focuses on achieving results and taking responsibility for doing so".

In short words, this new paradigm that is explained above reveals a direct challenge to the nature, culture and fundamental principles of the traditional public administration. Dominance of markets instead of hierarchical bureaucracy; being responsible towards consumers; a greater focus on results than processes, on initiative and responsibility rather than its evasion, and management rather than administration, together with a greater concern with value for money (economy, efficiency, and effectiveness) are becoming the new values of the public sector with this new paradigm. (Ömürgönülşen 1997: 531.)

As a conclusion, NPM approach expresses an administrative approach, which utilizes business type management techniques to improve the general performance of public services by means of increasing its efficiency and effectiveness.

3.1. Main Factors that Cause NPM Reforms

With the simplest explanation, NPM; broke through from the pursuit of more democratic, more flexible, more efficient and more active administration understanding because of the fact that traditional public administration failed to give the required answer to the wind of alteration of 1970s. But there is no single, commonly accepted explanation of why NPM needed and emerged. Thus, this section analyses the factors driving NPM reforms in order to understand the nature of NPM better.

3.1.1. Developments in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs)

Current developments in information and communication technologies, has provided the tools and structures that enable the administrative reforms. Because “*many public management strategies such as contract of service, performance management, quality management, decentralization, strategic management and etc. are depend on the existence of developed information systems*” (Sözen 2005: 50).

20th century was a dazzling century in terms of the development of information technology and its effects to the processes of governments. Especially from 1980s, it was seen that public services started to benefit from information technologies increasingly.

The advancements in communication and information technologies caused the rise of need for reconstruction, which is looking for a way of better and cheaper accomplishment of public services; it almost pushed public administration to the process of reform. When we consider current conditions, it can be said that every unit of government is obliged to benefit from this technological reconstruction process.

At this point, the first concept that comes to mind is electronic government (e-government). Holmes (2001: 2) predicates that e-government expresses the use of information technology, especially the Internet, in delivering public services in a better way by being more sufficient, customer oriented and cost effective. E-government applications will affect agency's relations with citizens, business and other public agencies as well as its internal business processes and employees. There are certain reasons drove the need of the e-government movement. E-government applications drove from the need of government to cut costs while improving efficiency, meet citizen expectations while improving citizen relationships and economic development.

Today as a result of huge budget deficits, public organizations are expected to save money but on the other hand while saving money, they are expected to improve their service quality and domain. It is possible to cut stationery, printing costs and personnel expenses with the efficient use of ICT technologies. Also the use of Internet in government services will help for 'time management' with less human interaction (see Holmes 2001).

E-government does not mean just selling public licenses through the Internet. "*It's about making the transition from the industrial society to the emerging information society*" (Holmes 2001: 3).

To sum up, e-government can be defined broadly as the adoption of any ICT to the governmental transactions. Those technological tools can be listed as “*video conferencing, touch-tone data entry, CD-ROMs, the Internet and private Intranets, as well as other technologies such as interactive television and Internet access via mobile phone and personal digital assistants*” (Hughes 2003: 182).

Besides these advantages, it is necessary to mention the difficulties of the implementation of e-government. First of all, a big economical power, time and employee discipline is required in order to put these applications into practice (see Balci 2008: 330). This case might be seen as a serious problem when we consider the developing countries’ inadequate resources. Besides, we are facing with the problem of citizens’ access to Internet at this point, so it won’t be wrong to say that the success of the application of e-government is parallel to the citizens’ (or generally government’s) high social and economic welfare.

3.1.2. Globalization

Globalization is one of the results of information age. When we take a look at the world, it is seen that the expectations from the administrations and new demands are nearly same in many countries. With the chances that ICT provides and the effect of globalization, from now on individuals can easily compare their country’s administration with the other countries’ and make new requests.

As an effect of globalization in addition to capital, technologies, goods and services also ideologies, approaches and ideas can be easily transferred over borders and make needs of ‘change’ obligatory.

This alteration spread over easily with the effects of globalization. Hence; the competition in public sector and the expectations of people from administrations has increased and again globalization entailed the capacity to create quick solutions to problems and high quality services.

Globalization has various meanings for different areas of interest. While economists see globalization as a step to a completely integrated world market, some political scientists perceive it as a new world order that puts an end to the ascendancy of traditional nation state concept, in which regional domination concept come into prominence and in which multinational governments exist as strong actors. (Polatoğlu 2003: 57.)

In the process of globalization, the role of the government in economic life transformed all over the world, accordingly, the structure and the function of the government also changed. *“Instead of producing government, a government understanding, which creates an opportunity to produce, looks out for competition environment for society’s common profits, arranges and controls markets, becomes to be dominant”* (Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 26).

Scholte (2000: 143–144) has studied the outcomes of globalization in governmental context as following:

“Globalization has promoted a major growth of regional and trans-world governance mechanisms. As a result of this multiplication of sub-state and supra-state arrangements alongside regulation through states, contemporary governance has become considerably more decentralized and fragmented. (...) Globalization has furthered this dispersion of the public sector in three principal ways. First, the rapid contemporary growth of supra-territorial spaces has made sovereign statehood impracticable. Other institutions have moved in to fill the many resultant gaps in effective governance. Second, globalization has introduced a number of problems (trans-border communications, global environmental change, etc.) in which sub-state and supra-state agencies may hold a comparative advantage over states, or at least a complementary role. Third, the growth of global communications, global organization, global finance and global consciousness has provided sub-state and supra-state authorities with infrastructures and mindsets to sustain their operations, including many activities that bypass states”.

3.1.3. The Influence of International Organizations

International organizations such as the EU, World Bank (WB), Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have great role in the spread of NPM approach and these organizations encourage member states for reforms. *“Much of the value of NPM currency could be said to have*

been derived from the ongoing attention to it by organizations such as OECD” (UN 2005: 10). The OECD is working on its member countries and produces a series of Studies on public management that overtly aims to expedite policy learning between member states (Common 1998: 442).

In addition, structural adjustment packages prepared by IMF and WB enounce public administration reforms as pre-conditions for providing credits. And those administrative reforms, which are in demand, have many similarities with NPM approach (see Larbi 1999: 6–11). These organizations *“have an interest in ensuring ‘best practice’; it is more likely that managerial techniques are likely to be imposed on countries”* (Common 1998: 442).

As can be seen, in developing countries, external dynamics has played an important role in pervasion of NPM.

3.1.4. Three Deficits: Budget, Trust and Performance

Three common reasons attract the attention in many countries that go for a reform. These are namely; budget, trust and performance deficits.

Social state understanding broadened the activity and impact area of government and accordingly, public sector broadened, as well. The burden of the government which interfere into the a wide range of activities such as education, health, infrastructure, social services, energy, environment, banking, mining, agriculture, transport, insurance business and etc, with different methods such as determining politics, making arrangements, subsidizing or providing finance, becomes heavier.

These activities increased public share in economy, and this increased public debts and caused budget deficit in governments. This deepening deficit brought along the crisis atmosphere. In many countries, crisis atmosphere was appraised as a beginning opportunity for public administration reforms.

Budget deficit brought forth the thought that public services are not only expensive but also inefficient. This caused criticize of government by thinking that the performance of government is inadequate. This is performance deficit.

Dissatisfaction of the public as a inevitable result of all the reasons listed above combined with the emergence of ethical problems in public sector such as malpractice, favoritism and abuse of professional power and produced the appearance of the third deficit, namely trust deficit.

3.1.5. Increased Expectations

The communal evolution has a significant influence on the emergence of NPM approach. People who became more educated, intellectual, demands justice and questions formal opinions and acts, started to wait for not only more service, but also more quality service. Thereby, the expectations of the ones who benefit from public services and who finance public services by paying taxes increased day by day; traditional model of public administration remained incapable of answering the demands for more qualified goods and more efficient services.

In view of the global change implying 'rediscover of individual'; public administrations' being under the pressure of continuously increasing right and freedom demands and expectations of high-quality service became effective both in abandoning traditional management patterns that requires strict and hierarchical settlement and heading towards new management patterns that are based on benefiting from individual's power and activity.

At the end of the 20th century, citizen's perceptions of need have changed from the understanding of basic service presentation for everyone to services that are designed to answer individual needs (Sözen 2005: 49).

As a result of coercions of citizens on public administrators to obtain more rights, more freedom and more quality public services through democratic ways and public opinion, together with the interrogation of awkwardness in bureaucratic structure, the necessity

of reconstruction of public administration with a new understanding came to the surface. As a consequence, many countries headed to adopt consumer oriented administration culture.

3.1.6. Developments in the Theoretical Field

NPM was fed from various sources. Since NPM approach emerged, the writers who are working and producing ideas on it have been agreeable that there are two basic streams of idea that give life to NPM approach. Hood's ideas that are given reference frequently will be mentioned here through the study.

According to the Hood (1991: 56), NPM is originated from the marriage of two different ideas. And one of them is 'new institutional economics', this movement *helped to generate a set of administrative reform doctrines built on ideas of contestability, user choice, transparency and close concentration on incentive structures*".

And the other partner of this marriage is 'managerialism' approach. Here are the points emphasized by this approach: 1) Professional management includes universal knowledge based on specialty, accordingly can be used in both private and public sector, 2) Professional management is superior than technical specialty, 3) To achieve the ends, the administrators must have freedom of administrate (Sözen 2005: 55).

Sözen (2005: 55–56) states that public choice theory sees bureaucratic power in the basis of the problem. There is a thought that bureaucracy has gained strength as a result of professionalization and specialization, and it is in a stronger position than the ones chosen as technocrat. Consequently, according to Sözen bureaucracy has to be taken under control.

On the other hand, for managerialism approach the problem is the over control of bureaucratic idealism over the public employees. The main problem here is the existence of rigid hierarchical control. This situation creates a system, which encourages

obedience to rules; principles and regulations instead of being result oriented and besides system encourage avoidance of making faults instead of being innovative.

The NPM approach *“intends to maximize allocative and productive efficiency which are prevented to perform by the public organizations which leaders are insensitive to the demands of public and mostly seek to maximize their own personal powers.”* (Sözen 2005: 56.)

3.1.7. Political Changes and New Right Policies

Aforementioned paradigm shift in public administration means; while some stream of ideas in society decrease in value, the others become prominent. In this sense, power balance shifted in 1980s and a new political economy of public administration appeared. New Right thoughts built up the ideological background of this new emerging paradigm (Sözen 2005: 42).

New Right flow was developed to surpass the crisis that developed capitalist countries had to face in 1970s. It is an ideology, which aims to reduce the liability of governments in economy, to decrease public expenses by downsizing the government with the way of privatization and thus apply economic liberalism literally. It became prominent evidently in the administration of R. Reagan in the USA and M. Thatcher in England and spread out all over Europe in 1980s.

NPM approach may be thought as reflection of New Right understanding to public sector. Government's less interference to the social and communal field and its return to borders of actual assigned position by means of avoiding economical activities as much as possible are NPM's common dissertations with New Right. Most evident common point appears as the thought of privatization.

Şinasi Aksoy (1995: 162–163) defined New Right as a frame concept of economical, social, political and administrative change that appeared in consequence of the end of Keynesian unity of politics, which institutionalizes the role, and interference of

government in economy. The writer collected the effects of New Right to the public administration under two titles: narrowing public administration (the government) by belittling it, and the configuration and execution of public activities and public organizations around the understanding of public management.

However, there are many people who think that it is wrong to link the appearance of NPM approach only to New Right thought. According to them, the ideas and opinions that New Right ideology has affected the generation of NPM's specialties but still, it has to be accepted that NPM cannot only be explained by its close relations to the New Right thought.

As Ömürgönülşen (1997: 536) states; *“although NPM is closely related to New Right ideology and to all these mega trends toward a “smaller-limited but strong state”, it is more than a simple administrative vehicle of it. It would be too simplistic to place NPM solely in relation to New Right ideology and political project”*. Such a conclusion represents an incomplete reading of the literature and changes.

It should also be kept in mind that in order to believe that government's efficiency and effectiveness is low and has to be improved; one should not be a right-winger. (Ömürgönülşen 1997: 536). For example, although the Labor Party government of New Zealand is possessing different political ideology and although they do not adopt New Right thoughts, they applied NPM reforms to get over the problem of public expenditures and other financial problems that they were facing with as a result of having a strong social welfare state (see Sözen 2005: 39).

3.1.8. Economic and Financial Factors

Sözen (2005: 38) has claimed that economical and financial crises that world had to face with, lay behind the administrative reform programs that took place in 1980s in the global level.

Thus economically there are some common factors, which drove countries to attempt reforms in public administration. Those are: anxiety in economical and financial sectors like balance of payments, ampleness of public expenses and high expenditures of public services (Sözen 2005: 39). According to the conservative economists, the biggest obstacles in front of economical development and deregulation in 1970s were public administration and the government itself. They argued that downsizing the government would increase economic efficiency and accordingly, level of welfare would increase.

In this period, new models were sought to climb over the crises that surround the world and crucial steps were taken to let economy work independent from the government. Especially, gas crises of 1973-74 is accepted as one of the milestones of public sector reforms in general and of reforms devoted to efficiency in particular (Kutlu 2004: 37). As a result of these crises, the changes in 'stable money' and 'cheap energy', which underlay Western economies caused the aforesaid economies to lose their stability and caused their systems to be deeply shakened.

This transformation in the economic field affected public domain, as well. Economical thought aimed to convert the addictions of public administration by using economical theory, which comprises NPM and public theories, responsibility and process cost theories.

After the 2nd World War, especially developed Western countries started to base on social welfare state politics by alienating the liberal state tradition. In this period, central and local administrations provided services far and wide like social security and retirement payments, comprehensive national health services, education and family, child and state dwelling support. As a consequence of these handled politics public administration broadened as structure and function, public expenditures increased on a large scale. (Sözen 2005: 40.)

However economic recession and increasing demands from the social welfare services in 1970s caused governments to get into a scrape and set off economic crises. As a consequence, social welfare policies were started to criticize and the claims on;

governments withdrawal to its fundamental missions, minimalization of economic interference of the government and accordingly abridge of expenses were added to the agenda.

While Keynesian economy policies, which consider the government primarily responsible for the administration of economy, crashed, New Right ideology became ascendant value, the thoughts of reducing public expenditures, increase of productivity and minimalization of the government came into prominence. In this period NPM approach came into existence with the thesis of answering these demands.

3.1.9. Inadequacy of Weberian Bureaucratic System

First of all, as a reminder of the first chapter, it will be convenient to indicate that one of the milestones of traditional public administration is bureaucracy (see Chapter 2.1.2.). It was mentioned before that NPM approach appeared as a reaction to traditional public administration. NPM also criticized bureaucracy: the organization type of traditional public administration.

Bureaucratic structure, which was emphasized in the previous chapter in detail and which Weber has depict as ideal type of organization, was criticized as being awkward, inefficient, strict, complex, non reactive to the changes around, hierarchal, inactive type of organization in providing service and consequently, the necessity of an alternative organization was argued.

Weber's model of bureaucracy accepts the beneficiaries of public services as 'citizen' and the power, which represents citizens, as a whole is 'public'. Model of Weber was also criticized because it was not result and customer oriented, it was inflexible and unproductive in answering the needs. The bureaucratic paradigm went out of date and even bankrupted in today's conditions while it worked excellent in its own period.

NPM approach advocates that the demands of beneficiaries of public services should be considered primarily and administrative acts should be developed towards these

demands. NPM, counter to Weberian model, attracted attention to the fact that it is advantageous to think people, who are taking public services, as 'customer'. NPM approach defends that by this means, public institutions will; become organized according to the free market sense to increase profitability and efficiency, compete with each other and offer more qualified and various goods and services.

3.2. Key Elements of NPM

NPM approach envisages the government's complete withdrawal from the areas, which are not about its fundamental assignments; and in its scope of activity; issues such as; how much it should produce goods and services; what should be the standards of production and what should the quality will be and who will benefit from them should be determined by the market mechanism within the frame of profitability, productivity and rivalry principles; the abandon of Keynesian government policies devoted to the region that can not benefit enough from basic services; the reduction of social security and transfer expenditures directed to those; the adoption of the approach of accomplishment of the services of the areas, which were abandoned by governments, by private sector or voluntary agencies; disengagement from the understanding of coordinator and welfare state and drift to the government which is based on market process. (Kapucu 2003: 286.)

The outline of the NPM approach, its characteristics and purpose can be summarized in this way. However, the elements of NPM should be explained, as well. While I was scanning literature about this topic, two major works attracted my attention. Almost all academicians referred to two basic works in the matter of listing aforementioned elements. These works are '*Public Administration for All Seasons?*' (1991) by Christopher Hood and '*Re-inventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*' (1993) by David Osborne & Ted Gaebler. This thesis will take seven elements that Hood gathered together as a reference.

The seven elements are (Hood 1991:4):

- a) Greater emphasis on output control,
- b) Greater discipline and parsimony in resource use,
- c) Hands-on professional management,
- d) Private sector styles of management practices,
- e) Explicit standards of measurement of performance,
- f) Shift to disaggregation of units,
- g) Greater competition in public sector.

Understanding the elements of NPM approach is important in terms of understanding the system as a whole together with its operational structure. All the factors are related to each other and every single factor entailed the existence of the other one.

3.2.1. Greater Emphasis on Output Control

Meaning: *“Resource allocation and rewards linked to measured performance; breakup of centralized bureaucracy – wide personnel management”* (Hood 1991: 4).

Contrary to traditional public administration, NPM approach chose to focus on outputs and results rather than procedures and contradicts with existing obligation of application of strict rules.

Result-orientated administration, which solves problems like red tape and problem of abolishment of public officials’ right of initiative (which is the most criticizing aspects of Weberian bureaucratic organization theory), is the most crucial characteristics of NPM approach. The primary target of result-oriented administration is to provide increase in productivity. While in Weberian bureaucracy it is very important that the rules, directions and procedures should be fulfilled completely and correctly, NPM approach approves to focus more on the resultant work rather than its process.

The length of bureaucratic processes and strict procedures may cause disinclination and aversion of the public official who works in the system of traditional public administration, so the risk of making deficient work and making mistakes rises for public officials. However, result oriented and more flexible NPM system aims to provide public officials' to perform their work fondly and advertently. In this way, the attention to work increases, while the risk of error margin decreases.

3.2.2. Greater Discipline and Parsimony in Resource

Meaning: *“Cutting direct costs, raising labor discipline, resisting union demands, limiting ‘compliance costs’ to business”* (Hood 1991: 5).

In this element efficient use of scarce sources are intended and with scarce sources, the presentation of the most efficient product and service are aimed, thus it is crucial to control input amount.

Public resources are scarce because of the increase in population and expanding of distribution area of public services. And the biggest source of income spent for public goods and services is the taxes received from citizens. It is apparent that tax increases should be made by considering the differences between the citizen's sources of income and these increases should have some limits. On the other hand, the demands of people for better and more quality of public services are unlimited. These demands are righteous demands when we think people as the financier of public services. In this case, methods should be found to use the sources in most productive and active way.

The need of the economical use of sources should not have the risk of hindering crucial public services or making them badly. The thrift of the sources does not mean that the services will be suspended or the investments will be frozen. The sources, directed to strategic purposes should be used in optimum level.

3.2.3. Hands-on Professional Management

Meaning: “*Active, visible, discretionary control of organizations from named persons at the top, ‘free to manage’*” (Hood 1991: 4).

Hands-on professional management aims to present the opportunity of administrating for the administrators. Instead of an understanding of an administrator just waiting for his/her senior’s directions and applying them, it is anticipated an understanding of administrator who takes initiative and make active decisions.

It is clear that by this means, the administrator, who fulfils activities of administration, can use the sources effectively with the advantages of fast mechanism of decision making, pragmatic use of sources and fast adaptation of changing conditions. To apply hands-on professional management, besides the responsibilities, the administrator should be adorned with a certain authorization.

3.2.4. Private Sector Style of Management Practices

Meaning: “*Move away from military style public service ethic, greater flexibility in hiring and rewards, greater use of PR techniques’*” (Hood 1991: 5).

Another basic feature of NPM approach is its nature, which rejects the traditional belief of strict differences between private and public sector methods. According to NPM approach those differences between the two sectors are not important and public sector should also be managed as a business.

The fundamental target of private sector is the maximization of profit. To obtain this, it gives importance to the efficient use of mechanism of decision-making and fast deciding points. These methods and techniques that private sector uses to provide maximization of profit should also be used in public sector (Sözen 2005: 62). The reason that lies beneath this fact is the assumption that private sector is more productive and use its sources more economically. Even some writers underline this case with

sharp expressions: “(...) *the public sector was guilty until proven innocent, while the private sector was innocent until proven guilty*” (Pollit 2006: 778).

According to Hood (1991:5) there is a “*need to use ‘proven’ private sector management tools in public sector*” in order to get efficiency. The private sector management tools can be listed in five main topics as following:

- The users’ payment for the services,
- Services’ opening up for the private sector representment,
- Services’ opening up for the competition,
- Giving financial autonomy,
- Divergence of policy determination task and application functions from each other in organizations.

3.2.5. Explicit Standards of Measurement of Performance

Meaning: “*Definition of goals, targets, indicators of success, preferably expressed in quantitative terms, especially for professional services*” (Hood 1991: 4).

The importance of this element comes from the fact that it enables the public organizations to estimate the results of the efforts; evaluate whether there is a descent in the performance of service and product offer or not and to rate in which fields are successful and unsuccessful. From the public sector point of view, performance is the fulfillment of goods and services which public administration aspired to present to the society. In other words, it is the effort of people in public bureaucracy to perform and present services. (Çevik 2007: 250.)

There are many difficulties in evaluating performance in public administration. The size of public bureaucracy and the lack of the flexibility to award and penalize in the appraisals of individuals and organizations complicates the evaluation of performance (see Çevik 2007: 251).

The simplest way to evaluate the performance of a public organization economically is to check how much money has been used by the organization in a certain period of time. Because budgets are prepared annually and limited money is assigned to every public organization to use in one year. How economically these monetary sources are used and the costs of entries are important in performance evaluation. The output of efficiency is about the costs of the production of outputs. It is proportioned between the money given to the public organization and service outputs and it is calculated how much service the public organization has brought out with how much money. (Çevik 2007: 267–268.)

As a result of those inspections it is possible to have data about the performance.

3.2.6. Shift to Disaggregation of Units

Meaning: *“Break up of formerly “monolithic” units, unbundling of U-form management systems into corporatized units around products, operating on decentralized ‘one-line’ budgets and dealing with one another on an ‘arms-length’ basis”* (Hood 1991: 5).

As it is emphasized for many times since the beginning of this work, the biggest problem in Weberian bureaucratic organization is bureaucracy’s big and awkward structure. This volume complicates the active and productive continuation of services.

There is a *“need to create manageable units, separate provisions and production interests, gain efficiency advantages of use of contract or franchise arrangements inside as well as outside the public sector.”* (Hood 1991: 5.)

NPM approach envisages the existence of units that can be administrated in optimum level essential to avoid the problems mentioned above and to reach the aim that Hood mentioned. In small units whose mission borders and responsibilities are determined transparently, decision-making mechanism and applications work more actively. These units, which are easy to provide coordination, reduce waste of time and red tape.

We can explain the purpose of this element as the establishment of the units defined as optimum size and what the economists call ‘scale economies’ (Kutlu 2004: 53). This optimum size concept has great importance. The units, which will be adjusted according to the functional structure of the establishment, should be neither enormous nor tiny.

3.2.7. Greater Competition in Public Sector

Meaning: “*Move to term contracts and public tendering procedures*” (Hood 1991: 5).

In this element the key concept, to lower costs and to have better standards in public services, is “rivalry” (see Hood 1991: 5). Public institutions should be in competition both with other public institutions and private sector. In this way, without squandering, the most appropriate use of public funding is thought to be possible. The competing establishments will be in a struggle for producing the goods and the service cheaper and more efficient and qualified.

3.3. The Distinctions between the Traditional Model of Public Administration and NPM Approach

In the first chapter of the thesis, the main concern was the traditional model of public administration, in this chapter the NPM approach studied in detail. As it is seen through these two chapters there are significant differences between the two approaches.

If the fact, NPM approach is a paradigm change which claimed to recover the losses that traditional model caused, is accepted than it is possible to say, theoretically, that NPM approach is everything that traditional model of public administration should be but failed to be.

Traditional model of public administration is rule and procedure based while NPM focuses on outcomes and it is flexible about the rules in order to give initiative to employees. “*The public management paradigm dislikes rigid rules, formal procedures*

and uniform systems such as those that prevail in the traditional civil service” (UN 2005: 10).

Traditional model of public administration is distinct from the private sector while NPM approach approves applying private sector type of management tools into the system. NPM approach unites economic theory with practical business management thus the private sector methods and practices are the principal sources of the public management model (UN 2005: 9).

As UN (2005: 11) has emphasized traditional model of public administration is organized according to the principles of bureaucracy while NPM incarnates an anti-bureaucratic philosophy. Competition, marketization, autonomization, disaggregation and deregulations are the characteristic tools of NPM, which are non-bureaucratic. The NPM approach criticizes bureaucracy because it has no answer to efficiency but has more and more rules.

The traditional model of public administration embodies *“set of rules about merit based recruitment and promotion (...), security of tenure and the payment of decent, fixed salary”* (UN 2005: 8). The main focus of the NPM approach on the other hand is the performance. The payments and promotions organized due to the performance. According to the UN (2005: 12) this new type of payment form destructs traditional forms of public administration.

“Traditional public administration often seems weak when it comes to efficiency” (UN 2005: 11). And it is mostly expensive although the service quality is not good enough to serve the needs of the public. The aim of NPM approach on the other hand is to improve efficiency and service quality while cutting expenditures.

NPM's priority is 'customerization'. *“The growing focus on service quality, or responsiveness to customer or customer needs and demands, implies efforts to incorporate quality service and customer satisfaction indicators into performance measures (...)”* (UN 2005: 12). Regarding traditional model, government claims that it

knows the best for the public and what are the needs and demands of the public (see Çevik 2007; Eryılmaz 2008).

Thus, the differences between the two approaches can be seen clearly by summarizing the features of the two.

Finally, Table 2 illustrates the differences between the three models of public administration (viz. public administration, public management and responsive governance), below. However, this thesis will quote only two, which are the main concern of the thesis: public administration and public management.

Table 2: [Two] Models of Administration (UN 2005: 7).

	Public Administration	Public Management
Citizen - state relationship	Obedience	Entitlement
Accountability of senior officials	Politicians	Customers
Guiding Principles	Compliance with rules and regulations	Efficiency and rules
Criteria for Success	Output	Outcome
Key Attribute	Impartiality	Professionalism

4. CONCEPT OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM ATTEMPTS IN TURKEY

All administration systems have periods of beginning, growth, stagnation and fall. When we look up historical process, all management systems are faced with some problems and lose their functionality in the course of time however strong grounds they were built on.

The primary reason for this is the presence of constant change. As Heraclitus (Quotationspage 2009) emphasized “*nothing endures but change*”. Change brings along the problems, new requirements and the necessity of finding solutions to these problems and answers to requirements.

In the first two chapters of this study, it is concluded that traditional model of public administration is in the period of collapse and NPM approach gets ready for taking its place in history as a new paradigm. In this chapter, it will be emphasized on the reforms required for the actuation of this transformation. After examining the definitions of the terms reform and administrative reform, the chapter will emphasize the reform efforts to accommodate this transformation process in Turkish administrative system, which studied as an example of traditional public administration in the second chapter.

4.1. Reform and Administrative Reform Concepts

The concept of reform usually refers abolishment of faults, amelioration or re-shaping. ‘Administrative reform’ concept on the other hand, is all the efforts of bearing a new understanding, appropriate to the contemporary and modern ideas, by investigating the ways of using all chances and sources that administration have in the direction of the aims of the administration in a rational (minimum effort, material, regulations and minimum ground) way. “*Administrative reforms are attempts to provide administrative solutions to problems*” (Brunsson 2006: 243).

Every change is not a reform but a change is absolutely exists in every reform. This means that reforms should have some determinative characteristics. NPM approach was elaborately examined in the previous chapter; the term 'administrative reform' appears in the point where theory is transformed into practice. In the process of changeover to the NPM approach, countries had to make some critical reforms. Therefore before examining the reform attempts in Turkish administrative system, it will be more accurate to take a look at the definition of administrative reform, its' elements, objectives, principles and stages.

There are many different concepts used in this area, thus there is uncertainty and these different concepts cause ambiguity. Historically speaking, the commonly used concept in Turkey is '*Islahat*'. Apart from this, the concepts used in Republic era are imported concepts such as; 'rationalization', 'modernization', 'reform', 'reorganization' and etc. In addition to these terms, the concepts 'reconstruction' and 'reformation - rearrangement' are common in recent literature. Among all these terms the most common one, in the Republic era literature is 'administrative reform'. In this study, all the terms mentioned above will be perceived as synonymous with the term 'administrative reform', thus administrative reform concept will be used henceforward.

According to Polatoğlu (2003: 160) the aim of administrative reform is to cast off the elements, which halts in administration system and fails to fulfill its function, and put new methods and mechanisms, which will prevent the defective operations and increase the activity, in the administration system.

Administrative Reform Consultancy Board defined administrative reform as all of the short and long range, temporary and continually qualified adjustments which pursue the goal of editing current defects and faults in the aims of public corporations, their missions, in the distribution of these missions, in the organization structure, employee system, sources and in their usage, methods, legislations and in communication and public relations system. (TODAIE 1972: 7.)

As a conclusion, administrative reforms are the attempts that aim to improve organizational production or results (Brunsson 2006: 244) in order to fulfill its goals.

In one of the reports, DPT (1961: 11) gathered the aims of administrative reform in three main titles. These are rapidity (to provide the execution of the works without admitting any delays in all sectors and grades of public service), quality (to provide the presentation of the committed work with more quality) and economy (to execute administrative activities with the least expenditure without reducing the efficiency).

Brunsson (2006: 243–244) has argued:

“Reforms may be directed towards changing the formal structure of the organization, rearranging or regrouping existing departments, or creating new ones and abolishing old ones. Reforms may also deal with processes, being attempts at changing the way control is exerted, for instance, or the way organization members’ deal with customers. Reform may also concern organizational ideologies, for example finding new ways of understanding the role and purpose of the organization or new conceptions of its environment”.

However, as mentioned above, it is not correct to call any change as a reform. In this case, reforms should have certain distinguishing features. No matter what kind, three basic elements must exist in every reform attempt. These elements are necessary in order to name arrangements as reforms. These are; scope, content and morale elements. The emergence of public administration reform depends on the equipped of aforementioned elements with desired qualifications (Kutlu 2004: 31).

The Element of Scope

None of the superficial and cosmetic changes can be named as reform. In other words, the scope of the attempt should reach a certain size concerning the field and level (Kutlu 2004: 31). Public administration reforms should be made by reckoning a long run process. The authorizations and responsibilities should clearly be determined in the phase of reform because giving service to the public brings along the public accountability. This is important in terms of determining the element of scope.

The Element of Content

Kutlu (2004: 32–33) asserts that, it is an obligation that the change, which is affirmed for the purpose of making reform, must have the ability of solving problem as content and reform should be rational and have a coherent content and a characteristic of productivity. The element of content does not mean that every attempt of reform will be successful but the change should be made for the purpose of producing solutions.

The Element of Morale

There should be an expectation and espousal among the sectors concerning reform about the necessity of that reform attempt. The existence of positive expectations in the breakthrough is an important case.

The existence of these three elements in a complete way makes it possible to name the change as a reform.

According to the Administrative Reform Consultancy Board Report (TODAIE 1972: 9) administrative reform studies have five stages. These are; the stages of detecting the problems and reform needs, performing the required searches and making offers, determining the presented offers, the application and evaluation of the application.

Reform in administration is the factor of social change like cultural alteration, improvement of technology and modernization, and its aim is the improvement and renewal of administration. Aforementioned improvement and renewal is basically performed in three fields of administration: personnel, organization and procedure. In the modernization, which will be performed in these fields, these principles should generally be considered (see Tutum 1971: 42):

- Administrative reform should take country's social, economic and political order and cultural structure in to account. Sudden and radical changes will cause harm rather than benefit, thus strategic planning is very important.

- Administrative reform is a gradual process. Should be considered in the long term, must be conducted forethoughtfully and rigorously.
- In the implementation period of reforms, organizing is very important. In order to achieve success in reform; an order should be established which's technical equipment is high and practical tools are complete.
- In administrative reform period, the existence of staff that specialized in public management is essential.
- Personnel problems should have priority. Yet, the major leading element of administrative system is personnel.
- Administrative reform requires psychological preparation. The goal is to provide an environment to facilitate the acceptance of under-taking reforms.
- It is certain that there will be a resistance to reform; therefore a systematic process must be prepared.

Administrative reform will be very difficult to perform. Because the scope and area of services provided are very broad. Systems are complex and interdependent.

I would like to emphasize on the first of the principles listed above. *The intended administrative reform should be developed by considering the conditions of the country to which it will be applied.* The innovations, which thought to be brought with reform, should be compatible with its historical customs and cultural structure as well as the country's social, economic and political order. These compatibilities have great importance for a successful reform attempt. Because as mentioned over and over during this work; *“governance practices and administrative structures are neither geography, nor history nor culture neutral”* (Ray 1999: 356).

Reform attempts, which confront social realities, are condemned to remain on shelves. According to Yayla (1998: 260) in order to actualize successful reforms there should be an innovation, which is core-directed, appropriate to the system, serious, vertical and horizontal.

The disappearance of visible or invisible borders between public administrations and governments and the citizens' easy achievement of fast and correct information about goings-on in other countries has a deterministic characteristic in the progress of reform transfers.

Tanzimat period reforms, which emphasized in the second chapter, constitute a very important example of this case, which should be paid attention in application. The imported or transferred methods' being incompatible to the existing system in this period appears as a great problem.

This work is in agreement with the ones who advocate that Tanzimat period reforms are transferred in consequence of a wrong method and this accelerates the collapse of Ottoman Empire. Yet, the aim of this study is investigating new reform movements by drawing attention to historical experiences in this respect. The wrong public policies, which accelerated the collapse of Ottoman Empire, were actually the methods which were followed by European governments and which brought success. However, the difference of cultural and historical structure did not appropriate with Ottoman Empire and gave harm instead of benefit.

As İnan (2004: 167) emphasized the administration model of each country have its own features. Turkey, in every matter refers to the West and has not developed its' own model. Trying to live with imitation model but can't, because the model does not fit to body measurements of the society.

Thus, the historical experiences should be studied carefully and the existence of aforesaid elements should be examined. Reform measures must specifically relate to the countries' geography, history, society, economy, culture and should not blindly follow other countries.

Administrative reform transfers were discussed more detailed in the following pages. However, before passing to this, another case, which is important to mention, is reform's necessity of 'leader' and its obligation to be systematic towards the resistances.

Administrative reform aims to change the existing structure; thus mostly faces with the opposition of the ones who has benefits in the existing status quo. Therefore, a strong leader to lead the reform, an organized movement and systematic approach is mandatory.

The abilities and perceptions of the ones, who will lead the administrative reform has vital importance. As Farazmand (2001: 6) has indicated the “*genuine support of the political leadership for administrative reform*” is crucial because “*without the top support no reform can succeed*”.

The aforementioned resistance may occur for variety of reasons like: scarce resources, conflict of interests, lack of sufficient skills and training programs, fear of possible loss of job and/or privileges, and popular perception of corruption within elite power structures. Such obstacles, as well as political instability, impair reform implementation, resulting in reform attempts failure (Farazmand 2001: 6–7).

4.1.1. Administrative Reform Transfers

The subject of policy transfer that builds up a part of comparative public administration approach is a subject that attracts not only public administration scientists but also politicians and bureaucrats’ attention. Aforenamed people examine theoretic and practical ways of the subject. And transfer of corporations, policies and programs to other countries is discussed thoroughly. The discussions are centered upon the questions of what should be paid attention while transferring or what the degree of the transfer should be instead of whether the countries should make transfer or not. The size of inevitable interaction, which is inevitable result of ICTs and globalization, is discussed in detail.

Below, there will be brief answers to these questions: When will the transfer be made? Why will the transfer be made? Who will get involved? What will be transferred? What will the size of transfer be? What are the factors that will ease and aggravate the transfer?

The answer concerning the question ‘when the transfer will be made’ will offer two choices. The first of these is the case of constantly transferring. In this method, which also expressed as learning public administration (see Kutlu: 2008), evaluating other countries’ experiences, transfer and learning becomes a constant endeavor. It is a favored application because it adopts dealing with the problems before they pile up, when they can still be taken under control and producing constant and regular solutions as basic principles. The second one is the inclination of transferring in crisis. In the crisis period, when problems blow up, attempting reform transfer is a risky work to do. But even so, as Kutlu mentions, crisis periods are the most convenient times for radical reform attempts. Society, bored with and complained about the crisis environment, may accept the change with ‘bitter recipe’ easier. In such cases the success of reform transfer (if successful) will be equal with the size of the crisis.

Why will transfer be made? The aim of the transfer is the alteration of experienced administrative faults of a country with another method, an experienced handy one. Kutlu (2008: 130–133) has listed the reasons of transferring as: periodical events, the country performance’s being below expectations, a consensus which appears in international public opinion and the countries’ being forced to accept the policies which are appropriate to this consensus and perform the required transfers, and finally externalities. On the other hand, multinational companies’ insisting policies appear as an important reason.

The foreknowledge of the people who will be assigned in transfer stage is very important in terms of the success chance of applied policies. Kutlu (2008: 133–135) mentions four actors who will directly take charge in the success of the transfer and three actors who will have indirect role. These are elected officials, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and advisors, and political parties. The ones or groups can be assigned secondarily are; pressure groups, think tanks and international organizations.

In the process of reform transfer, it is possible to transfer policies, institutions, ideologies, behaviors and negative/positive lessons. During the transfer, it is important to act in accordance with the aforementioned specifications of the country. In particular,

it is difficult to transfer behaviors and ideologies, because of the involvement of human factor. Comparing to changing technologies and machines, it is more difficult to change people, their thoughts, habits and perceptions.

Kutlu (2008: 138) has mentioned four alternatives concerning the level of the transfer; those are copying, emulation, mixtures, and inspiration. Copying is the direct transfer of the policy of a country to another country without any changes. However, it is not a popular application because each country has its own conditions and own identity. There is a common understanding that its' chance of success is low. Emulation is a more favored application. It allows the organization's displaying differences, which will be applied in other aspects, by protecting rough lines, without taking the transferred policy exactly blow-by-blow, this is the difference between copying and emulation. Mixing method expresses construction of a new model by making imitations from many different countries or models. According to Kutlu (2008: 139) this method, which can be expressed as inspiration, may give stimulating inspirations to the policy determiners about new ways and techniques. The policy, which will be applied as a result of inspiration, may not have a similarity with the original policy not even close. What is important is taking a lesson from a certain public policy and reaching results like either doing or undoing.

What are the factors, which aggravate and ease the transfer? The complexity of policies is a noteworthy case in deciding in making transfer or not. The complexity of functional or structural characteristics, which will be taken from other countries or organizations, may aggravate the process of transfer. The existence of a characteristic that is similar to the characteristic of being transferred will ease the work and will provide logistic support in the accruing of the transfer, and a negative case will aggravate the transfer. Corporate structure, lasting habits, characteristics of the system and cultural effects will absolutely have an important role. If there is a harmony between the two characteristics, the transferred one and the existing one, then this case will ease the work. If harmony is not in question, a serious effort should be made on the original characteristic. If the transfer is actualized despite the disharmony, the result will be unsuccessful. (see Kutlu 2008: 140–143.)

The following section will examine administrative reform attempts in Turkish public administration.

4.2. Administrative Reform Attempts in Turkey

The economic and social problems together with the newly emerging demands arising through globalization, which today's Turkey has to face with are comprehensive and complex, thus it is not possible to get over these problems with the existing rigid centralized state structure.

From the foundation of Republic to 1950s, the period can be seen as an establishment era for Turkish public administration. Thus, during this period, there are no appreciable re-arrangement attempts. In this process, implementation of Ottoman-type administrative systems has continued. Together with transition to the multi party life after 1950, the demands on public services increased, the public bureaucracy has grown and functioning problems became distinctive.

As OECD (2002: 20) has specified:

“Turkey’s economic policy framework from the 1930s until the reforms of the 1980s may be characterized as import substitution industrialization (ISI), a development model that was also used by other countries. It rested on an ideological vision called statism which assigned a leading role to the public sector in the economic development of the country”.

The reflection of widespread developments in the world to Turkey, like privatization and minimizing public service and government, was not delayed. This change showed up itself as the abandoning of import substitution economic model, passing to free market economy model that is based on export, open to exterior and interior competition. The basic elements of this new adopted model are: reducing the share of ever-growing public sector, downsizing the public sector and state to internal and external security, justice, foreign policy, education, health and some basic infrastructure works. (Günaydın 2003: 169.)

It will be more accurate to examine Turkish public administration reform attempts in three periods. These three periods are: the period before 1980, the period between the years 1980-2003 and post 2003 period. The purpose of this section is to review what kind of changes has been targeted in Turkish administrative system after the raise of NPM approach, and how much of them realized. Even though the main concern of the thesis is post-1980 period, not to disrupt the integrity of the subject, pre-1980 period will also be addressed briefly. The period after 2003 will be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis.

4.2.1. Reform Attempts Before 1980s

Since the establishment of Republic of Turkey, many studies have been done on behalf of activating and developing the administrative system. Also, after the end of Second World War, in 1945, Turkey entered into reform studies actively with nearly all European countries. After the war, which had destructive affects for the whole world, the need of development, which had to be actualized by the hand of government in financial and social fields, raised the needs of re-arrangement.

This wave of change, which started in 1945, was activated in Turkey in 1947. Besides the constituted commissions, many foreign experts prepared reports on Turkish administration. The studies in this period are striking, although it is not possible to claim that a success achieved in practice. There are many reports prepared from the beginning of 1930s up to 80s but this study will cover only the most important ones. The first report, which should be mentioned in this section is Neumark report dated 1949. The second report is the Barker Report dated 1950, which prepared by a committee under the leadership of James M. Barker and which jointly financed by Turkish government and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The third report is called Martin and Cush Report presented to Ministry of Finance in 1951, which prepared by James W. Martin and Frank A. Cush.

Apart from these reports, ‘Merkezi Hükümet Teşkilatı Araştırma Projesi - Central Government Organization Research Project’ (MEHTAP), presented to the Prime

Ministry on 24 April 1963, is the most comprehensive and important reform work in 1960s. Therefore will be included in this section.

Other important reform works are five-year development plans. There are nine five-year development plans as of 2009. There are only three development plans, belong to the pre-1980 period. The fourth development plan covers the years 1979-1983. Therefore, will also be included in this section.

Neumark Report

Nihad Erim who was the minister of public works at the time, assigned Istanbul University lecturer Prof. Fritz Neumark with the task of preparing a report on the rationalization and modernization of Turkish public administration. In order to fulfill this duty Neumark *“took a sample of the administrative institutions where reform was particularly required and conducted research in Ankara for several months into administrative changes that would have been politically acceptable”* (Citizendium 2009).

The result of this work was his report dated 1949, namely, “Devlet Daire ve Müesseselerinde Rasyonel Çalışma Esasları Hakkında Rapor - Report on the Principles for Rational Processes in Public Offices and Institutions.” This report is mostly mentioned as “Neumark Report”, which consists seven main sections and is very important for Turkish administrative system. But studying this report in detail will go beyond this study’s purpose, thus it is enough to give a brief explanation in order to understand the main idea.

As Kara (2006: 152) also summarized in the report the reasons for the need of re-arranging the administration, required organizations needed for the new regulations, personnel problems and measures that will provide rational working order, principles and recommendations took place.

The first section of the report focused on the reasons required administrative reform, in detail. Kara (2006: 153) has listed those reasons as the imbalance in the distribution of the number of officers, lack of qualified civil servants, lack of organizational capacity, lack of legislations, excessive bureaucracy and problems in control mechanism.

The report made suggestions aimed at rearrangement besides analyzing the problems listed above. The most notable ones between these suggestions are the ones about the fortification of the Ministry of Finance (increasing the authorizations) and suggestions on establishment of 'rationalization committees' to rationalize the activities in the department. Besides, advices were given like the simplification of administrative procedures, methods and the clarification of the government's financial and economic businesses.

Barker Report

In the Barker Report, prepared by the board that James M. Barker headed with the joint financing of IBRD and Turkish government in 1950, it was persistently emphasized on the improvement of administrative organization, administrative action and personnel regime.

The report brings forward proposals like establishing a state personnel department to deal with personnel problems after detecting the problems about Turkish administrative system, again adjusting the advice services in government offices and criticizes centralist system and low levels' not having authorizations. In Baker report, it is suggested that by establishing an independent 'Public Administration Commission' with the help of the members, government and foreign experts aforesaid commission should make suggestion to improve the state government, authoritarian government understanding should be averted, important decisions should be presented to high authorities, legal provisions in the application that lay wide burdens on government employees should be abolished, the authorization and responsibilities of local authorities should be increased, the number of government employees should be decreased and since government employees are paid less than the ones in private sector,

by indicating that health sector workers are affected negatively from this application, a ‘Central Personnel Department’ should be established to actualize personnel education in the country. (Kara 2006 155–156.)

Besides, there are such advices as not contaminating politics to bureaucracy, establishing a central corporation to buy equipments and materials which are the requirements of government institutions, reconstituting of Ministry of Finance, passing to a simplified accounting system and enlarging the inspection responsibility of Court of Audit.

Martin and Cush Report

Prepared by two experts named James V. Martin and Frans C.E. Cush, this report was presented to Turkish Ministry of Finance in 1951. This report, commonly known as Martin and Cush report, owns the title of “The Problems of Organization, Method and Personnel in Ministry of Finance”. The real aim of this report is to give advices and information about the organization, employment methods, administration and personnel affairs of aforesaid ministry. There is a public reform offer, which the emphasis of constructing a new central personnel department becomes prominent to provide coordination in personnel activities.

Another advice which attracts the attention in the report is the one which is about top executives’ being rescued from the routine works and being busy with planning the activities of departments. Also, according to the report working methods should be developed in the departments and methods of employment should be developed to attract qualified personnel to the government service (see Kara 2006: 156–157).

It was felt at the establishment years of the republic regime that Turkey needed reform in administrative field; administrative style and systems that are taken from Ottoman Empire should be altered; and studies were performed on it. However, I thought it attracted attention as well that these reform studies were always done by foreign experts as a consequence of the lack of required expert and personnel. Thus; the year 1961 was

the breakthrough of Turkish administrative reform attempts because 1961 Constitution determined social and economic planning and establishing the required organization for that as a government mission, and established ‘Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (DPT) – State Planning Organization’ to prepare five-years development plans and annual plans (Polatoğlu 2003: 161).

The reports about rearrangements (in addition to the above-mentioned reports Hines Report (1933), Thornburg Report (1949-1950), Leimgruber Report (1951), Maurice Chailloux-Dantel Report of 1959), prepared by foreign experts, who made analyses about the topics of administration and personnel systems in Turkey, are important because they clarified the problems clearly for the first time and those studies formed a basis of discussion for the studies, mostly done by native experts or committee of experts in the ensuing years.

In the period that the activities of native experts increase the first enterprise of arrangement is “Merkezi Hükümet Teşkilatı Araştırma Projesi - Central Government Organization Research Project” known by the name of MEHTAP.

MEHTAP

The project mostly based on efforts by ‘Turkiye ve Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü (TODAIE) - Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East’ and collaboration of DPT, the ministry, the Government Staff Office, and offices related to the University of Ankara.

TODAIE (2009a) announces MEHTAP project as one of the most important elements of the Turkish administrative researches history. This report firstly gives information about the general structure of the central government organization, than mentions about the working conditions of the Board of Ministers, the Prime Ministry Organization, the Minister of State and the Deputy Prime Ministers and sub-organizations of the Prime Ministry together with the situation of the autonomous institutions and offers solutions.

As a result of the research, those are the suggestions of the report for government: “*distribution of roles between centralized administration institutions, increasing the efficiency of the activities of planning and coordination, increasing the effectiveness of financial audit and personnel management*” (Polatoğlu 2003: 162).

Besides, MEHTAP has an historical value, as it is the first widespread analysis, done by Turkish experts over Turkish administration.

Five-Year Development Plans

With five-year development plans, firstly after 1963, goals of financial growth were set and this started a period of planned growth. To reach the targeted growth in development plans; planning is done by considering total investments, total expenses, and demand conditions in the country and disposal inclinations.

The general aim of national plans is to raise social welfare. However, if examined in a more detailed way, it can be expressed by the clauses mentioned below:

Rapid and balanced growth, to increase national income per capita, ensuring full employment, increasing capacity utilization, increasing the quality of manpower resources, reducing poverty and inequality in income distribution, elimination of the regional development gap, creating a self-sufficient and diversified economic structure, creating a sustainable and balanced growth environment, accelerating industrialization, to make breakthrough in the field of science and technology, to improve balance of payments and finally to draw inflation down.

First Five-Year Development Plan: 1963-1967. In this plan, generally, rearrangement principles and methods were determined. In general these are; establishing organizations which are appropriate to the targets and planned and coordinated studies, determining a personnel policy which bases on employing, educating and efficient estimation, distribution of authorizations and responsibilities appropriate to the clearly constituted administrative borders, provision of division of labor and cooperation, strict

institution of the connections of transferred authorizations and missions (Ergun & Polatoğlu 1992: 24).

Second Five-Year Development Plan: 1968-1972. There are detailed targets in the plan, which can be seen as a complementary plan for the first five-year development plan. Those targets are mostly about mining, manufacturing, construction, services and public sector. In the plan, rearrangement of administrative and financial public corporations and foundations for the complete accession of socio-economical aims was determined as targets (see DPT 1968).

Third Five-Year Development Plan: 1973-1977. In the report that belongs to this plan (DPT 1973: 918), it is stated that a monolith approach was adopted in the improvement of administration by indicating that reform will approach all public sector (central administration, provincial administration, local administration and public enterprises) as a whole that includes its structure, process, arrangement and personnel. Moreover, it is expressed by Toprak (2000: 78) that:

“public administration reforms will be launched by adorning public sector with the information and technique that national choice of ‘development by industrializing’ requires; after stopping it to act as a burden to economy, making it an accelerator of development, leader of social and cultural alliance; on the purpose of educating a high capable administrator staff and high qualified personnel”.

Fourth Five-Year Development Plan: 1979-1983. In the fourth plan, the case is expressed by emphasizing that it is a time period, which requires a fast industrialization, institutive arrangements that will get fund to it and important advances in exportation (DPT 1979: 3). At the end of the 4th Plan, the country will correspond many of its requirements by itself and it will be in a position to make exportation with other countries on a large scale, and this is the general purpose of the 4th plan.

This plan repeats the requirement of adaptation of administration, which took place also in previous plans, to the contemporary, social and financial structure. And with the aim of providing this, *“it anticipates the rearrangement of State Personnel Department in*

such a way that it gets the qualification of development unit for central public administration and this rearrangement studies are performed with the responsibility of DPT and close cooperation of State Personnel Department” (Öktem 1988: 122). Institutive reform method adopted in this plan, like in the 1st plan (Aykaç 2003: 271).

4.2.2. Reform Attempts between the Years 1980-2003

Although many studies have been performed and many advices have been presented for the improvement of administration until 1980s, none of these studies have been put into administration actively and all of them fell behind to be beneficial and were put aside. Although all the governments who came to the fore after 1973 used administrative reforms and improvements as a means of propaganda, a step could not be taken forward. Additionally, bureaucracy's' were being frequently exposed to political interferences and started to cause decadence in the administration while advance was expected.

Hereby, when it comes to 1980s, Turkish public administration, with its organizing and process, had a structure of far from being fast and active in the functions awaited from it, and it was deprived of the ability of self-perpetuation and flexibility according to the social and economical developments. Therefore, because the public services could not be produced with the required speed, quality and efficiency, it was not possible to reach to the results targeted in the development plans. (Karaer 1987: 29.)

When all these circumstances combined with the other causes, the country entered into an economical and political depression and at the end, in September 12th 1980, army seized the control of the government. The defects in public administration were added in to the agenda with a serious determination by the government who came to power after military intervention and by the government who took charge in 1983 elections.

After the military intervention, the government, founded in September 21, 1980, touched on many subjects concerning rearrangement of public administration in its program and emphasized on the necessity of rearranging Turkish public administration,

which became the most important factor that hinders Turkey's financial and social development (Hükümet Planı 1980: 6).

Coşkun (2005: 15) has listed some of the duties about administrative reform and precautions to be taken:

- To take measures in order to protect public officials from political influences,
- Review of the entire public administration organization and making practical arrangements in a short period of time,
- Handling and rearranging Public Personnel Law and other personnel related legislations expeditiously,
- Improving the authorities of provincial and local governments by abandoning excessive centralization,
- Reduction of red tape and bureaucratic formalities.

In the following section 'Kamu Yönetimi Araştırma Projesi (KAYA) - General Report of the Research on Public Administration', broadcasted as a result of a series of research between the years 1988 and 1991 to edit Turkish administration in general scale, and last four five-years development plans, which includes the period until 2005 will be emphasized.

KAYA

In 1988, the DPT asked TODAIE to carry out a administrative research to develop and reorganize the public administration, to investigate to which extent the studies carried out up to that time were reflected on the implementations; to determine the incomplete sides, defects, difficulties and problems of these studies and implementations and to define the measures which should be taken; to defined the necessary preparations in terms of administrative adaptation to European Communities. The content of the public administration research project carried out as a result of these demands includes general budget organizations composing central government, their regional organizations, local

governments, and other public institutions. (TODAIE 2009b.) Public Economic Enterprises (KIT) and National Defense kept outside the scope of research.

KAYA has the feature of miscellaneous and sweeping project in terms of the anticipated purposes and the topics it approaches toward these purposes. The project started to be prepared in 1989 and presented to the government after it was completed in 1991. KAYA project; after MEHTAP project, the period that exceeds 25 years, is an important document in terms of enlightening the evolution in the administration and the basic problems of system and the results it put forward.

KAYA report is a comprehensive study that firstly handles current cases and faults, and then offers a solution by examining Turkish administration structure from Prime Ministry to district level.

The following seven research groups were formed according to the project content: central government, financial and economic administration, administrative harmonization to European Communities, regional and foreign organizations, local governments, personnel regime, and simplification of bureaucracy process (see TODAIE 2009b).

The KAYA Report made suggestion to provide rapid, economical, efficient and qualified service to central and regional organizations of the central government and to establish such working environments; tried to defined the incompleteness, disorders and defects in the aims, duties, division of duties, organizational structures, personnel system, resources and exploitation methods of them, their methods, their statute, communication and public relation system of these organization. (TODAIE 2009b.)

The Detections and Suggestions on Administrative Institutions in the KAYA Project

The central and local organization of centralization and the current condition of local governments and suggestions, which are thought to develop them, are appeared comprehensively in KAYA project. We can summarize them as follows:

- *Council of Ministers and Prime Ministry*

According to the project, Council of Ministers and Prime Ministry has a particular importance in central administration organization. It is seen appropriate to collect these two structures under the same title, which are complementary to each other in most cases.

Council of Ministers

The purview of Council of Ministers should only be related to the matters that require government's collective responsibility, the performance of common politics (see TODAIE 1991: 10). The topics, which were failed to provide solution by executive and decision-making organs of lower level, and which causes controversies between ministries, should be concluded in Council of Ministers.

Prime Ministry

Prime Ministry was founded to provide collaboration between ministries, to pursue the execution of general politics of government, to provide regular process of government organization and to fulfill various missions that are given to the Prime Minister by Constitution and legislations. (TODAIE 1991: 11.)

The connected and concerned institutions turned Prime Ministry from a coordination chair to a service ministry, in due course. Because of this, the assemblage of affiliated institutions to Prime Ministry in other ministries should be provided and some basic principles should be taken into consideration in the detection of the establishment which is either connected to Prime Ministry or related to it.

- *Ministers of State*

Ministers of State, according to the related legislation, are appointed with the duties like helping Prime Minister, providing coordination in Council of Ministers, benefiting from

its experiences and knowledge in the subjects which have private importance and priority, and as notwithstanding that this application carries a traditional characteristic, the function of the ministry of state in the application exceeds the stated frame very much. (TODAIE 1991: 14.)

The missions of vice Prime Ministers, appointed among government ministers, should be limited to assistantship of Prime Minister and the mission of inter-ministerial provision of corporation. The missions of government ministers should be limited to the subjects of private importance and help Prime Minister in the relations between government and TBMM, provide intergovernmental coordination in various subjects and help Council of Ministers members in the decisions of government with their knowledge and experiences (see TODAIE 1991: 14–15).

- *Common Tasks*

In the report, a situation assessment was carried out about investigation, planning, coordination, checking, public relations and information under this title and suggestions were made. Accordingly, Turkey generally contented itself with just watching the technological advancement in developed countries and the necessity of production-oriented exploration has recently gained the feature of being emphasized. *“In relation to scientific research, investigation and estimation bodies should be built up with the quality that appraise and direct the country’s substantial potential of source”* (TODAIE 1991: 15–16).

As a result of insufficient comprehensibility of planning in the sense of administration and improper establishment of planning system, DPT was dealt with different missions rather than its aim of establishment in due course. In Turkey, the central and sectoral qualifications of development plans continue, environmental dimension of this planning cannot be provided. As regional and local planning studies can not be developed, the effective manipulation of national planning system from bottom to top and top to bottom as a bi-directional process can not be provided. For the influential

accomplishment of planning function, investigation and data collecting studies, devoted to the plan that builds up planning studies, should be activated in all establishments.

The biggest Turkish public administration is the miscommunication and lack of coordination between related associations that appears during the organizational process. According to the report, to provide required order of communication and coordination, firstly, the understanding of an effective cooperation and compatible endeavoring should be developed in the basis of the system. While developing an active order of coordination, it should be considered that the basic function of the Prime Ministry and Council of Ministers is to provide the ultimate central coordination (TODAIE 1991: 20–21).

The basic aim in the supervision is to increase the organization's efficiency level and make it developed by determining the degrees of the actualization of organization purposes. Supervision function should be thought in an approach that presents faults by comparing aims and plans with application, and makes them improve.

The technical level of supervision should be improved. Effectiveness supervision in the establishments should be accentuated and the organs of internal audit should be improved to such a level that they can make effectiveness supervision. To make account examination for local governments, a supervision organ, like Court of Audit, should be established. The assigned position of Presidency of Prime Ministry Inspection Board should be attenuated and rearranged. The field of interest of board ministry should be bordered to Prime Ministry central organization and its connected establishments. Legal regulations should be made to make State Supervisory Council function as an ombudsman (see TODAIE 1991: 22–23).

Public relations matter in public administration, in application, anticipates dependence to the principles and makes intra-organizational and inter-organizational coordination essential. In the public organizations, the meaning of public relations and information subject, and basic idea that it is based on, cannot be understood adequately. As a result of this, public relations was underestimated and the value that public carries, in the

organization, was always ignored. *“In Turkish public administration, the precondition of the advance of the public relations application, by reaching significance, is that the administration should see itself as a device in the service of public”* (TODAIE 1991: 25).

The report also covered suggestions to provide coordination in public relations services in central level; Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information should be converted into State Information Presidency, the application of ministry and institution spokespersonship should be brought forth and the employment opportunities like public relations expertise and assistant expert should be arranged in public corporations.

Ongoing part of the report under the title of ‘Main Service Groups’ gives information about the current status and problems of below mentioned subjects and about the related institutions and organizations; Economics and Finance, Industry, Energy and Mining, Agriculture, Education, Culture, Health, Environment and Nature Protection, Tourism, Public Works, Transportation, Working Life, Social Security, Religious Affairs and Foundation Affairs. The same part includes solution offers for the problems of subjects in question.

In the section titled as ‘Provincial and International Organizations’ issues about sub-province and provincial government, regional institutions and international institutions were mentioned. In the report, a wide place is set for local governments and broadly conveyed their situation at that time; suggestions are presented, which are thought to make them more active and productive. In this report, it is anticipated that the suggested model for administration system in local level should have the characteristics of a local administration organization, which is strengthening local democracy, being controlled by local community, providing effective attendance, being transparent and strong in terms of sources and especially equity, having ability of taking decisions about its own local community with its own organs and applying them with its own units, receiving support and getting help under practical conditions from central administration, becoming integrated in the principle of general administration system and the principle

of the unity of administration and in the discipline of planning, actualizing administrative effectiveness and efficiency. (see TODAIE 1991.)

In the last two parts of the report, it is mentioned about Personnel Regime and Bureaucratic methods and processing respectively. The necessity of the application of central examination system in recruitment to the inter-corporate cadre, the necessity of starting the application of having a psychologist in the interviews performed by the exam commission, in the assignment of personnel who will have direct contacts with employers in terms of their missions and businesses; are some of the suggestions about personnel regime.

Also the elements which should form the basis in determining service classes, some cases about personnel and pension rights of civil servant and so many other subjects mentioned in the report.

According to the report (TODAIE 1991: 99–100) the methods of improving the administration and the studies of editing bureaucratic processes generally became distanced from being goal-oriented, for this reason, committed studies fail to reach the intended result. Accordingly, the studies toward improving the administration should be approached as a part of period of change and carried on with a feature of provider of a constant development. The studies of development of administration should be approached in coherence by considering also changing conditions and requirements in terms of the aims of the organization, its structure, its personnel, the applied methods, operations, arrangement and establishment.

It is seen that KAYA Project put forth a report in which it tries to provide intra-system administrative consistency by approaching the administration's structure and process globally and which is devoted to actualize an efficient and productive administration.

According to Güler (1996: 39), KAYA Project has the characteristic of getting out of date itself as a reform study, which claims to carry the available structure to the forward of the time.

On the other hand according to Geray (1993: 10), KAYA Report has some important characteristics. First of all, different fields of public administration (central government, provincial units and local governments) are approached all together as a whole in KAYA. In the previous studies, this collectivity has not been completely built up. Secondly, the required connections are tried to be established both between local governments themselves and between the center and provincial units of central government. Thirdly, efficiency/ effectiveness and being democratic are not considered as two contrary concepts that contradict with each other in KAYA.

Besides these general assignments, the suggestion of increasing the authorizations of Ministry of Internal Affairs on local administrations, which partakes in the report, is not found positive by Geray.

KAYA Project is the most comprehensive project which is performed on public administration in mentioned years and effects of it proceeds until today. Although the proposed subjects in the report could not be actualized comprehensively and systematically, some proposals were actualized in due course (see Coşkun 2005).

Five-Year Development Plans

Fifth Five-Year Development Plan: 1985-1989. The targeted aims in Fifth five-year development plan are; increasing the welfare of Turkish nation in free, civilized and secure environment, increasing the share of industrial production in a structure that encourages efficiency and increase of export, evaluates and improves available accretion, observes the potential of agricultural development and requirements of national defense, increasing the employment, decreasing the young unemployed number, changing income distribution for the benefit of low-income groups, accelerating development in ‘development priority regions’ and improving economical and social infrastructure. (DPT 1985: 1.)

Although this plan is volumetrically smaller when compared to other four development plans, which were prepared before, it is important in respect of giving a broader place to the improvement of administration.

Sixth Five-Year Development Plan: 1990-1994. The principal aims of this plan are: to increase Turkish nation's welfare in the direction of the principles of open society and competitive economy in a free and secure environment, improve distribution of income in a fast, balanced and consistent period of development, and reduce unemployment, regional and local gaps of development (DPT 1990: 1). In this plan, improvement of administration subject is given less place. In the plan, it is an avant-garde approach that the idea administrative methods and operations will be simplified by basing on the citizen's declaration in the government-citizen relationships is mentioned (see DPT 1990: 326).

Seventh Five-Year Development Plan: 1996-2000. Seventh five-years development plan aims to catch the era by benefiting from the advantages of globalization at top level and aims for Turkey to take its elite place among developed world countries. For that purpose, it will be aimed to provide a free and democratic environment, make individuals come into prominence, actualize a rapid growth, increase the society's standard of living and improve distribution of income, raise productive employment, accelerate industrialization, break through in technology, increase level of education to get a higher share from the world welfare and give education to all individuals of society appropriate to their abilities, provide cultural improvement, make all the society attain social security and basic health services, increase the quality of health services, protect the environment and improve it. (DPT 1995: 19.)

This plan emphasizes the technological developments and necessity of the application of these developments over administration, and mentions in a vital way that the employees who will be government executives should get senior educations and gain the formation of administrator.

Eighth Five-Years Development Plan: 2001-2005. While 8th five-year development plan's basic principles and aims are explained, the process that the country is passing by and requirements are shortly indicated by saying; VIII. Plan period will be a period that life quality of society increases, the country entered in the process of continuous and consistent growth, the basic alternations are actualized in the process of European Union membership, integration with the world is provided and Turkey will have a stronger, more effective and more esteemed place in the world and its region (DPT 2000: 25).

To actualize an uninterrupted growth period, the efforts of lowering the inflation permanently to single digit level will continue pertinaciously by establishing a public sector balance and following suitable income policy, Maastricht criteria will be fulfilled. In this frame, the required precautions for the duly actualization of institutive and structural reforms which will increase efficiency in economy (DPT 2000: 25) are indicated as the most clear goals to be taken.

5. THE “DRAFT LAW RELATED TO FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND RECONSTRUCTING OF PUBLIC MANAGEMENT” AS A REFLECTION OF NPM APPROACH IN TURKEY

In this chapter “the Draft Law Related to Fundamental Principles and Reconstructing of Public Management” (FRPM) has been examined. The law is the main focus of this chapter because it is considered as the reflection of NPM approach in Turkey, which has been practiced since 1980s all over the world and which is the main concern of this thesis.

When the language, philosophy and concepts that FRPM used has examined, apparently it reflects the NPM approach. Essentially, FRPM is the reform attempt to re-organize Turkish public administration in terms of the principles of NPM approach. This can be clearly seen in the “Article Reasons” appendix of the draft law. In the Article Reasons, NPM approach referred as a universal solution to the public sector problems.

The need to re-organize Turkish public sector is generally accepted estimation, as a consequences of problems clarified in Chapter 2 of this thesis. But there are criticisms on the methods that should be used in this process. As emphasized in the third chapter, reform in administration carries vital importance because its scope of effect is huge and concerns almost all levels of public. Thus, it is important to provide a smooth, balanced and strategic transformation.

The success of NPM approach in improving public sector is obvious. There are many examples since the emergence of this new paradigm, all over the world. But the problem is ‘if those methods are appropriate for every system or not.’

The impression of NPM on the draft law is obvious but the critiques that will be examined in the chapter focus on its appropriateness to Turkish system. Naturally, the FRPM, which represents a disengagement from the traditional model of public administration, introduces new concepts to the public sector and those will be covered in the following sub-chapter.

Examining all the Articles of the draft law one by one is considerably hard to cover for a study of this length. And consequently, the continuing part of the thesis will take the most conspicuous points of the law into consideration, by keeping the main focus of the thesis in mind, which is NPM approach.

The draft law, since the presentation to the public, had to face with many negative critiques. Especially the main opposition party Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) - Republican People's Party, Confederation of Public Employees Trade Unions (KESK), Confederation of Unions of Public Employees of Turkey (KAMU-SEN), Ataturkist Ideology Association (ADD), Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB), Union of Turkish Bar Associations and many other trade unions, non-governmental organizations, profession associations, confederations, considerable part of academicians and universities are against the draft law. Even, the draft law has vetoed by the President of the time, Ahmet N. Sezer. Reasons for opposition against the draft present differences, but this study will find out the most notable reasons, instead of covering all individually by evaluating the draft from different perspectives.

On the other hand, members and supporters of the ruling party 'Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) – Justice and Development Party', The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), The Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (HAK-İŞ), Turkish Health Workers Trade Union (Sağlık-İş), Association for Liberal Thinking (LDT) and some academicians, profession associations, confederations, non-governmental organizations are supporting the draft law.

The NPM approach discussed in the third chapter thus will not be examined in this chapter with details. However, in terms of subject integrity and to remind the reader, previous chapters will be addressed at some points.

As indicated in chapters two and three, since 1980s the public sector is experiencing vertiginous changes all over the world due to inadequacy of traditional model of public administration. Improvements in the information technologies, globalization and accordingly the changing conception of nation-state, the increasing attention to

democracy and human rights, increasing tendencies towards smaller state and strengthened markets, and development of NPM approach as a solution to the problems in public sector, have affected the public sector dramatically. In this environment, need to re-arrange public sector has increased significantly. And as a natural result of globalization, this activity had an impact upon Turkey.

Essentially, Turkish realization of this need dates back to 1930s. Turkish reform attempts, which examined in the fourth chapter with details, were aiming to reorganize public sector due to universal changes. But because of aforementioned reasons it could not be achieved. Although, New Right policies reflected in Turkish economy in the period of Özal government (45th and 46th governments) provided liberalization and other changes in economic field, the reconstruction in public sector could not be reached in one way or another.

The period between the years 1991–2002 was the coalition period for Turkey. In general, except the mandatory regulations on financial issues it is not possible to make comprehensive reforms in coalition periods (Arslan 2009). After November 2002 elections, AKP got the majority in parliament and came to power alone. This brought opportunity to discuss need to take concrete steps towards re-organizing public sector and various related reforms.

When AKP Government started to work, in order to overcome negative consequences of financial crises Turkey had to face with and with the aim of creating a sustainable growth environment, Council of Ministers decided to generate an Emergency Action Plan (EAP), which is also compatible with the ‘government plan’.

Under this EAP and by the ‘Restructuring of Public Management’ movement, which implemented by the government in the beginning of 2003, the public management reform attempt has gained acceleration. In this context, a book was written by Ömer Dinçer and Cevdet Yılmaz in the name of “Change Management for Change in Management” with the aim of manifesting the general context of re-arrangement in public sector in terms of *"mentality, strategic design and size of organization"* (Dinçer

& Yılmaz 2003: 11) and in order to guide reform process. Additionally, Public Management Basic Law Working Group was created under the coordinator ship of Prime Ministry. As a result of months-long discussions and in the light of principles and basics indicated in the aforementioned book, "The Draft Basic Law of Public Management" was prepared.

Within the framework of re-structuring public sector, introducing the Basic Law on Public Management, and amending Provincial Local Administration and Municipality Laws were in question. Besides these, administrative procedures, transparency and citizen's right to get information, e-government, reduction and simplification of bureaucracy, to measure citizen satisfaction, transition to performance system and awarding, regulation of ethical conduct in public sector and implementation of modern management approach were other issues to be considered.

The complementary laws, Provincial Local Administration Law and Municipality Law will not be emphasized in this study because of the reasons mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

5.1. The “Draft Law Related to Fundamental Principles and Reconstructing of Public Management”

On 3 November 2003, when the Draft Law announced to the public for the first time, it was named as "The Basic Law on Public Management". During the discussions in the TBMM, because of the "basic law" expression, the draft received many negative criticisms and this phrase has been removed. And its name re-announced as “the Draft Law Related to Fundamental Principles and Reconstructing of Public Management”.

Actually it is extremely hard to track the latest situation about the draft law. The draft accepted in the Assembly (as the law no. 5227.) on 15 July 2004 and has been submitted to the President Sezer for approval. The President sent the draft back to the parliament on 3 August 2004, because of the Articles, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 16, 23, 38, 39,

40, 46, 49 and the temporary Articles 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. After this veto, the government has made some ostensible amendments and some of the Articles passed from the parliament one by one despite the cruel opposition of CHP. Some of them have cancelled by Constitutional Court, as a result of their opposing to the Constitution. After that AKP prepared a new draft, which anticipates Constitutional changes and this is still under discussion while the latest situation of the draft law is not clear. The draft law is mysterious.

Goals and Scope of the Law

The developments experienced in recent years and expressed repeatedly throughout the thesis have brought the need to redefine the role of the public and support tendencies towards privatization, civilization and localization. The draft in question was thrown out with the claim to build up a modern administrative mentality and structure in Turkey in the 21st century, in the light of these developments and under the guidance of other country experiences (see Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 20–52).

This draft is organizing the duties, powers and responsibilities between the local and central governments. Provides fundamental changes in organizational structure within a comprehensive framework and long-term perspective, aims to implement “good governance” principles both in central and local administrations.

The first chapter of the draft titled as "Objectives, Scope, Definitions and Basic Principles". The basic goals of the FRPM are clarified in the 1st article of the draft law (Başbakanlık 2003: 11):

“Creation of a public management that is participatory, transparent, accountable, and bases on human rights and freedoms; determining duties, authorities and responsibilities of central and local administrations in order to fulfill public service's duties in a fair, fast, qualified, effective and efficient way; restructuring of central administration organization and regulating the basic principles and elements of public service”.

While Article arranges the aim of law, it gives place to many concepts in legislation for the first time. New concepts that reflect the modern public administration approach anticipate alteration in Turkish public administration.

The second article clarifies the scope of the law as: local and central administrations, and their connected, related and associated institutions (Başbakanlık 2003: 11). In the corresponding article, the above-mentioned concepts described as (Başbakanlık 2003: 11–12):

- a. Central Administration: Prime Ministry and Ministries and their connected, related and associated institutions.
- b. Local Administration: Provincial Local Administrations, Municipalities and Villages.

According to this explanation, none of the institutions and organizations using public sources or public power is out of this law.

Principles

The basic goals and duties of public management are listed in the 4th Article as (Başbakanlık 2003: 12): *“to facilitate people's life, to ensure public peace, security and welfare, improve the quality of life, to remove obstacles for people to use their rights and freedoms and to fulfill the duties and services given by law”* in order to realize these.

Recently, depending on the changes that appeared in mission, authorization and responsibilities of government and its relations with society and private sector, an alteration in mission, authorization and service policies of public administration has become inevitable. Public administration's being more sensitive to the circle that it provides service, benefiting more from the market actors, eliminating the barriers in individual's exercising their rights and freedom and interacting with civil society appeared as a basic mission (Başbakanlık 2003: 98).

The 5th Article (Başbakanlık 2003: 12–14) lists the basic principles that organization and functioning of public management will base on:

- a) In organization and functioning of public management; administrative integrity is essential;
- b) In fulfilling public services, constant development, participation, transparency, accountability, predictability, legitimacy, statement confidence and the needs of the ones benefiting from public services and result orientation are essential;
- c) Regulatory impact analysis will be done for the new arrangements and units;
- d) In performing public services and in benefiting from those services, discrimination is not acceptable. Any restricting rearrangement or application about human rights or freedoms, concerned with those services, cannot be accepted;
- e) The duties, authorities and responsibilities will be given to the nearest and most appropriate units to the ones benefiting from the services;
- f) In decision-making processes about public services, comments and suggestions of related professional associations and civil society organizations are important;
- g) Public institutions and organizations should take needed precautions in order to make public, use right to get information;
- h) In public services, benefiting from information technologies effectively and widespreadly is essential;
- i) Public institutions and organizations should use manpower and financial resources effectively and efficiently. And for this purpose they should cooperate among themselves;
- j) Procedures and standards of public services should be identified ahead and the ones benefiting from those services should be informed about procedures and standards beforehand. Top managers of public institutions and organizations are responsible with insuring to meet those standards of services and controlling suitability to the requirements of beneficiaries;
- k) Public institutions and organizations have right to ask for documents and information, which only prescribed in service procedures and standards, both from real and legal people. The procedures and standards on information and

document claims should reviewed regularly in order to provide effectiveness, efficiency and simplification;

- 1) Public institutions and organizations, cannot establish business on areas which are not directly related to their scope of duty, cannot produce goods or services or cannot allocate personnel, buildings, vehicles, equipment and resources for those aims.

In this Article, as the first time in public legal literature, basic principles which contain all public institutions and organizations included to the public administration, arrange all kinds of services and missions that will be performed by them and reflect the understanding of completely contemporary public administration are indicated. Here, the aim is bringing a new vision to public administration.

In Article Reason (Başbakanlık 2003: 99) the necessity of continuous change and improvement is emphasized and while doing this, it is stated that the improvements in the world will be watched carefully.

Those principles like ‘constant improvement, transparency, accountability, participation, predictability, result-orientation and legitimacy’ listed among the basic principles that will regulate the public services shows that the law prepared in the light of NPM approach. And most of them are new concepts for the Turkish public sector literature.

The Second Chapter of the draft rearranges the authorities, duties and responsibilities shared by central and local administrations.

In parallel with the industrialization, urbanization and democratization of Turkey, the importance of local governments improved. Centralist structure imposes too much burden to central governments and bureaucracy puts up wall between the society and public order.

With the draft, it is anticipated that local governments, working with a heavy central custody and insufficient local funds, should be reestablished appropriate to European Charter of Local Self-Government, of which Turkey become a side by signing (Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 149).

Those arrangements eliminate the principle of centralization (which is the main organizational structure of Turkish public administration; (see Chapter 2.2.3.) and intended to change the administrative structure. The draft listed the authorities and responsibilities of central administrations in the framework of changing role of government in the 6th Article as following (Başbakanlık 2003: 15–16):

- a) To determine general principles and policies, goals and targets and standards of public services at the national level,
- b) To evaluate and audit public services in accordance to law, policies and standards,
- c) To ensure coordination between central and local administrations in order to perform services efficiently,
- d) To improve service functions and capacities by establishing collaboration between public and private sector, and between professional organizations that has the status of public institutions and non-governmental organizations,
- e) To perform public services at the center in the appropriate scale and quality and at the provinces and abroad by organizing with the principle of devolution,
- f) To exercise administrative tutelage authority over local administrations and local administration bodies in terms of services.

The draft, which envisaging significant change in the authorities, duties and responsibilities of local and central administrations, has clarified the duties of central administration in the 7th Article (Başbakanlık 2003: 16–17) and left all kinds of duties, authorities, responsibilities and services, which go beyond the scope of central administrations, indicated in the previous Articles, to local administrations.

7th and 8th Articles are indicated as the most vital provisions of the draft. The distribution of duties, powers and responsibilities of local and central administrations are arranged in accordance with the NPM approach (see Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 142–162). During the distribution of roles, the principle of the unity of public administration was taken into consideration; central government and local governments are defined as executive and complementary elements of government, not as institutions that replace each other (Başbakanlık 2003: 105).

Tasks and services will be conducted by the central administration, which clarified in the 7th Article, are (Başbakanlık 2003: 16–17):

- a) Duties and services related to justice, defense, security, intelligence, foreign relations and foreign policies;
- b) Duties and services related to finance, public treasury, foreign trade, customs duties and regulations related to markets;
- c) Task and services concerning preparation of national-level economic, social and physical plans; providing the implementation of projects and programme intended to remove differences in the level of development between the regions,
- d) Tasks and services related to national education;
- e) Religious-related tasks and services;
- f) Social security-related functions and services;
- g) Land Registry and Cadastre, population and citizenship-related functions and services;
- h) National level civil defense and emergency management related functions and services;
- i) Tasks and services related to foundations;
- j) To provide technical assistance, guidance and training to local governments.

The duties left to the responsibility of local administrations are indicated in the 8th Article as all kinds of assignment, authorization, responsibility and services concerning local common requirements are performed by local governments (Başbakanlık 2003: 17).

Local governments perform the services which enter into their field of mission, authorization and responsibility in conformity with the unity of administration, principles and aims of development plan, bases and methods determined by laws, their own strategies, purposes, aims and criteria of performance (Başbakanlık 2003: 17). Besides, number of arrangements has been made to prevent the intervention of central administration to the local government's scope of responsibility. According to the Article 9 (Başbakanlık 2003: 18):

“Among the services, administration of which is anticipated by central government, the ones which should be done in counties should be carried out by governorship and district governorship apart from the exceptions indicated in the law. Central administration units can not establish an organization in local level for missions and services which are under the responsibility of local administration, cannot make consumption and auction”.

5.1.1. The Basic Principles & New Concepts Introduced to Turkish Administrative Literature by FRPM

When comparing to other legal documents of the field, the existence of different concepts in the draft text attract attention. It will be useful to examine new concepts and principles introduced by the law in more detail:

- *Public Management*

Although the concept 'public management' is widely used in academic literature and daily life in recent years, it is under the heading of new concepts here. The reason for this is the fact that in the legal regulations the concept 'public administration' was preferred, 'public management' concept used for the first time in a legal document on administrative organization.

The differences between the concepts “management” and “administration” and their relation to the new approach examined in the previous chapters (see Chapter 3) in detail.

And it is concluded that the “*public management offering a new way of looking at and carrying out management functions within the public sector*” (Hughes 2003: 45).

As a consequence the term public administration was the preferred concept during the previous chapters of this work, even in the 4th chapter although the reform attempts were examined in Turkish public sector. From now on the term ‘public management’ concept will be used.

- *Transparency – Right to Get Information and Accountability*

In traditional public administration "privacy" is one of the most important problems. In the traditional approach, 'privacy' is the principal while the transparency is the exception. Especially in Turkish system, the privacy and ‘secret of the state’ are most encountered concepts (see Chapter 2.2.5.). Public officials do not feel themselves responsible with answering questions properly and the system is encouraging this behavior by not arranging this responsibility by regulations.

Osborne (2004: 292) has described transparency as assisting public to see into system and understanding what is going on, why decisions are taken. The main goal of improving transparency is “*to make it more difficult for anyone to act unfairly or corruptly, to reduce the grounds for reasonable suspicion, and thus to increase trust*”.

The first Article of FRPM covers the words ‘transparency’ and ‘accountability’ while identifying the characteristics of the desirable public management. Transparency concept expresses foreknow of duties, authorities and responsibilities, decision-making and service processes; giving chance to access information and documents; publishing activity and survey reports (Başbakanlık 2003: 95). Also in the Article 5/b the importance of transparency and accountability clarified while stressing that in fulfilling public services, constant development, participation, transparency, accountability, (...) are essential (Başbakanlık 2003: 12).

According to the Article 41 under the heading of “Right to Get Information and Transparency”, real and legal people, within the framework of procedures and principles set by law, have right to get information. Public institutions and organizations, in case of request, are obliged to give requested information and documents to the public, apart from exceptions signified in the law (Başbakanlık 2003: 44–45). According to this new regulation, public organizations should bring fundamental decisions and actions in their area of responsibilities, purchasing and selling of services and goods, projects and annual activity reports to the public attention by using needed ICTs.

Accountability concept is one of the most important principles of NPM approach and closely related to transparency. Principle of accountability has a significant importance in building up trust between public and institutions and between public and administrative authorities. Accountability is *“the responsibility of government and its agents towards the public to realize previously set objectives and to account for them in public. It is the commitment required from a public official to accept public responsibility for his actions or inaction”* (Fox & Meyer 1995: 1–2). Consequently, great importance attributed to accountability in the draft.

- *Principle of Subsidiarity*

This principle expresses revolving the responsibility of providing public services to the closest and most suitable unit to the beneficiaries. The Article 5/e of the FRPM increases the authorities of the local administrations according to the principle of subsidiarity by asserting, duties, powers and responsibilities will be given to the nearest and most appropriate unit to the beneficiaries (Başbakanlık 2003: 13).

This principle will eliminate the disadvantages of centralization and will help to increase participation and public supervision while increasing the efficiency, effectiveness and quality of the services (see Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 135).

Besides, Article 45 arranges transfer of authority by indicating that senior managers of ministries and connected and related establishments, governors, district governors and mayors can delegate a part of their authorization to the inferiors on condition that they clearly indicate its borders in written.

In short, services' being provided to the units that are closest to the citizens and a process's being ended up in the lowest level in which it can be completed appear as one of the basic principles. To actualize this principle, the authorizations should be assigned to the lower levels in establishments and institutions. In the article, required arrangement clarified to actualize this principle (Başbakanlık 2003: 135).

- *Result-Orientation and Participation*

In traditional public administration, rules and procedures are in the foreground, while results don't have priority (see Chapter 2.1.2.). Employees are responsible for carrying out orders and regulations. Result orientation principle will eliminate purpose-tools confusion. Procedures will become tools used to reach targets by the new regulations. Modern administration paradigm also can be described as good governance and distinguished from the existing standard system by focusing on the result and target more than inputs and procedures (see Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 140).

As indicated in the previous chapters, NPM approach attaches importance to the individuals and encourages individuals to participate management processes. The management 'participation tools' can be listed as: press and broadcasting tools, public meetings, public opinion surveys, city councils, district boards, special advisory boards, volunteer organizations and citizen advisory boards.

Besides public, the participation of those in lower levels of public organizations must be provided to the process of management. Because expertise in public sector is important, hierarchical seniors should ask advices from expert subordinates. The participation of subordinates to the decision-making process will increase their motivation and the efficiency of the work directly or indirectly.

According to Article 5/f (Başbakanlık 2003: 13), during the decision-making process in public services, comments and suggestions of related professional associations and civil society organizations are important.

- *Citizen – Customer Orientation and Alternative Methods of Service*

Customer-oriented approach in the public management requires the establishment of production and service approach of traditional public administration on a new basis. Due to this, in the implementation of total quality management model, in the public sector, private sector principles and application processes should be adopted, in these context citizens who are using those goods and services should be considered as customers, increasing quality and being customer-oriented should become common purposes. Again with the Article 5/b (Başbakanlık 2003: 12) the customer-orientation principle of NPM approach introduced to Turkish public sector for the first time.

As emphasized in the previous chapters, the NPM approach advocates the minimization of government, and withdrawal of the state to its fundamental tasks. According to this approach, state should perform majority of public services via the private sector hand. Article 11, issues those alternative methods of service in order to perform public services more effective and efficiently, Article indicates central and local administrations can transfer some of their duties (which decided by the authorized organs) to universities, notaries, professional organizations that has the status of public institutions, service units, private sector and non-governmental organizations specialized in the relevant field.

- *Auditing and Ombudsman*

With the FRPM, "financial audit and performance audit" displaces "regulatory compliance" of traditional public administration. Audit problems began to gain importance when modern organizations grow and become complex. Therefore, relevant articles are crucial in terms of system's fate. However, as is known there are serious concerns about the measurability of public services. Indeed, as mentioned before,

evaluating public services and activities by input/output analysis, in other words digitizing is very difficult. In order to get an efficient performance review, first the public services should become measurable.

FRPM divides auditing in to two as internal audit and external audit (Article 39). Internal audit is the name given to the hierarchical control. According to the draft, internal audit can be performed by institutions' own managers or by internal auditors. The purpose of internal audit is to assess management's own internal functioning.

Inspections of the supervisory board in the traditional administrative system, regulated as external audit in the FRPM. However, according to innovations introduced by the draft, external audit is not primarily the task of supervisory boards but Court of Audit's.

FRPM prescribes that internal and external audit should be regulated under 3 headings: compliance with laws, financial audit and performance audit (see Başbakanlık 2003: 43–44).

Another innovation came with the draft is the ombudsman application. Fox and Meyer (1995: 88) described the term ombudsman as a respected apolitical individual, apart from bureaucratic order, who can ascertain citizens' complaints about public services and actions and who is able to advise rectification. The person who holds this office usually authorized to research, criticize and make government action public, but cannot undo it.

Article 42 (Başbakanlık 2003: 43) envisages "ombudsman system" in terms of local administrations, which caused polemics in Turkey for many years. In the Article the election procedure of the ombudsman, duties and authorities, application ways clarified in detail.

NPM approach's precision on "auditing" (especially the audit made directly by public) shown as reason for this adjustment (see Başbakanlık 2003: 133). The draft strengthens public opinion auditing by bringing in the ombudsman mechanism.

In the appendix of “Article Reasons”, the draft describes Ombudsman as an establishment that aims the solution of controversy between administration and person before the phase topic being passed to judicial authority through arbitration. Consequently, application to the public auditor freezes the time of application to the court and people’s application to the court afterwards is not blocked (Başbakanlık 2003: 133.) By this way, workload of judicial bodies is alleviated.

- *From Personnel Management to Human Resource Management*

Although the concept “personnel management” has been used by traditional public administration, ‘human resources management’ introduced to public sector by NPM approach and used as a term in this draft law for the first time. In the 46th Article of the FRPM, it is envisaged that public services will performed by ‘civil servants’, ‘workers’, ‘full-time’ and ‘part-time’ employees. “Part-time and full-time employees” concepts draw attention in this Article. Those concepts used instead of “contracted personnel” and “temporary personnel” in the existing personnel system.

The main problem of the existing public sector is surplus in personnel. The number of public personnel is approximately 2.6 million. As a result of exceeding centralization while the number of employees in the capital increasing, the other cities had problems ensuring personnel. Besides, with a careful analysis, it can be said that a large scale of public employees are serving to public administrators instead of serving to public. In the Article related to these problems, the decrease in the number of employees, workforce planning, providing qualified employment, providing opportunity for the implementation of employment policy where merit become prominent, are the presented solutions. (see Başbakanlık 2003: 134.)

In the 35th Article, it is stated that modern public administration approach aims, transforming employees from being only equipped with limited qualifications needed by job to a human resource understanding, which the qualifications of them can be developed continuously. On that account, instead of personnel unit, the establishment of Human Resources Department is anticipated.

5.2. Evaluation of New Reform

Some of the opponents to draft criticize NPM approach and so they completely oppose the draft. Some, on the other hand, find NPM approach methods functional but despite this, they worry about the methods' compatibility to Turkey. Below, the draft will be evaluated from different perspectives and at this stage critiques to the draft will be handled.

5.2.1. Evaluation FRPM as an Example of Change Management

FRPM has been prepared to perform a comprehensive change and reconstruction in public management. The logic and the methods used, in such a comprehensive reform movement, are as important as its content and advantages.

As emphasized in the fourth chapter (see Chapter 4.1.) there are some principles that should be taken into consideration in reform period. In the fourth chapter of this thesis, these principles are listed. According to the first clause, one of the most conspicuous one, *“administrative reform should take country's social, economic and political order and cultural structure in to account. Sudden and radical changes will cause harm rather than benefit, thus strategic planning is very important”*.

When the reform in question is evaluated in terms of Turkey's social economical and political order, structure and traditions, it is controversial if the reform attempt takes these criteria into consideration. According to Önder (2003) the draft is shaped toward global process more than the needs of Turkey, the people's expectations and system's basic characteristics. Also, in a study named “Change Management for Change in Management”, NPM approach is frequently shown as a reason for the innovations and the countries (USA, New Zealand, Australia, S. Korea, Denmark, France, Germany, England, Portugal) that solved the problems of their public management system by making reforms toward NPM approach are analyzed as examples (see Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 35–52).

Accordingly, one of the most important criticisms directed to the draft is that the draft is strange to Turkey's social, economical and political structure, its traditions and needs. In this manner, the planned innovations will cause harm more than benefit, as it does not fit with the system, it will cause certain faults in application. The number of people who defend that the draft is the imposition of global powers is not few at all (see Kansu 2003a, Önder 2003, Kamu-Sen 2009a). According to those people, national willpower is under charge and the draft is prepared toward the benefits of capitalist countries. According to Güler (2003: 4), "*the draft is not native and its roots are abroad*".

Another critique is that; rearrangement studies, which are aimed with the draft, are not sufficiently depicted and adopted. However, the precondition of accomplishment of reconstruction studies is the thorough adoption and narration of the aim, content and qualification of studies to the people who are affected from these arrangements (Sürgit 1980: 68). It should be considered that the draft caused many discussions and it was exposed to serious criticisms from the universities and a set of syndicates. People should be instructed; they should not be left as stranger to the innovations. Besides, with the same aim, public personnel should be prepared to the alternation psychologically, however, this is a great deficiency that there is not an arrangement in the draft about this.

Another problem of the draft is deficiency of strategy. In the draft, it is given place only to principles, which will be used in reconstruction, how these principles will be actualized is not indicated. Besides, not envisaging for a central unit which will carry out the reconstruction studies, provide continuity in these studies and provide coordination and association between all public institutions and employees is another dimension of lack of strategy (Gül 2005: 48).

On the other hand, the draft envisages abolishing centralist structure completely. However, although serious missions were transferred to the local governments, an evaluation was not carried out about whether these administrations would overcome these missions or not and whether their substructure was adequate or not. Besides, it cannot be given guarantee that local administrators will act more ethically than

administrators in the center, so a more detailed supervision mechanism should be established in the case that local governments are given broad authorities.

5.2.2. Evaluation of FRPM in terms of New Liberalism and Globalization

As indicated since the beginning of this thesis 1980s has witnessed many changes in the world history. Welfare state lost its effect while new liberal approach replaced it; the changing paradigm in public administration has gained acceleration by the help of globalization, developing ICTs and etc. The alteration wind has also affected Turkey after 1980s. Due to the 24 January 1980 decisions, bordering government's interference to the economy and passing from mixed economy policies to free market economy are examples of this process.

It is possible to see the effects of liberal policy and globalization in the draft law in question (see Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 20–27). In the draft, arrangements are made in the direction of new liberalism approach, for example with the statement; in decision-making processes about public services, comments and suggestions of related professional associations and civil society organizations are important, 5/f Article brought limitations to center's process of decision making. Also 5/1 Article bordered government with stating public institutions and organizations, cannot establish business on areas which are not directly related to their scope of duty, cannot produce goods or services or cannot allocate personnel, buildings, vehicles, equipment and resources for those aims.

As clarified in the third chapter, the new liberal approach advocates limited government principle by indicating that the government should only interfere in issues such as national security, national defense, justice and certain general public services.”

In the draft law, it is possible to see aptness towards this idea. In the Article 6 the central administration is authorized to determine general principles, politics, reason, aim and standards concerning public services in national level and to watch, evaluate and control the services' convenience to the determined policy and standards (see

Başbakanlık 2003: 15). Central administration's missions are determined as; justice, defense, security, enquiry, external relations, foreign policy, exchequer, treasury and foreign trade. In the following Article local administrations missions are arranged as; any mission, authorization and responsibility related to local common needs.

In these arrangements, together with new liberal politics, it is possible to see the effects of globalization process. Regarding this, draft stated that, to strengthen central administration's rising role in international system with the globalization process, it is necessary to go out of daily applications and processes. Again it is stated that, for this reason the government reached a structure that takes precautions to catalyze service production and makes arrangements not a structure that directly produces service, and some services that government carried out were assigned to local administrations, non-governmental organizations and private sector. (Başbakanlık 2003: 104–105.)

All of these herewith anticipate that citizen is regarded as a customer, and rivalry and free market principles are carried out in public administration (see Dinçer & Yılmaz 2003: 29, 36, 54, 63).

It is possible to think that, in the case of publics' providing services with the spirit of entrepreneurship, his only aim is to raise his profit, and service quality can only be improved for the purpose of attracting customer. By some, it is indicated that, in this case, the rule of equality will be ignored in the presentation of public services and an unfair case will appear (see CHP 2004).

Accordingly, Uluğ (2004: 13–14) indicates that in the draft, it is avoided to use such concepts as “common good”, “public benefit” which are public service's basic elements and by emphasizing the need of beneficiaries of the system, the concept of common good, one of the basic principles of constitutional state, is ignored. In this case the draft contradicts with Constitution.

Another subject that is criticized in central and local administrations' rearranged mission and responsibilities is subsidiarity principle. According to this, centralized

management should be bordered. There are criticisms that this arrangement of the draft ruins government's monist structure and forms a basis to pass the federal system (see Kamu-Sen 2009b).

5.2.3. Evaluation of FRPM in terms of Public Personnel

Although the developments in ICTs has changed the standards and order of performing, as a mechanism, which produces and actively offers those services to beneficiaries, the importance of human factor in the public administration can not be denied.

As emphasized before, the reconstructing process should pay attention to the individuals, who constitutes the most important rings of the gear. Reconstruction process in holds the fact of human (public personnel here). With the draft, human resources administration takes personnel administration's place.

When the draft is reviewed it can be seen that, as in many other matters, in personnel related issues, NPM approach has taken into account. In the 46th Article of the draft (Başbakanlık 2003: 52) innovations are foreseen in the public employees' qualifications, recruitment procedures, working conditions (part-time and full-time) and performance measurements.

Due to the Article Reason (Başbakanlık 2003: 136–137) working life should be distinctively arranged, because the civil service system loses its effect and becomes a heavy problem of public administration as the result of life-long work guarantee, the corruption of the merit system, inability to make career planning and prominence of penalizing system.

From this point of view, in the draft, contracted personnel's dissemination and partial-timed employment is anticipated; in recruitment and promotion, adequacy based selection exam and performance based charging with merit basis is adopted.

As it is seen, the draft envisages deep-rooted system alteration. The number of public employees that will be affected from such changes is approximately 2.6 million – with 2003 numbers (see Başbakanlık 2003: 136). Even though, it anticipates that large-scale alteration, the draft is criticized for not giving enough importance to human factor and human relations.

Although, the draft covers expressions devoted to technical competence, capacity and performance of employees; it does not cover any arrangements towards their adaptation to the new system and motivation.

5.2.4. Evaluation of FRPM in terms of Constitution

The draft contradicts with the Constitution at some points. This section of the thesis will summarize some of the most obvious contradictions.

Depending on configuration of unitary state, Turkey; executes the public administration applications according to the hierarchy principle in general, devolution of powers principle in the administration of provinces and administrative supervision principle in administration of local governments (see Polatoğlu 2003: 92–95). These features in question mentioned in the title of "public administration" in the Constitution (see Chapter 2.2.). Even, at this point, the draft contradicts with the Constitution, because in the Constitution, there is no "public management" concept, Constitution prefers "public administration" instead.

However, the draft in question, expands hierarchy principle by featuring delegation, brings subsidiarity principle by removing administrative supervision and defusing devolution of powers principle by actuating separation of duties system. So that, in the current situation, conflicts with the constitutional arrangements.

Although, the constitutional provision "integrity of administration" appears in the draft (Article 5/a), the same Article features the subsidiarity principle by asserting the duties, authorities and responsibilities will be given to the most appropriate units. Kansu

(2003b) criticizes this principle severely and states that this principle is a management principle with political qualifications, which will be applied in the process of transforming European Union organization into a federal state structure.

The principle of separation of duties also contradicts with the Constitutional provisions. According to the Constitution, administration of provinces bases on the devolution of powers principle. The principle of separation of duties has not been adopted by the constitution. All these new arrangements eliminate the feature of being a unitary state. At this point, Turkey's social and political conditions should keep in mind. The probable impacts of changes on the national unity should be discussed.

Indeed, in Turkey there is a Kurdish problem, which is thought to threaten the territorial integrity. Giving broad powers to the local governments, which's control is difficult, may damage the delicate structure.

In the draft, instead of "social state" expression, "regulatory state" expression used. The existence of this expression, contradicts with the "social state" expression stated in the 2nd Article of the Constitution.

The draft envisages the minimizing the state by withdrawal from some of the fields. While doing this, it contradicts with the Constitution by withdrawing from some areas indicated in the state's scope of responsibility in the Constitution. For example, according to the Constitutional provinces, "the state facilitates farmers and livestock breeders in acquiring machinery, equipment and other inputs in order to prevent improper use and destruction of agricultural land, meadows and pastures and to increase crop and livestock production in accordance with the principles of agricultural planning. The state shall take necessary measures to promote the values of crop and livestock products, and to enable growers and producers to be paid the real value of their products" (Article 45). However, the draft allocates all provincial organizations of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs between municipalities, professional organizations and universities, except the "laboratories and research institutes, which are functioning in national and regional activities" (see Başbakanlık 2003: 56).

6. CONCLUSION

The traditional model of public administration has played a historical role in economic and social development of many countries until 1980s. But, as a result of its features and problems, especially after 1970's it had to face with many criticisms (see Sözen 2005: 31–34), as indicated in the second chapter of this thesis. According to the generally accepted idea traditional model of public administration is bureaucratic, insensitive, inefficient and awkward and unable to meet the day's needs.

While the world was experiencing a transformation, Turkey has continued to exist with the principles set in Ottoman Era and as a result of this it has had to face many problems. Although there were attempts to update systems with imported administrative approaches, as a result of cultural factors, no progress was seen. Especially during the Ottoman era, the approaches and systems adopted through imitating Europe caused problems and put the Empire into trouble both in internal and external affairs. Turkey is trying to cope with same kind of problems from past to present, because it is still continuing with the Ottoman administrative culture. The only difference is the amount of the problems.

World's administrations started to search new solutions. It is obvious that the traditional public administration has lost its functions and no longer suitable for present day. But what kind of a system is replacing it? What are the new features and characteristics of this new model? To keep up with the new system what should Turkey do? Those questions found their answers in the third and fourth chapters of this thesis.

Administration is a subject, which is related with human beings and their surroundings. Together with changing social and economic conditions, administration has also transformed from certain stages. NPM approach is a new international drift, which appeared in 1980s and discussed in detail through chapter three. It affects, not only developed countries but also developing countries deeply since the beginning of its own history.

The NPM approach has built on the judgment, which claims that the traditional public administration is inadequate and should be replaced fundamentally. Traditional public administration never faced with a huge change through a century and the aim of NPM is to replace it, thus it was not an easy job.

Now, the governments that decided to transform their public administrations with regard to NPM approach should accept an uphill battle and they should be adamant on realizing administrative reforms. The fourth chapter, focused on administrative reforms. Turkey as a case study appeared in the chapter and the administrative reform attempts of Turkey examined in detail, especially the ones after 1980's as claimed in the title of this work.

The chapter concluded that; reform is not an easy task that can take place in the form of adaptation of sudden and unexpected changes. The rearrangements should take every single system by itself and should try to be unique and appropriate to this system.

There are two main issues that attract attention, related to the reform initiatives in Turkey. The first of these; almost every work related to reform attempts, before the establishment of DPT and passing to planned period, was carried out by foreign experts. The most important reason for this is the lack of expert staff in Turkey. Yet another important issue is, although the reform attempts are remarkable, could not be implemented.

Even though the points, deficiencies and solutions mentioned in every development plan and reform studies are pretty much the same; initiatives remained as planning, reporting and examining processes instead of being radical arrangements in forms of reform. In Turkey the most important problem encountered in the phase of implementation of reform project, is the lack of central leadership. When there is no central leadership or central authority that will play a guiding role, the application is left to the manager of the organization. And for this reason, administrator's farsightedness, ability in using authority, ability to fight against settled interests are important elements in the implementation of reform projects (Polatoğlu 2003: 163–164). Based on these, it

can be asserted that the reform attempts in Turkey are devoid of systematic programming and implementation is left to the manager's individual discretion. In this case, considering the lack of expert staff and strong leaders in Turkey, inability of reform attempts being successful makes sense.

Besides, there is an uncertainty about whose primary task is it to implement reforms. This authority-duty chaos that emerged at the stage after preparation of reports concerning administrative reforms by assigned committees makes it difficult to implement reforms. While bureaucrats have difficulties in actualizing reform proposals, politicians will avoid taking responsibility.

As already emphasized; one of the basic conditions of the restructuring is the existence of political support. Reform studies are long-term projects however; governments in Turkey have short life, thus long term reform projects left without tutelary. Therefore, governments with vote-concerns prefer short-term attempts that will give quick results. And unfortunately, those reform attempts remain as make-up like changes instead of being radical reforms. Changing governments are impatient and eager to throw previous government programs to the trash.

As OECD (2002: 9) has indicated, *“relative to the majority of OECD countries, Turkey has so far moved slowly in reforming its governance and regulatory framework”*. As a consequence, as it is emphasized in the OECD report, the cost of delayed regulatory reform has been high. Delays and failures in reform attempts in Turkey have caused heavy costs. *“The 1999 earthquakes demonstrated that ineffective governance (...) carried unacceptably high welfare costs. The crises of 2000/2001 brought to light number of important regulatory and institutional weaknesses which had not been addressed, and increased general awareness of the urgency of regulatory reform”* (OECD 2002: 9).

Those are the emphasized points and outcomes of the first four chapters of the thesis. In the last chapter, by examining the FRPM, which constituted in the light of NPM approach, the applicability of NPM to the Turkish context discussed.

Turkey as an economically depended country to foreign loans since the end of the II World War, as a consequence dependent on international organizations such as IMF and WB, too. Those international organizations, together with EU, which Turkey applied to become a full member and striving since 1959, have significant influence upon Turkey's economic and political policies. The application period took so long because of various reasons, but one of them is the EU's claim about incompatibleness of Turkish administrative system to EU standards.

As a country aiming to gain more active role in Europe and as a leading country in its region, which also connects Asia to Europe, Turkey wants to catch modernization process that world is experiencing since 1980s, especially in public sector. At this point, in order to reach the targets listed above, I think it is unnecessary to iterate the importance of public sector.

Turkey needs to change and improve its structure. This is the commonly accepted estimation. Being a country of 72 million population and trying to stick to traditional methods and being effective and efficient, is not possible all together.

Though does NPM approach capable to solve problems in Turkish context? Are they suitable to the Turkish system? Those were the questions in mind, which led to this thesis.

Answering those questions, either 'yes' or 'no' overreaches this thesis, thus the main aim is just to underline the matters that should be considered during the re-arrangement process. Whether the answer is yes or no, the re-arrangements should take Turkey's characteristics, cultural truths, habits, special conditions, social, economic and political order in to account. The Tanzimat Period (see Chapter 2.2.1.) is a good example for this noteworthy matter. Turkey should keep the historical lessons of Tanzimat in mind, while preparing its future.

Being a country with such a long history, of course brought some deep-rooted characteristics to Turkey, although it is a must to catch up with changing conditions; the

re-arrangements should be appropriate to the country and strategic planning is needed. As Tutum (1971: 42) insistently underlined during his work sudden and radical changes will cause harm rather than benefit.

NPM is the appropriate model for Turkish reforms or not, the FRPM is the right choice for Turkey and Turkey should bring this draft into being as soon as possible or not, this thesis will not give absolute answers to those questions, however, will underline the fact that unfortunately Turkey failed to put all those administrative reform efforts (from 1930s to present day) into practice and could not accomplish to shape the imported management approaches properly to the administration culture and historical skeleton in its own system. And if we consider the reactions against the draft law, apparently, it, also, has problems in meeting the expectations. And as a result of this incompetence the country is still has to face with aforementioned problems of backward, inefficient and inadequate system.

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