



# THE HANDBOOK OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

VOLUME-1

**Editors**

**Prof. Dr. Bekir PARLAK**

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kadir Caner DOĞAN**



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Social Sciences

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**The Handbook of Public Administration, Vol. 1**

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# PREFACE

Public administration, as an interdisciplinary field, is based on a wealth of theory. As a matter of fact, a detailed analysis of public administration with different concepts, approaches and theories will confirm this determination. With this book, which contributes to public administration from quite different fields as a handbook, public administration has been subjected to a detailed examination. In this book, public administration is explained at the concept-theory-practice level with articles from different disciplines. In this book, public administration is a handbook prepared by academics working at many different universities in Turkey. Almost all important issues related to public administration are covered in the book.

In our age, public administration has emerged with very different dimensions with paradigm shifts, great transformation and change. In this regard, concepts and approaches such as postmodernism, new public management and governance are particularly important.

In this respect, the discipline of public administration has been dealt with in different articles in this work at the theoretical and practical level. On the other hand, analyzing this great transformation with a handbook will make a great contribution to the discipline and practice of public administration. This book has emerged as a very comprehensive work of interest to undergraduate, graduate and other researchers. With this handbook, which includes structural and functional analyzes of the political, social, economic and cultural analyzes of public administration, it is aimed to contribute to the field of public administration in the world, especially in Turkish public administration. As a matter of fact, in this study, theoretical and practical sections are included.

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to both the esteemed authors and the representatives of the publishing houses for the preparation of this work. Finally, we hope that this book will be of great use to all readers.

**Prof. Dr. Bekir Parlak & Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kadir Caner Dođan**  
**Editors**



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## CHAPTER I

# INTERDISCIPLINARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONCEPT AND PHENOMENON OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION\*

**Bekir PARLAK<sup>1</sup> & Kadir Caner DOĞAN<sup>2</sup>**

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### 1. Concept of Public Administration

The state is a higher political organization that protects the rights and interests of its citizens with constitutional and legal guarantees, aims to provide the best possible quality services to its citizens, and is considered legitimate to resort to force when necessary. In order to achieve these objectives, the state makes use of various organizational and functional structures at the national level. Undoubtedly, one of these organizations is public administration. Public administration, as an organizational and functional bureaucratic structure, represents the state in the eyes of the public. Therefore, public administration politics is of great importance for the state.

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\* In the preparation of this study; the authors' work, titled "Introduction to Public Administration Theories", published in Turkey in Değişim Publications in 2020, was used.

### ***1.1. Definition of Public Administration***

Before defining the concept of public administration, it is necessary to explain what the word “public” means. As a matter of fact, according to the definition made by the Turkish Language Association (TDK), the word “public” means all state organs that provide services for the people (TDK, 2013). In Turkish, the word “public” means all, whole, the whole of the people living in a country; people, community (Eken, 1993: 12). On the other hand, “public order” refers to the order that applies to and concerns the whole society; “public sector” refers to all economic activities and endeavors carried out by the state; “public personnel” refers to officials serving for the state; “public opinion” refers to the totality of opinions, attitudes and beliefs adopted by the whole society in a certain field and subject; “public legal entities” refers to groups of people and property working in the public interest; “public law” deals with the establishment and functioning of the state, the state’s relations with other states, and the whole set of rules that develop after mutual relations with public legal entities and private persons (Eryılmaz, 2012: 9-10). As it is understood, public is a word with a holistic perspective that encompasses the whole of society. Therefore, public administration can be considered as the administration of the whole.

Public administration is first and foremost about the state and politics (Simon et al., 1966: 6) and it also refers to the organization of public services or the organization of public power (Giritli, 1983: 27; Doğan and Uğur, 2020; Yılmaz Uğur, 2021; Kalkışım, 2011). As a matter of fact, public administration is concerned with the behavior of individuals and clusters that are active within the state and its affiliated institutions and related to the bureaucratic mechanism (Ergun, 2004: 5; Yılmaz ve Telsaç, 2021). In addition, public administration can be explained as the organization and management of people and tools and equipment in order for the state to achieve its objectives (Ergun and Polatoğlu, 1992: 5). In this framework, public administration can be defined as the implementation of public policies and the management of public relations in the relevant field (Shafritz et al., 2013: 6). Public administration can be clearly defined as the executive branch of government within a state (Rosenbloom et al., 2009: 4). In this context, public administration means the provision of government at national, local and regional levels within a state (Basu, 2004: 2). As a matter of fact, public administration, as an administrative mechanism, is essentially in relation with the executive within the state organs. Following all these expressions, public administration can be broadly defined as “*central and local bureaucratic institutions, mechanisms and relations, manpower, tools and*

*equipment, and their management, other than the legislative and judicial powers in state organization, which produce public goods and services, are subject to public law, determine and implement public policies in order to ensure the public good, which is the raison d'être of the state"* (Nohutçu, 2011: 7).

Public administration basically has two aspects: structural and functional. Among these, public administration with its structural aspect expresses an organizational view of the state. With its functional aspect, public administration consists of the process of implementing general rules (laws) and public policy decisions (Nohutçu, 2011: 8). As a functional mechanism, public administration fulfills public policies determined by political bodies within the framework of certain rules and principles. In certain cases, the public administration can also participate directly and indirectly in the public policy-making process. In this context, public administration, as a functional mechanism, is a device for the decision-making and implementation of public policies or politics. In order for the public administration to implement these policies and serve the society, it needs an organizational structure. This organizational structure constitutes the structural aspect of public administration. Especially after the Second World War, the expansion of public administration in terms of structure and function (Aydınlı, 2004) has led to new understandings and ideas on how to manage the public sector. In this period, ideas and theories were developed on how public administration could work more effectively, efficiently and with higher quality.

Considering the area covered by the phenomenon of administration, public administration can be defined in two ways, narrowly and broadly. In the narrow sense, public administration is all public institutions and organizations and their activities, including the executive branch, excluding the legislative and judicial branches. Public administration in the broad sense is the organization and functioning of public power in regular societies (Parlak and Sobacı, 2012: 23).

Public administration is also an academic discipline, an activity and a profession (Eryılmaz, 2010: 7; Uğur and Doğan, 2019). Among these, public administration as an academic discipline can be defined as "*a discipline consisting of practice and theory aimed at understanding and improving public bureaucracy and its relations with the public to whom it provides goods and services*". This discipline deals with organization, personnel, practices and methods to ensure that an executive branch of the state functions more effectively

and efficiently. In addition to these, public administration is a set of activities consisting of actions and activities such as planning, organizing, directing, coordinating and controlling. As a matter of fact, these activities are carried out within an organization or institution. In this context, public administration can also be considered as a profession depending on the increasing diversity of public administrations and administrators (Parlak and Sobacı, 2012: 23-24).

Public administration, as the executive arm of the state, makes the state, which is based on a legitimate political association, visible to the public. As a matter of fact, the state plays a major role in creating a spirit of respectability in society and the fulfillment of mutual obligations with the public. If the people trust the state, the state will protect the public interest through the creation of participatory democracy, which is effective in creating public trust and formalizing this trust (Bowman, 1990: 345). Indeed, public administration has a cultural value system derived from a historical perspective based on personal integrity and balance and shaped by a sense of fair and balanced judgment. Moreover, public administration is a research field for the understanding of political history and social thought (Spicer, 2004: 353). In this context, public administration cannot be studied in isolation from the history, society and therefore cultural values in which it has grown and developed.

To explain briefly, public administration is the hand of the state reaching out to the people. When considered in this context, the state, which is an abstract concept (Kapani, 2011: 38), shape in “*flesh (public personnel) and bones (public organization)*”, so to speak, in the eyes of the public through public administration, and as a result, it becomes concrete. Therefore, public administration has a great relationship with the concepts of politics and the state. In this context, in order to fully understand the nature of public administration, the concepts of politics and state should be explained in a concise manner. In this way, the relationship between the state, politics and public administration will be revealed.

## ***1.2. Characteristics of Public Administration***

Administrative science, which also means thinking or handling management concepts and processes on scientific principles, is “*an academic discipline whose subject is the universal elements, processes and organizations of management; which examines managerial events, behaviors and organizations; whose field is public, private or third sector organizations*” (Nohutçu, 2011: 4). In general terms, “public administration” has been formed by applying

the theories and principles of administrative science to public institutions and organizations. In this framework, according to Tortop (1983: 2), administrative science in relation to public administration is “*a branch of social sciences that evaluates the work of people who are responsible for preparing, executing or implementing the decisions of central and local political authorities*”. Again, according to Gournay (1971: 3), administrative science can be defined as “*a branch of the social sciences that is directed towards specifying and explaining the structure and activities of the organs that constitute the state and other public organizations under the authority of political power*”. As a matter of fact, public administration includes implementation processes such as system of rules, organization, personnel, financial resources and external environment. Therefore, public administration develops methods to manage human resources, financial management, structure and functioning, to formulate policies and programs, and to realize these policies and programs. On the other hand, public administration produces outputs as a result of these methods and provides services to users. Public administration can be perceived as the management of society and therefore public administration has its own specific characteristics. As a matter of fact, Gözübüyük (1976: 12) defines the characteristics of public administration as follows:

- The purpose of public administration is the public good. Therefore, the first aim of public administration is the welfare, happiness and well-being of the society,
- Public administration makes use of the public power equipped with superior features while carrying out its activities,
- The establishment of public administration, its duties, organizational structure, powers, responsibilities, employment of public officials and their powers, rights and obligations in their duties, and the ways and means by which public institutions and organizations provide goods and services are prescribed by law,
- Public institutions and organizations come under the direct and indirect control of the legislature due to their budget and their activities,
- Public administration is governed by the rules of public administration law, which is a separate branch of law, and disputes between public administrations and individuals are handled by public administration courts, which are called administrative courts.

In addition to the above explanations, Gözler and Kaplan (2011: 9) state the characteristics of public administration as follows:

- The purpose of public administration is the public interest. Therefore, public administration strives for the peace and prosperity of the society as its main objective,
- Public administrations have public power in order to realize the public interest,
- Public administrations are in a superior position vis-à-vis private persons and can carry out transactions against the consent of private persons,
- The establishment and work of public administrations are regulated by law. In addition, the public administrator cannot engage in a task that is not authorized by law and cannot produce solutions.

### ***1.3. Purpose and Elements of Public Administration***

The general purpose of public administration is to benefit the public. Therefore, public administration exists for the public good. Public administration provides goods and services needed by society and meets the needs of individuals. Moreover, the purpose of public administration is to provide public services effectively and efficiently. In other words, public administration aims to fulfill the goals, objectives and duties that public institutions and organizations are obliged to carry out by using the available resources such as people, money and materials in the most effective way (Genç, 1998: 17-19). In this respect, public administration can be expressed as a rational administrative order. It tries to fulfill its objectives in parallel with this order. The realization of public benefit as the general and sole purpose of public administration constitutes the set of objectives of public administration directly directed towards the society.

The other purpose of public administration is to determine the behavioral characteristics of the individuals in the organizations and the level of their work, to determine what methods can be followed to maintain the relations between the organization and the members of the organization in harmony, how the institutions should be organized in the most effective way and to make practical suggestions. Another aim of public administration is to ground the principles applied in public administration on solid foundations and to investigate these principles (Ergun and Polatoğlu, 1992: 7). Therefore, public administration tries to produce systematic and consistent scientific knowledge by focusing on principles and policies within and outside the organization. Its aim is to allocate

a public administration mechanism that can respond immediately to every condition required by the situation. The set of objectives mentioned here are the inward-looking objectives of public administration to improve itself. However, although this set of objectives are the objectives that constitute the activities of the public administration itself, healthier services will be provided to the society indirectly through scientific research and a public administration mechanism that provides effective and efficient services. In this context, these objectives are also carried out to serve the society. As a result, it can be said that public administration exists to serve the society.

As it is understood, public administration tries to define and explain the elements such as status, organization, function and behavior that make up the administration. Public administration draws a picture of first the national state administration, then local governments, then state economic enterprises and other public institutions based on legal, technical, social, human and political aspects. These are the descriptive and identifying characteristics of public administration. On the other hand, public administration also has objectives such as explaining why administrative organizations exist, making efforts to correct them by identifying their faulty aspects, analyzing public policies, examining the principles prevailing in the field of administration, examining the common behaviors of employees working in organizations, organizing events based on concrete values in the form of systematic information and schemes. These constitute the theoretical function of public administration (Eryılmaz, 2012: 13). On the other hand, public administration aims to develop hypothetical theories because it tries to establish a relationship between human values and works, and objective theories based on the belief that institutions should address different aspects of life (Ergun, 2004: 7-8).

Public administration, which receives its resources, duties and powers from political organs and has a political aspect in this context, is a system that is concerned with the uninterrupted and chaos-free functioning of the state and social order, the realization of legislative activities and the implementation of laws, and the production of goods and services to meet the needs of the public (Eryılmaz, 2012: 14). Public administration utilizes various elements while fulfilling these duties. In addition, these elements constitute the structure and function of public administration. The elements of public administration are “*people, organization, public policy, norm order, financial resources and public officials*” (Eryılmaz, 2012: 14-15). As a matter of fact, among these elements, the public consists of the people and institutions to whom services are provided

in public administration. The primary addressees of public administrations are the public, i.e. citizens. The organization is the central unit where public administration operates. The goods and services to be provided to the society are decided in this center. Public policy is the effort to reveal the problems of society and to seek solutions for them. Public policies are the schema of public administration's activities. Norm order refers to the tasks and organization of public administration as set out in the primary and secondary level laws of a country. Financial resources refer to the budget and monetary means of public administration. Public servants are the people or officials who perform public services.

## **2. Relationship of Public Administration with Other Disciplines**

Public administration is in a great relationship with different disciplines in different and varying proportions depending on the qualities, characteristics and aspects it contains. Below, the relations of public administration with the disciplines of political science, sociology, business administration, administrative law and economics are briefly discussed respectively.

### ***2.1. The Relationship of Public Administration with Political Science***

Political science is an academic discipline that examines political institutions and phenomena, behavior patterns of individuals and groups, and then tries to reveal the relationships and causal links between them (Eryılmaz, 2010: 52). As a matter of fact, there is a great relationship between political science and public administration. Any study carried out in the field of public administration is also of interest to political science, and therefore the subject of the research is carried out by organs and officials under the supervision of politics (Tortop, 1983: 31). On the other hand, political science and public administration have common topics that are examined by political science and public administration and these include “*central administration, regional and local governments, functions of governments, bureaucracy and public policy*” (Eryılmaz, 2010: 53). When evaluated in this context, there is a great deal of connection between political science and public administration, both organizationally and functionally.

### ***2.2. The Relationship of Public Administration with Sociology***

Sociology is an academic discipline that studies human behavior and relations (Tezcan, 2011: 1). As a matter of fact, sociology, as a branch of social science

that conducts research and analysis on social reality, determines the relationship between administration and the governed and, in fact, the place of public administration within the general society (Tortop et al., 2010: 22). Public administration is also affected by the general conditions of society. Therefore, there is a strong link between sociology and public administration. As a matter of fact, administrative structures, behaviors, values and problems cannot be evaluated without considering social, economic and cultural conditions. In addition, public administration and sociology have common topics that constitute the field of study of the science of sociology and these are composed of “*state, power, bureaucracy and culture*” (Eryılmaz, 2010: 54-55). Under these conditions, by emphasizing the social aspect of public administration, sociology and public administration act together in considering the social issues related to public administration.

### ***2.3. The Relationship between Public Administration and Business***

In the development phase of management thought and practices, both public administration and private sector organizations have been influenced by examinations, research and practices (Eryılmaz, 2010: 59). As a matter of fact, business or business management is related to private management or enterprises, and in addition to dealing with the problems of private organizations, it examines and researches the planning, organization, management, coordination, coordination, supervision, manager-employee relations of organizations and how to carry out them in the best way. Public administration, on the other hand, examines and researches the same issues and functions mentioned above for public institutions and organizations (Tortop et al., 2010: 33). Therefore, both business administration and public administration have similar aspects and qualities at many points despite some differences caused by the differences in their research fields. In this context, there is a great relationship between them.

### ***2.4. The Relationship of Public Administration with Administrative Law***

Law consists of a set of written and unwritten rules that examine the relations of individuals (persons) and organizations (legal entities) in society with each other and with the state, which is accepted as the largest public legal entity. As a matter of fact, the branch of law related to the structure of the state is called public (administrative) law (Ergun, 2004: 20). Therefore, there is a great relationship between public administration and administrative law. Public administration (management) law is first and foremost the law of public administration

(management). In addition, the subject of public administration law is the state administration (public administration, administration of people) (Günday, 2011: 3). Furthermore, the state, which is one of the areas of investigation of public law, also falls within the field of investigation of administrative law. As a matter of fact, administrative law is a branch of law that concerns only the executive and therefore public administration among the functions of the state (Eroğlu, 1978: 1). On the other hand, according to Fındıklı and Bilgiç (2006: 8-9), who state that there is no standard or specific definition of administrative law, administrative law can be expressed in the following ways:

- Administrative law is not just a branch of law, but a branch of law that monitors administrative practices and administrative developments, prioritizes the public interest and tries to ensure that the administration acts in accordance with the law,
- Administrative law, in its broadest sense, is the law of the administration, in other words, the law of administrative acts and procedures. However, the law of the administration does not only consist of administrative law; there are other branches of law that concern the administration,
- Administrative law is the law that analyzes the administrative mechanism and main law that teaches us how this device is manufactured,
- Administrative law is a law that examines the establishment, functioning and supervision of the administration, determines the relations of administrative institutions with each other and the limits of their powers,
- Administrative law is a law of trust that prevents the administration and administrative authorities from abusing their powers, compels them to act in accordance with the law, and provides a legal guarantee to the administered against all kinds of unfair, arbitrary and intentional behaviors of the administrators,
- Administrative law is a law of responsibility that questions and holds administrators accountable for unlawful actions,
- Administrative law is the law of conciliation, which seeks to resolve conflicts between the outcomes of the administration and the individual interests of citizens through mutual balance, harmony and reconciliation,
- Administrative law is the law of the state of law. Without administrative law, there can be no state of law,
- Administrative law is also the domestic law of each country, which is national or local in nature.

### ***2.5. The Relationship between Public Administration and Economics***

The science of economics is a discipline related to issues such as the most effective and efficient use of scarce resources, the acquisition, production and distribution of wealth and capital. Therefore, economic thought, policies and practices have a significant impact on the logic of organization and functioning of public administration (Öztekin, 2010: 32). In this context, the success of public administration depends on a developed economy as well as the continuity of a developed economy depends on good administrators (Genç, 1998: 38). On the other hand, due to the increase in the duties of the state and the administrative organizations in the field of activity, the administration becomes an important economic agent or partner. In this context, there is a great relationship between economics and public administration depending on the following aspects (Tortop et al., 2010: 21):

- The share of administrative expenditures in the state budget and in national income in general is increasing,
- The problem of efficiency. Development, distribution by categories and sectors, estimation of requirements,
- The problem of employment, the problem of hiring in management, depends partly on the market situation. Administration can play a compensatory role in the labor market in case of unemployment. It can also achieve regional balance by implementing a hiring system that redresses differences in the distribution of employment across the whole country and between geographical regions,
- Wage policy. The determination of salaries and wages is inspired by practices in the private sector. Of course, in many cases this will depend on economic and social preferences in general. “For example, wage freezes in the context of a deflationary policy”.

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## CHAPTER II

# HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION TEACHING

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### **1. Introduction**

The field of scientific study, which is called public administration today, has historically developed for the purpose of developing the practice of modern state administration. Drawing the spatial/historical boundaries of public administration and revealing the subject it researches contributes to the purpose of defining this area. This goal can be pursued with many questions: When and where can the beginning of administration phenomenon and studies be found, how has the process of scientificization of administration progressed, is it possible to overcome the limitations and given assumptions of studies that are accepted as the beginning of scientificization?

It can be said that the emergence of society was accompanied by questions about living together and being governed (Kalfa, 2011: 405). Therefore, administration, as a social phenomenon, is as old as five thousand years of civilization (Ertürk Keskin, 2018: 23). All activities carried out for a purpose and in coordination find expression as administration (Heper, 1972: 41). As we cannot confine administration and public administration to the same historicity as a phenomenon, it is a necessity to reveal the historical background behind the scientificization process of public administration with its distinctive features. This process will also present us with the development of public administration teaching.

The change, transformation and development of public administration, along with various political, social, economic and many other problems, necessitated public administration teaching. However, the history of administration and its teaching as a phenomenon can be traced back to much earlier times. The beginning of the discussions on the simultaneous emergence of problems such as how to administer a good state, what kind of characteristics the administrators should have, how the administrators should be educated, how the people in the society will live together and how they will be administered, goes back to Ancient Greece and even to the periods when the first political organizations began to form. (Kalfa, 2011: 405; Parlak, 2015: 74). Therefore, while the emergence of the administration phenomenon in the historical process dates back to very old times, the emergence of public administration discipline and public administration teaching coincides with the more recent past.

Public administration is a highly diverse and evolving field of scientific research. The field of study is further characterized by often competing paradigmatic perspectives and seemingly endless teaching methods. There is a growing awareness that answers to complex societal challenges cannot be resolved within the knowledge frameworks of individual disciplines. In conclusion, it can be said that interdisciplinary teaching has emerged to expose students to approaches, theories and methodologies from various disciplines of the social and natural sciences and to seek potential answers to these challenges.

The functioning and role of public administration has been one of the most heated topics of discussion in social sciences since the last quarter of the 20th century. This debate, which has economic and political sides, and the practices it triggers have directly affected not only national public administrations, but also the public administration discipline itself and its teaching.

The development of public administration teaching coincides with the development and practice of the discipline of public administration. In this context, in this study, the subject of teaching public administration is discussed in parallel with the changes that the discipline of public administration has undergone during the development process. While discussing the development and teaching of the discipline, first of all, developments in the world and parallel developments in Turkey and current practices, and numerical data about the departments taught are mentioned. In this direction, it is aimed to create a short and concise historical memory both in the world and in public administration teaching within the development of the discipline.

In this context, in the first part of the study, within the scope of the development of the public administration discipline in the world, the thoughts

and transformations in Continental Europe and the USA were mentioned, and in the second part, the transformations experienced in Turkey in parallel with the changes in this world were discussed. In addition, in Turkey, the current practice of public administration teaching, undergraduate level departments, universities and the numerical data about them were created by examining the 2022 YÖK Atlas data.

## **2. On The Administration and Its Teaching**

Since public administration is a product of a certain historical process, it is not possible to produce knowledge by taking the boundaries of today's public administration as a basis. The administrative phenomenon cannot be explained solely on the basis of today; should be evaluated in the context of the historical process. The advantages that use of this method will bring to the discipline are to reveal the administration with its basic features, to question the universal acceptance of administrative phenomena, to turn to analytical studies rather than general assumptions, and not to get lost in fashion trends by increasing the quality of being scientific (Ertürk Keskin, 2018: 23).

In the long-term and dynamic existence of the administration in the historical process, the new and modern has led to develop public administration as an academic discipline. The discipline developed in relation to the definition of the modern state as a separate mechanism from society through institutionalized rules and the transfer of administration to this mechanism that is free from a person's body (Köse, 2004: 182).

Since the teaching of public administration is counted among the elements of public administration, it is not independent of its historical characteristics and problems. The knowledge taught in universities and other vocational education institutions within the scope of public administration discipline is vital for the government and public officials to provide better service (Çiner, 2015: 4). When the education on this subject is considered as educating people who work in the state, it can be mentioned about the practices encountered in the first forms of political organization (Parlak, 2015: 60).

Questions about how the state should be governed well and the qualifications that those involved in the administration should possess are traced back to Ancient Greece and earlier. The emergence of society is considered the beginning of thinking about the requirements of living together and administration (Kalfa, 2011: 405). However, the teaching activities after the scientificization of administration point to more recent dates. The development of capitalism as a socio-economic system and the modern state, which is the product of the same

historicity, brings about the emergence of public administration as a scientific field of study.

### **3. Public Administration Teaching Tradition of Continental Europe and America**

The modern state refers to a type of state that has vital functions for the mentioned socio-economic system. Policy-making and efficiency in administration are among these functions. It is not a coincidence that the state has come to the fore with its vital functions in countries that have been late in the transformation of the socio-economic system, and therefore scientific knowledge in this field has begun to be produced (Şaylan, 1996: 3). In this sense, the place to look is Germany, which is still in the process of forming its political union. The effort to transfer administration knowledge from Continental Europe to America about the end of the 19th century.

The socio-economic system, historical conditions and the role of states in these conditions have shaped the content of administration knowledge. In Continental Europe, where the state is superior in terms of its importance in the administrative tradition, public administration is seen as related to political science and administrative law. In the Anglo-American tradition, public administration is a discipline that stands out with its technical feature. Taking the discipline at the level of managerial technology and shaping it with universality and normativity is the result of defining administration by separating it from politics (Görmez, 2015: 25-27). In the Continental European tradition, “good, strong and fair administration” was aimed, while in the American tradition, this purpose was replaced by “rational and bureaucratic organization for efficient, effective management” (Kalfa, 2011: 413). Public administration in America is concerned with the positive aspects of the functioning of government; In this tradition, the legal and historical developments in Europe are not encountered. Another feature that this tradition brings from the Anglo-Saxon administrative culture is the lack of an understanding of identifying the state with the general interest or training public officials to serve the state. Instead, ideas have been developed around the efficiency and productivity of free market-oriented commercial companies (Çiner, 2021a: 12).

The question of naming the field also determines its boundaries and the framework for the research topic. The answer to the question of whether this nomenclature should be public administration or management science(s) differs in Continental European and American traditions. It is taken for granted that

administrative science is identified with the Continental European tradition and public administration with the American tradition. However, it is known that the nomenclature of public administration was used from a legal perspective in early studies (Çiner, 2021b: 342). The difference in naming the area can be seen in relation to its historical development. Because this field was wanted to be made scientific by separating it from law in Europe and politics in America. In this respect, one of the questions that comes to mind is whether administration is a technical phenomenon that can be considered separately from legal and political aspects.

Discussions about the birth of the discipline are often explained with reference to the Classical Theory, which can be seen as a continuation of Wilson and his ideas. The experience in Continental Europe is ignored, except for Fayol's contributions, which are evaluated in Classical Administration. In this respect, D. W. Martin's article titled "Déjà Vu: French Ancestors of American Public Administration" (Martin, 1987) which is an important article revealing the roots of the discipline in Continental Europe, was introduced by Karasu in the Turkish literature, and a new door was opened in the aforementioned debate (Karasu, 2004). Martin opposes the widespread idea that the founders of the discipline of public administration are American administration writers and states that the ancestors of the American public administration that developed in the 20th century should be sought in France in the 19th century (Keskin, 2006: 2). As a matter of fact, Wilson's famous study, written a century ago, emphasizes that the science examining the administration was developed in France and Germany for a centralized state structure in accordance with the needs of that geography and that it should be adapted to the American state structure (Wilson, 1887: 2). Therefore, it can be said that the historical priority in the development of the discipline is in Continental Europe.

The beginning of the process of scientificization of administration marks the 17th century and Prussia, directly related to the purpose of nation-state building. Cameral sciences have been the basis of politics, administration and law studies in German-speaking geography. In France, this tradition is called police science to maintain good order and protect the state's treasury (Çiner, 2021b: 341-342). Since administration teaching in the cameral chairs developed mainly on law and politics, the legal dimension of state administration came to the fore in both Germany and Continental Europe education (Şaylan, 2021: 6). The founders of the branch of science in the cameral period are Lorenz Von Stein and Nicolas Delamare in France, as well as Charles Jean Bonnin, who described administration as science for the first time (Çiner, 2021a: 8).

Cameralism reveals state knowledge in the axis of “strong state” practice (Kalfa, 2011: 406). Its purpose is to collect government information for its benefit. The cameralist tradition has brought the administrative law ground closer together, politically and institutionally, in France and Germany (Çiner 2021a: 9). In the French tradition, which focuses on the subject of state and administration, general public law chairs have been established. Instead of “good governance for a strong state”, “citizenship rights and duties” and the development of the rule of law have been in question (Kalfa, 2011: 406).

Cameralism, one of the roots of modern administration thought in Continental Europe, 16-17. It has undertaken the function of being a scientific supporter of the continuation of the mercantile economic system with the support of the state for centuries. Cameral sciences, which tried to systematically establish the economic and administrative principles required by absolute monarchies to make the economy strong, made administration a subject of study for the first time (Heper, 1972: 42). Cameral science chairs, which were established to meet the need for well-trained manpower for state administration, dealt with issues on economy, finance, accounting, art of management, personnel, selecting and training managers. In order to increase the power of the central state, the knowledge and technique of raising state administrators constitute the scope of cameralism (Eryılmaz, 2012: 4).

Administration science was in a very rare position among university programs in the 19th century under the dominance of administrative law in Continental Europe. In addition to its features that carry the legacy of the 17th and 18th centuries and are seen as a administration art rather than a scientific one, it has approached the field of business administration. The fact that the development of administration law was far behind, it was out of the university, and the administration schools established although it took place in some private vocational schools showed that the science of administration was not considered as a scientific but a technical subject. Due to the dominance of law, it was not thought that the administration would become an independent, non-legal discipline (Langrod, 1970: 157-159).

In France, only a program was opened in the Faculty of Law in Paris between 1956-57 for undergraduate education in political science. The Free School of Political Sciences (*écoles libre des Sciences Politiques*), which was established in 1871 to examine the extra-legal aspects of administration in terms of public administration and to train senior managers, has been the only institution (Abadan, 1956: 414). Another institution that shows that public

administration has started to gain importance is the Technical Institute of Public Administration (Institut Technique d'Administration Publique), founded in 1947. This institution, which was established by civil servants especially for the purpose of sharing the information obtained from the practices of public institutions, undertook the tasks of research, information dissemination and reform (Abadan, 1956: 416).

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Political sciences could not be among the disciplines taught in well-established universities in Germany as in France. However, some schools were established to continue undergraduate education. Hochschule für Arbeit, Politik u. These are the Wirtschaft (School of Business, Politics and Economics), the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik (German Higher School of Politics) and the Hochschule für politische Wissenschaften (School of Political Sciences) (Abadan, 1956: 418).

Wilson's work is important in the beginning of public administration in America becoming an independent discipline. With the influence of the scientific management approach that followed Wilson's thoughts, management began to be considered disconnected from politics and law and under the dominance of business discipline (Kalfa, 2011: 408). Wilson's work is important in the beginning of public administration in America becoming an independent discipline. With the influence of the scientific management approach that followed Wilson's thoughts, administration began to be considered disconnected from politics and law and under the dominance of business discipline (Şaylan, 1996: 4).

The idea of examining the field by separating it from politics can be explained by the original conditions of the United States in the years Wilson published his article. The social and economic conditions of America in the 19th century paved the way for the formation of a universal administration approach. The crises caused by industrial developments, overcoming the crises with the support of the state and through monopolization, brought about the scientificization of both public and business administration (Çakır Kantarcıoğlu and Fedai, 2020). Therefore, de-politicizing the administration is a necessity for Wilson for the functioning of the state mechanism. Achieving

this is possible with the employment of experts who work with the principle of merit in administration. Thus, the public administration has started to develop approaches that deal with it as an organization by breaking away from the legal-political Continental European tradition before it (Kalfa, 2011: 407). Ultimately, Wilson talked about the management-politics distinction in his work, and this was accepted by many circles as the chronological starting point of the field of public administration. In addition, it is thought that this has provided a systematic step towards the study and teaching of public administration in the USA. It can be said that Wilson's management perspective has transformed into efficiency-oriented public management that focuses on practice over time.

The main concern of the Classical School, starting with Wilson and extending to the 1930s, is that public administration is a separate discipline. The foundation of thought that Wilson started has been developed by Frank Goodnow, Max Weber, and Taylor with further arguments. A technically based public administration has been a goal suitable for the bureaucratic organization approach or the productivity and profitability goals of private enterprises by these authors (Kalfa, 2011: 407). POSDCORB, formulated by Gulick and Urwick in 1937 from the initials of the functions of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, supervising and budgeting, does not distinguish between private and public (Gulick, 1937: 13). In this context, the Classical School, which is composed of the founding names of American public administration thought, separates politics from administration and argues the principles of administration as general.

In addition to drawing the historical boundaries, the geography where this field of science emerged has also been the subject of discussion in the literature. Although Woodrow Wilson's study "The Study of Administration" played an unshakable founder role for many years, the excavations carried out in the area necessitated carrying the scientificization process to earlier dates. Martin's article, which he describes as a kind of rediscovery of the presumed put forward in the American public administration, of the French public administration, is interesting. Because, between the years 1812-1859, a public administration literature has emerged in France, which proposes the administration-politics distinction and its founding principles. Bonnin, Vivien, Macarel, Laboulaye and Dupin are mentioned as the names that make up this literature (Martin, 1987). However, there were direct American public administration concepts that the author sought in France; in other words, it has approved the existence of the definition of public administration accepted by its own country in another

country. However, it is not possible to ignore the administration knowledge in France or to say that it was created with American concepts and methods.

The universalist assumptions of the Classical and Neoclassical School. It is possible to say that it started to be questioned after World War II. On the one hand, American administration approaches and methods, which had the opportunity to spread to the world, on the other hand, started to experience convulsions within themselves with comparative public administration and new organizational approaches. With the assumption that the problems of the developing countries can be solved to the extent that they are likened to these ideal structures and processes, based on a certain development and modernization model (Heper and Berkman, 1979: 3) comparative public administration studies have been the product of the hegemonic view of the developed countries to the developing countries. It is clear that the organizational approaches that started to be developed in the field of business administration do not meet the historical and holistic context that public administration needs.

It is possible to say that there are faster developments in terms of institutionalization compared to Europe. In 1948, public administration was included in 117 curriculum. Besides, independent public administration faculties or institutes were established in some important universities. The Littauer Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard University, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service at New York University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Washington, Minnesota Center of Public Administration at University of Michigan and The Institute of Public and Social Administration at University of Michigan are some of them (Abadan, 1956: 402).

Today, public administration education is given at undergraduate, graduate and doctoral levels with university programs. Public administration teaching at undergraduate and graduate level worldwide, “Public Administration”, “Public Affairs”, “Public Health”, “Public Policy”, “Public Management” “Political Sciences”, “Administrative Sciences”, “Government”, “Governance” It is carried out with academic units called”. These names are also the names of the courses given in these departments (Parlak, 2015: 56).

#### **4. Public Administration in Turkey: Development and Teaching**

It is possible to say that public administration teaching in Turkey has been shaped by the American influence after the knowledge of origin existing

with the influence of the Continental Europe. The progress of the schooling process on the administration in parallel with the modernization effort of the country has brought this knowledge to be shaped by both transfer and adaptation methods. The countries that are the source of information are the countries that are the leaders in the scientific and political aspects of the period. Therefore, at the end of the 19th century, the first effect was the administrative law of France, the effect of Germany's law and business economics from the beginning of the new century to the middle, and the effect of American organization-oriented management approaches after the Second World War (Tosun and Dülger, 2021: 464).

It is seen that academic activities in the field of public administration at the undergraduate and graduate level were started with the aim that it would be appropriate for the people who will become public personnel to take office after receiving a training related to their duties, based on the need for more qualified public services provided by the state (Aykaç, 2012: 58).

The emergence of public administration discipline as a teaching branch in Turkey took place after the Second World War. The emergence of this discipline in Turkey is not unique to Turkey. In other words, the discipline has been developed by becoming a world discipline with many underdeveloped countries (Ayman Güler, 1994: 8). In this direction, regulations regarding the development of the discipline of public administration in underdeveloped countries have begun to be made, and chairs and institutes have been established on this subject. First of all, the Brazilian and Latin American Public Administration Institute was established in Rio de Janeiro in 1951, and later in 1952, the Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East (TODAIE) was established in Turkey to serve the Middle East region. Three more institutes were established in 1954 in Costa Rica for Central America, in Egypt for Arab countries, and in India under the supervision of Ford Company consultant Paul Appleby (Abadan, 1956: 420-421; Ayman Güler, 1994: 9).

In Turkey, for many years until the 1950s, public administration was studied in Administrative Law. In this sense, the emergence of public administration as a different branch of science apart from politics and law was with TODAIE, which was established in Ankara in 1953. The main task of this Institute is to develop Turkish public administration. Later, the Chair of Public Administration was established in the Faculty of Political Sciences in 1957 and its name was changed to the Chair of Public Administration in 1967 (Eryılmaz, 2018: 79). Ultimately, these steps have gone down in history as important developments in the field of public administration.

Three important stages draw attention in the construction of the public administration discipline in Turkey. The first of these was the Barker Report (IBRD, 1951: 203-204) prepared by the World Bank in 1951 and said to have introduced Turkey to management science, the second was the opening of TODAIE in 1953, depending on a technical assistance contract by the United Nations, and the third was establishment of the first “Public Administration Chair” in the Faculty of Political Sciences in Turkey in 1957 (Ertürk Keskin, 2006: 2).

In the academic years of 1952-1956 at the Faculty of Political Sciences, students from the administrative branch took twenty law, six political science and three public administration courses. Later, in TODAIE, which started teaching in 1963, courses on Local Administrations, Principles of Public Administration and Turkey’s Administrative Structure were given, and the following year there were subjects such as Personnel Management, Human Relations, Community Development, Public Relations and Organization-Method. When we look at the USA and Turkey, we see that the human relations approach was partially captured in the 1960s, while Taylorist methods were used in Turkey at that time, despite the human relations-oriented methods in the 1950s (Ayman Güler, 1994:12). Under the influence of the American public administration approach, in the 1950s, public administration teaching began to develop in Turkey as separate chairs, departments or at least as independent courses, as a result of the work and leadership of institutions such as Ankara University (AU) SBF and TODAIE. Later, by establishing the Department of Public Administration of the Faculty of Administrative Sciences of Middle East Technical University (METU), which was established in 1956 and developed in the 1960s, it started to teach public administration with an Anglo-American approach. In the 1970s, Boğaziçi University, Faculty of Administrative Sciences, Department of Social Sciences started teaching English as medium instruction. Again in the late 1970s, Istanbul University Faculty of Political Sciences started public administration teaching. (Ömürgönülşen, 2010: 129-130).

When we look at the 1970s in the discipline of public administration in Turkey, the use of foreign models and micro-theoretical terms in the analyzes of the studies is evaluated as not being creative and adopting the normative approach (Ayman Güler, 1994: 14). Another development in the 1970s was the transition to public administration education in departments, colleges or faculties established in institutions such as Ankara Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences-AİTIA and Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences-İİTIA within the body of academies of economic and

commercial sciences in some big cities. In addition, public administration teaching was started at the higher school level in the School of Administration and Administration (SİYO), which was established in 1974 under TODAİE. Again, in the 1970s, it is seen that the number of academicians, especially those with doctorates abroad, increased in the field of public administration. When we came to the 1980s, activities related to public administration education started in universities in big cities, especially in Hacettepe University (Ömürgönül, 2010: 130).

In the 1980s, while the discipline of public administration in the USA continued to include the previous concepts, it also revealed the concept of public management and shaped the faculty programs in this direction. In Turkey, in the same direction, the administration literature started to shift from the researcher-theoretic basis to the practical basis in these years. Therefore, it shifted from the fields of sociology, administration and psychology in the 1970s, and started to be fed from the field of business in the 1980s. In this context, concepts such as total quality management and quality circles have become familiar concepts for public administration students in public administration teaching (Ayman Güler, 1994: 15-16). Therefore, the understanding of management regarding the downsizing of the state that emerged in these years began to dominate the field of public administration and the content of public administration education in Turkey began to change in this direction. Accordingly, in the public administration departments of many universities in Turkey, we encounter similar courses with the names of Contemporary Approaches in Public Administration (Kalkışım, 2012: 6), New Visions in Public Administration, and it is seen that their contents integrate the understanding of business management into public administration.

With the Higher Education Law No. 2547 dated 1981 and the regulations made regarding this law, Public Administration started to become widespread as a department in the Faculties of Political Sciences and the Faculties of Economics and Administrative Sciences. In addition to this, four departments were established within the scope of the Public Administration departments, namely Administration Sciences, Political and Social Sciences, Urbanization and Environmental Problems, and Law Sciences. Thus, these departments have begun to be seen as sub-disciplines of Public Administration (Eryılmaz, 2018: 80). In Turkey, it is seen that public administration teaching continues with departments called “Political Science and Public Administration” or “Public Administration”, especially as it is examined in the table and graphic below.

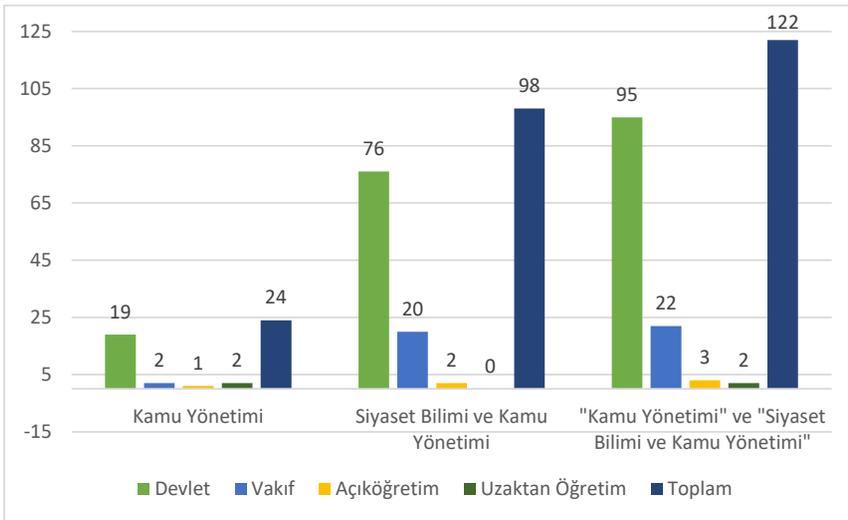
**Table 1:** State Universities Providing Teaching in the Field of Public Administration in Turkey.

DEPARTMENTS	UNIVERSITIES
<b>Public Administration</b>	Atatürk University (Daytime Teaching-Secondary Teaching), Adnan Menderes University (DT-ST), Bitlis Eren University, Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University (DT-ST), Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University (DT-ST), Dokuz Eylül University (DT-ST), Gaziantep University, Harran University, Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University (DT-ST), Karadeniz Technical University, Dumlupınar University (DT-ST), Celal Bayar University (DT-ST), Mersin University, Sıtkı Koçman University (DT-ST), Hacı Bektaş Veli University (DT-ST), Ömer Halis Demir University, Gaziosmanpaşa University, Uşak University (DT-ST), Yüzüncü Yıl University.
<b>Political Science and Public Administration</b>	Middle East Technical University, Ankara University, Hacettepe University, Marmara University, Ankara Social Sciences University, Istanbul University, Marmara University, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University, Istanbul Medeniyet University, Istanbul Medeniyet University (English), Eskişehir Osmangazi University (DT-ST), Anadolu University, Bursa Uludağ University (DT-ST), Akdeniz University (DT-ST), Kocaeli University (DT-ST), Ondokuz Mayıs University, İzmir Katip Çelebi University, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University (DT-ST), Sakarya University (DT-ST), Erciyes University, Gaziantep University, İzmir Democracy University, Selçuk University (DT-ST), Pamukkale University (DT-ST), Necmettin Erbakan University (DT-ST), Balıkesir University, Yalova University, Samsun University, Tekirdağ Namık Kemal University, Aydın Adnan Menderes University (DT-ST), Adana Alparslan Türkeş Science and Technology University of Technology, Adıyaman University, Afyon Kocatepe University (DT-ST), Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen University, Aksaray University, Amasya University, Ardahan University, Artvin Çoruh University, Balıkesir University, Bandırma Onyedil Eylül University (DT-ST), Bartın University, Batman University, Bayburt University, Bilecik Şeyh Edebali University (DT-ST), Bingöl University, Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy University, Çankırı Karatekin University, Dicle University (DT-ST), Düzce University, Düzce University (English), Erzincan Binali Yıldırım University, Fırat University, Giresun University, Gümüşhane University, Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Hitit University, Hitit University (English), Iğdır University, İnönü University (DT-ST), İstanbul University, Kafkas University, Karabük University (DT-ST), Karamanoğlu Mehmetbey University, Kastamonu University, Kırıkkale University (DT-ST), Kırıkkale University (DT-ST), Kırşehir Ahi Evran University, Kilis 7 Aralık University, Munzur University, Muş Alparslan University, Ordu University, Osmaniye Korkut Ata University, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University, Siirt University, Sinop University, Sivas Cumhuriyet University, Süleyman Demirel University (DT-ST), Şırnak University, Tarsus University, Trakya University (DT-ST), Yozgat Bozok University, Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University (DT-ST).

**Source:** Prepared by the authors in line with the data obtained from YÖK Undergraduate Atlas.

In Table 1, state universities continuing their education in the field of public administration in Turkey are categorized as those continuing education under the name of “Public Administration” and those continuing education under the name of “Political Science and Public Administration”, and the names of the universities with these departments are indicated. In addition, in the universities where the departments are located, this information is included in parentheses, as well as the universities that continue daytime teaching-secondary teaching and English education.

**Figure 1: Numerical Data for Departments**



**Source:** Prepared by the authors in line with the data obtained from YÖK Undergraduate Atlas.

As seen in Figure 1, the public administration department; it continues teaching in 19 state and 2 foundation universities, as well as in state universities, 1 open teaching and 2 distance education faculties. Political Science and Public Administration department; it continues its teaching in 76 state and 20 foundation universities and in 2 open teaching faculties, again in state universities. Finally, there are a total of 122 departments continuing teaching in Turkey, including 95 state universities, 22 foundation universities, 3 open teaching and 2 distance education faculties providing teaching in the field of public administration.

Today, as an academic discipline, in the departments called public administration teaching, Public Administration or Political Science and

Public Administration; It consists of disciplines called Political Science, Administration Science, Law Science and Urbanization and Environment, in other words, departments. The stages of higher education, which include public administration, appear in the form of associate degree, undergraduate, graduate and doctorate. Public administration departments operating in many universities around the world are known by names such as Public Administration, Public Affairs, Public Health, Political Sciences, Public Management, Public Policy, Administrative Sciences (Parlak, 2015: 55-56).

## **5. Conclusion**

Examining the administration phenomenon and the historical development process of public administration also reveals the scientificization and teaching of this field of practice. Reflections on the administration practice of the imperatives of living together and its development are simultaneous with the long-term existence of society. Public administration, on the other hand, is a phenomenon belonging to a certain time period of this process. The mentioned time period is the formation and development process of the modern state.

Public administration is the body of knowledge developed to make the modern state work in the West. Since continental Europe and America differ in terms of their political and historical conditions, there are some differences in the content of this information. The knowledge of monarchical administration required to achieve political unity in Europe determined the origin of the field of legal knowledge necessary for Cameralism and the modern state of law. On the other hand, in America, the administration knowledge needed to get rid of political corruption has developed with its technical and practical oriented features.

In the historical development of the discipline of public administration, the change and transformation that emerged as a result of the discussions made within the framework of the approaches, understandings and theories that it has undergone since its emergence has been effective in the development of public administration teaching. Public administration and public administration teaching have been developing and intertwined in parallel since the process that started with the birth of the discipline. In this context, the discipline of public administration, which was handled together with politics, morality and administrative law at the beginning, and then shifted towards a managerial understanding in order to get rid of this situation, shapes the public administration teaching in line with these disciplines. Therefore, as a result of the struggles of

the discipline of public administration with other disciplines in order to gain its independence, public administration teaching also develops and takes shape in this direction.

Public administration discipline and teaching process in Turkey are largely transfer-based. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the administration knowledge, which progressed with a legal perspective with the modernization of the state, was forgotten after the Second World War and reconstructed under the leadership of the United States. This founding feature of the discipline has survived in its historical development. Theorists, subjects and methods in public administration teaching are not yet born from the territory of the country.

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## CHAPTER III

# CONSTRUCTING THE THEORY IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION\*

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### 1. Scientificity of Public Administration Theory

To be able to speak of a scientific and systematic theory of public administration requires that the ideas, understandings and theories put forward under the umbrella of this theory should be scientifically based. In this context, the expression of a public administration theory compressed under certain boundaries and ideas should express intersection, fusion and common consensus in the mentioned areas.

#### 1.1. What is a Theory?

Science consists of a systematic set of knowledge (İçli, 2009: 2). In addition to being based on a rational structure, science is formed and developed through theoretical and factual knowledge developed depending on various perspectives

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\* In the preparation of this study; the authors' work, titled "Introduction to Public Administration Theories", published in Turkey in Değişim Publications in 2020, was used.

(Güriz, 2010: 4). As a matter of fact, theory, which is one of the building blocks of science, is a Greek word meaning “looking, seeing, constructing, thinking”. In addition, it corresponds to the word “contemplare” in Latin, which means “looking carefully, observing, testing, examining, thinking” (Taşdelen, 2003: 152). Theory can also be defined as a set of integrated definitions, assumptions and general propositions about the relationships between events (Seyidoğlu, 1995: 13; Gaus, 1950: 161). In other words, theory emerges from the relationship between observed phenomena and “hypothetical” concepts based on the imaginary world (Sargut, 2012: 3).

A scientific study is based on the elements of theory, assumption and hypothesis (Baloğlu, 2005: 125-126). In short, if the hypothesis, which can be expressed as “predicting the solution” (Ünsal, 2002: 12; Yıldırım, 2005: 113), is supported by facts, a theory emerges from the whole of these relationships and assumptions (Seyidoğlu, 1995: 14). Therefore, a theory can be considered as a verified hypothesis that always contains the possibility of “falsification” (Koçel, 2011: 32).

On the other hand, theorizing according to scientific methods in the field of social sciences is quite difficult compared to natural sciences. Because the essence of social sciences consists of human and social relations. In this case, since people’s behaviors and social interaction patterns can change rapidly from time to time and according to the culture, it is a difficult process to determine precise, proven knowledge and theories in social sciences (Tortop et al., 1999: 11). Therefore, there are significant differences between natural sciences and social sciences in terms of scientific method and specific characteristics (İçli, 2009: 10).

The concepts or “wholes” used in the humanities does not often contain empirical data. Many examples can be given: monopoly, feudalism, army, community, capitalism, state, trade, revolution, etc. These phenomena are not tangible, and therefore not observable and not graspable. What can be grasped are only the elements and relations of these totalities. Since these are theoretical organizations, it is out of the question for them to show reproducible characteristics to the extent of physical laws and to be framed by universal principles (Freund, 1997: 97).

### ***1.2. Is a Theory of Public Administration Possible? Classification of Public Administration Theories***

As mentioned before, public administration emerged as a discipline with a positive social science systematic based on certain concepts, understandings,

assumptions and theories, firstly in the USA in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Nohutçu, 2011: 309; Kalkışım, 2011) and the historical development of the discipline shows that public administration was tried to be separated from political science and legal literature and its unique aspects were attempted to be identified. Public administration as a discipline has its origins in the German and French administrative and legal literature of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

When we look at the theories put forward and used during the development of public administration as a discipline, if the political and legal aspects are ignored, the discipline has been predominantly based on organizational theories. This has led to the loss of the support public administration has received from other disciplines and to the blurring of scientific theories, which are important cornerstones in the formation of the discipline. In this case, in order to place the theories of public administration at the desired level, the assumptions and theories of other disciplines that are thought or assumed to have influenced the discipline of public administration should also be explained in relation to public administration. Preferring such a method in terms of public administration theories is important in terms of ensuring the interaction and integrity of the public administration discipline with other disciplines.

In the academic literature, in the past, public administration theories were mostly associated and discussed in relation to organizational (business) theories (Üstüner, 2003: 365; Nohutçu, 2011: 310). However, the discipline of public administration has a behavioral dimension in addition to its technical and normative features (Dahl, 1947: 4; Simon, 1947: 200). Therefore, public administration has public characteristics (Frederickson as cited in Cığeroğlu and Özgür, 2011: 284). As a matter of fact, examination of the foreign and the Turkish public administration literature are examineds showed that there is no comprehensive public administration theory or theories that fit into a specific field. In the academic literature, public administration theories are mostly expressed in terms of theories in organizational science. However, the field of public administration discipline and practice consists not only of public administration organizations and activities, but also of the relations between the state and the whole society. Therefore, public administration is not only an “administrative” process but also a “political” process (Tolay, 2011: 47-48). The tendency to see the discipline of public administration as a self-sufficient field of administration, neglecting its characteristic of being a part of the state, has caused confusion and uncertainty in the discipline (Güler, 2003: 531). On the other hand, the discipline of public administration cannot be considered independent from the influences and criticisms of political, organizational and

social theories in which it is located as an intersection (Şaylan, 2003: 574). It was mentioned that public administration, which is also related to theories from different disciplines, cannot develop around an “integrated center” and as a result, it experiences identity crises (Özen, 1995: 71). In this context, in order to eliminate this ambiguity and confusion in the discipline of public administration and to be able to talk about a theory or theories of public administration, theories based on social, political, ideological and economic concepts, assumptions and understandings surrounding public administration should be supported.

Theoretical thinking in public administration is based on the assumptions of all relations that occur in relation to concrete relations or concepts formed in the mind. To be able to talk about theories of public administration in a scientific sense, it is possible to determine how the discipline is influenced by the disciplines that are more related to it in a broad sense and how this influence brings about changes in the discipline (Frederickson et al., 2012: 4-8). For this purpose, it is imperative to explain in a systematic and rational way how the discipline of public administration follows a path within the framework of concepts, understandings, assumptions and theories specific to certain disciplines that affect it and how it affects them in the opposite direction, to determine the impact of political ideologies on the science of public administration, and to emphasize the scientificness of the theory or theories of public administration.

## **2. A Brief Introduction to Public Administration Theories**

Public administration is a social and political discipline and organizational structure, as has been frequently emphasized before. Therefore, all these elements should be taken into consideration for a theory of public administration (Doğan and Uğur, 2020; Yılmaz Uğur, 2021). As a matter of fact, public administration is a social discipline as well as a political one. In this respect, in order to create a coherent theory of public administration, it is essential to explain public administration in a scientific jargon by associating it with political, economic, social and organizational theories.

Theories of public administration can only be explained under certain sub-headings by revealing their relations with each other. In shaping public administration around certain theories, it is first necessary to look at the movements of “modernism” and “postmodernism”. As a matter of fact, different state and public administration structures emerge in these different periods. Moreover, modernism and postmodernism affect not only the discipline of public administration but also all disciplines in the field of social sciences.

In this respect, a discussion of modernism-postmodernism in terms of public administration theories will provide a basis for the subject.

Following this, the analysis of theories in public administration can be handled under other determined headings after this “periodization” is clarified. As a matter of fact, organizational theory analysis, social, political, ideological and economic theories can be analyzed in the explanation of public administration theories. In this way, it can be revealed how the discipline of public administration is influenced by these different theories and how it determines its direction. At a more advanced stage, the impact of assumptions and currents in certain areas of the public administration discipline on gaining the characteristics of a theory can be discussed. In addition to all these, establishing a relationship between political ideologies and public administration, which emerged as a product of the historical process (political, social and economic), can provide important clues in terms of the course of theory or theories in public administration.

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## CHAPTER IV

# PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND BUREAUCRACY

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### 1. Introduction

**B**ureaucracy has a significant place in the Public Administration discipline. The state, which has shown a continuous growth trend since the 1929 Great Depression, continues to grow, although it downsized a little with The New Right movement in the 1970s. Regardless of what measures are taken, states have spent more in every period than in previous periods. There are several reasons for the state's continued growth. In such a case, as the state grew, the bureaucracy grew in parallel.

In the legislative, executive, and judicial organs, which are the three main powers of the state, bureaucracy takes place not only in the executive but also in the legislature and the judiciary. As a mechanism involved in such a widespread and direct practice, bureaucracy has always attracted the attention of politicians, and there have been such areas of harmony and conflict between these two. In countries where despotism is dominant, the king rules the bureaucracy with everything, almost tying its hands. In such countries, it is not possible to think of bureaucracy separately from the will of the king (sovereign). In democratic countries, bureaucracy operates under politics, that is, it is the politicians who dominate. The bureaucracy is obliged to implement the rules and laws set by

the legislature under the orders and instructions of the political institution. Depending on rules is already one of the prominent features of bureaucracy. Therefore, bureaucracy can be expressed as a mechanism that operates the state in accordance with the rules. In this context, politicians make decisions, while the bureaucracy implements the decisions taken within this framework.

This study firstly discusses the concept of bureaucracy and its different definitions and features. Then, it explains bureaucracy theories. Afterward, it examines the advantages and disadvantages of bureaucracy and the development of bureaucracy in Turkey. The study was prepared with a qualitative method.

## **2. The Concept of Bureaucracy: Definition and Features**

When we look at the origin of the word bureaucracy, it will be seen that it is based in ancient Greek. The word “bureau” at the beginning of the word comes from the Latin word “burrus” used to describe dark, gloomy colors. “La bure”, which comes from the same root, means the cover laid on the tables. While the word bureau used to mean a desk, it was used to refer to an entire room that was later used as an office. The second part of the word, “craite”, means power, domination and indicates a form of government. The concept of bureaucracy, as used today, was used for the first time in the 18th century by the French Minister of Commerce, Vincent de Gournay, and then it has been used in many languages (Özer et al., 2015: 244). Therefore, bureaucracy as a term is of French origin. It has become a concept used in all languages today, describing a class and the mentalities of that class, such as “aristocracy, bourgeoisie, technocracy” (Kabaklı, 2002: 9).

The discipline of public administration is often said to be an American invention, although the French does not accept it as such. Woodrow Wilson is considered to be the first theorist of public administration. Wilson claimed that public administration is a scientific field and aimed to reveal the difference between politics and administration. According to him, public administration, therefore, bureaucracy is another field separate from politics. In this case, the bureaucracy would be able to carry out the duties assigned to it impartially, stay out of political influence, and serve the public directly. This debate, which started with Wilson, has dominated the public administration and political science literature (Öztürk, 2017: 15).

The bureaucracy is a state organization that occupies a great place in the state, consists of the appointed officials, and implements the laws. While implementing the laws, bureaucrats also receive orders and instructions from

politicians. Their difference from politicians is that they have a good command of the legislation and can solve complex issues. Although bureaucracy has a different weight in countries, it continues to exist as an essential element of states. Since bureaucracy has a cumbersome structure, it is hard to mobilize it. This is why conflicts between elected politicians and bureaucrats often arise. It can also be seen that disagreements turn into conflicts during the periods when the scope of the duty of politics begins to expand and that of bureaucracy narrows (Şener, 2022: 211).

The bureaucracy, which corresponds to a negative understanding among the people as “go today, come tomorrow,” is used in the sense of inefficiency, rulemaking, paperwork, and avoidance of responsibility (Gökçe et al., 2002: 47). It is generally used in four senses. The first one is red tape, which is frequently used among people and has a negative connotation. Second, it means the structures established and functioning to produce public goods and services. Third, it refers to the civil servants who implement the decisions taken by the politicians. The fourth is the meaning that explains bureaucracy as an organization and the functioning mechanism of this organization. This fourth definition is known as the German thinker Max Weber’s bureaucratic model or Weberian bureaucracy theory (Öztaş, 2015:140-142). Weber stated that division of labor, authority, hierarchy, written rules, filing, impersonality, a disciplined structure, and an organization composed of official cadres are essential elements of bureaucracy. In this sense, he described bureaucracy as a rational form of administration. Stability and order come to the fore in this form of administration since the rules are determined in advance (Özer et al., 2015:136).

In democratic governments, the bureaucracy carries out its activities strictly dependent on the law and the budget. It is not the duty of civil servants and judges to question what should be done to ensure the public interest and how public resources should be spent. The authority here belongs to the sovereign-the people- and their representatives. Military and civil bureaucracy fulfill their duties to the extent that the law orders them, and the budget allows. It is the policymakers, not the bureaucracy, that is the sovereign in the country. In a despotic oppressive government, the king tries to limit the powers of the bureaucracy by issuing directives and instructions. He tells governors and subordinates what to do when a problem arises through laws, decrees, and statutes. In such an administration, discretion is limited, and the only duty of the bureaucracy is to comply with the regulations. Besides, since there is no room for arbitrariness, the bureaucracy only needs to implement the regulations. Here,

the bureaucracy does not try to solve every problem in the best way it can and does not worry about finding the most appropriate solution for them. Hence, its primary concern is to comply with rules and regulations, not a reasonable or intended goal. The virtue of bureaucracy in despotism is full compliance with laws and decrees. One becomes a bureaucrat only in this way (Mises, 1983: 43-45).

### 3. Bureaucracy Theories

The German sociologist Max Weber was the first scholar to bring a scientific perspective to bureaucracy. Weber dealt with bureaucracy as a form of organization and management. After Weber, the scientific value of bureaucracy increased, and the studies on bureaucracy intensified as a form of organization and administration, especially in the United States of America after World War II (Dursun, 1992: 134).

#### 3.1. *Weberian Bureaucracy*

Max Weber built his theory of bureaucracy on his political analysis of Prussia (Duverger, 1975: 186). According to Weber, bureaucracy is the most effective and efficient form of organization. If an analogy is to be made, the superiority of the bureaucracy over the other forms of organization is to the same extent as the machine production is superior to the production made by traditional methods. Bureaucratic organizations are much more effective and efficient than their counterparts. Continuity, precision, rationality, specialization, speed, and discipline are involved in the good functioning of bureaucracy in this way. For this reason, bureaucracy is both a secure and an effective form of organization that can affect many areas (Polatoğlu, 2001:39). Weber, who contributed greatly to the development and systematization of bureaucracy, defined it as an organization consisting of a division of labor, authority, hierarchy, written rules, filing of correspondence and activities, impersonality, a disciplined structure, and official positions. Noting that a bureaucratic organization with these features is an ideal type of bureaucracy, he stated that such a type does not exist and that an organization reaches the ideal type at the level it approaches these criteria (Akçakaya, 2016: 276).

Weber summarized the rules of bureaucracy as follows (Aydın, 2006: 65):

- There is the principle of rules regulated by laws and regulations, predetermined and official jurisdictions in administration.

- Levels of authority are gradual and there is a subordinate relationship with the principles of hierarchical duties, which ensures that the lower-level officers are controlled by the higher-level officials.
- Administration is based on documents and therefore a large lower-level staff and editorial staff are employed, each of which is called a department.
- As a form of administration, bureaucracy requires specialized training. Bureaucracy is governed by general rules. These rules are learnable rules with a certain stability and scope.
- The activity carried out in the office or department structure is well established and requires the officer there to use his full working capacity. In other words, in bureaucracy, work is a profession for the official, and official duties are not secondary duties as they used to be.

### ***3.1.1. Weber's Typology of Authority***

Weber tried to explain why people obey those who hold power with his authority typology, considering the historical process and social developments. Charismatic authority, traditional authority and legal/rational authority are three types of authority according to him. In Weber's typology of authority, the reasons for people's obedience and the belief in the legitimacy of authority appear in different ways for each type of authority (Dursun, 1992: 137).

#### ***3.1.1.1. Charismatic Authority***

It is a type of authority that is formed as a result of the belief in a leader with an innate personality and charisma. This authority does not originate from tradition and may even develop in an opposite direction. The only important thing is faith in the extraordinary abilities and charisma of the leader. Leaders with this type of authority usually emerge in times of crisis (Eryılmaz, 2019: 272).

#### ***3.1.1.2. Traditional Authority***

Weber named the type of sovereignty that claims legitimacy based on the sanctity of rules and powers that have existed since the past times as traditional authority. Here, the person or persons at the head of the authority come to power within the framework of traditional rules. The obligation to obey comes from the power of the ruler's authority, which he derives from tradition. This type of authority is based on a learned sense of personal attachment. The head of authority is a master, not a superior. Officers are personal servants, not civil servants. The governed people are also not members of the community, that is,

citizens. They are either traditionally friends or subjects of the power holder. What determines the relations between civil servants and administrators is not the obligations of the civil servant but their loyalty to the ruler (Ekşi, 2010: 195). The legitimacy of those who derive their power from tradition in this type of authority is sacred. The orders and instructions given by the person seen as the master are usually arbitrary and personal. He makes the appointments in the bureaucracy completely based on the traditions (Özkurt, 2020: 87).

### ***3.1.1.3. Legal/Rational Authority***

It is based on the presupposition that rationally regulated laws are valid, and the leaders elected based on these laws should be considered legitimate. Those with authority are elected and appointed following the law and are responsible for maintaining the legal order. Weber added the expression “rational” to this type of authority. Those who use authority are legitimate as long as they act in accordance with reason and law. Weber defined the administrative organization dependent on legal authority as bureaucracy (Arslan, 2005: 248).

## ***3.2. Marxist Theory of Bureaucracy***

Marx is not an organizational theorist, but he has views on bureaucracy. He sees the rulers of the modern state as a union in the service of the bourgeoisie. The state, therefore, represents the protection of the private interests of a very small part of society. Marxist scholars have made a distinction between rule-making and governing. While governing is the conduct of the routine and day-to-day affairs of the state, rule-making is the making of fundamental decisions about political processes. Marxists have said that since the bourgeoisie makes the rules, it doesn't matter who does the job of governing. With reference to this point of view, the bureaucracy is, in a sense, placed in a position under the command of the bourgeoisie. As such, the bureaucracy becomes one of the many existing servants of the ruling class. Bureaucrats choose to maintain the status quo. How they are appointed is also often strictly regulated. People who are likely to conflict with the current power holders are not assigned here. For this reason, reactions against the rhetoric of the rulers do not take place in the bureaucracy. In addition, Marx states that hierarchy and secrecy are two significant features of bureaucracy, where power and formality are crucial. Moreover, bureaucrats put their interests ahead of the interests of society (Balçı, 2005: 323-324).

Marx's views on bureaucracy arose from his criticism of Hegel. Hegel sees bureaucracy as a structure that connects the state and society. According to Hegel, while civil society serves private interests, the public sector takes care of the public interest. Bureaucracy, or public administration, provides the link between these two interests. Marx approved this analysis as a form but criticizes it as content (Akçakaya, 2016: 679-680). Marx saw bureaucracy as a mechanism to support the interests of the bourgeois class and the capitalist system. Unlike Hegel, Marx saw the state not as a mechanism aimed at realizing the general interest of society but as a tool that maintains the domination of the ruling class over other classes. The primary function of the bureaucracy is to protect the status quo and the privileges of the ruling class (Eryılmaz, 2019: 263).

#### **4. Advantages and Disadvantages of Bureaucracy**

There are some concerns about bureaucratic power seen as a threat to the principle of accountability. Namely, the fact that civil servants can control the flow of information so that they can guess what information the politicians have, and the opportunities and expertise they obtain as full-time public servants are among the main sources of this power. It is possible to exercise control over the bureaucracy in various ways. By creating a public accountability mechanism, bureaucrats can be held accountable to the minister, parliament, courts, or ombudsmen. In addition, public service can be politicized to reflect the ideology of power. Counter-bureaucracy institutions can also be established to increase the alternatives in consultancy and to strengthen the hands of elected politicians (Heywood, 2016: 463).

In developing countries, traditional and modern institutions function together. In these countries, bureaucracy is not a product of the society itself but has a structure that is copied from a developed country and incorporates its characteristics. The fact that other institutions other than the bureaucracy are weak- or even absent- makes the bureaucrats in these countries a pressure group in the face of politics. In developing countries, political institutions are getting weaker and bureaucratic institutions are getting stronger. However, the ruling parties keep order in modern countries. In such an order, bureaucrats work in the direction determined by political power and thus fulfill their responsibilities toward society and the state (Durgun, 2012: 244).

Bureaucratic institutions should not be blamed for the growth of the public sector alone -or these views should not be respected. The use of authority in the

public sphere has some effects on the way it is taken from the elected organs and given to the bureaucracy. It is not right to adopt the cynical view that bureaucratic institutions are only concerned with the growth of their budgets. However, it is not possible to accept the naiver view that institutions are only concerned with the fulfillment of their duties determined by the constitution and laws. The truth probably lies somewhere in between. Attempts to build a bureaucratic empire may be closely linked to the desire of institutions to survive and to fulfill the tasks they must do for a higher standard of living for society. For example, it would be fair to say that the Pentagon's attempts to increase the military budget to meet its own needs in the USA, Department of Defense officials believe that this is a necessary service for society (Peters, 2001: 23).

The bureaucracy, which has preserved its value until today, seems to continue to be talked about in the future. It is an organization that is constantly complained about but still not abandoned. The conflicts between the power of bureaucracy and politics also affect the quality of public services from time to time. Politicians carry out their decisions through the bureaucracy. Therefore, it is necessary that politics and bureaucracy work in harmony. The incompatibility between these two structures directly affects the service quality. Such a large organization has social, political, legal and technical problems. The solution is not the destruction of the whole bureaucratic structure but the determination of its failing aspects and planning a structural reform. The efficient use of resources is also crucial here (Özkurt, 2020: 93).

Apart from all these features, two main problems of bureaucracy come to the fore. These can be examined under two headings: organizational and operational problems. Organizational problems can be listed as centralism, organizational growth, secrecy and isolation, and conservatism in administration. On the other hand, operational problems can be briefly summarized as prescriptivism, avoidance of responsibility, politicization, nepotism, corruption, bribery, and finally, executing transactions through intermediaries (Eryılmaz, 2019: 273-274).

## **5. Development of Bureaucracy in Turkey**

The Ottoman bureaucracy functioned well during its rise. However, this system became unbalanced, corrupted, and inoperable in the following years due to the lack of attention and care. The deterioration of the system became more evident in the 18th century, and the state was described "as a sick man" by Western countries. In the 19th century, this deterioration in the state mechanism was

seen by everyone, and some critical steps were taken to fix it (Tortop et al., 2017: 443). At the beginning of the 19th century, the central bureaucracy, which was the assistant of the sultan in a sense, was located right next to the palace under the name of “Bab-ı Âli.” Most of the people working here came from the executive class, which is called the “kalemiye” (Findley, 1994: 5). During the Tanzimat period, the bureaucracy left the status of a servant like ordinary Ottoman subjects and became a partner in political power to fulfill the duty of modernization. In the Westernization process of the Ottoman state, the duties of the state were diversified, and accordingly, there was an increase in the influence and power of the bureaucracy. In this way, bureaucracy has become an effective actor in dominating and transforming society (Göküş, 2022: 104).

In the beginning, the Ottoman bureaucracy had a simpler structure rather than a complex one. During the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror, the central organization of the Ottoman bureaucracy was further strengthened. In the Ottoman state, where centralism was dominant, the authorities were concentrated in the hands of the palace. There was a structure where decisions were taken in the center, and strict adherence to laws and rules was essential. Traditionalism was dominant, so it was essential to maintain the current situation and resist innovations. It was also elitist. The education and training of the bureaucrats were carried out according to the traditions. Its elitist feature is closely related to the method of personnel training for public duties (Canman, 1995: 248).

The Ottoman bureaucracy was divided into four as “*İlmiye*”, “*Mülkiye*”, “*Seyfiye*,” and “*Kalemiye*”. The *İlmiye* (Scientific) class consisted mainly of civil servants working in the religious, judicial, and educational services. *Kadis*, regents, *imams*, professors, muftis, and *kazaskers* constituted the *İlmiye* class. The *Mülkiye* (Administrative) class consisted of high-level public administrators, among them the grand vizier, the viziers, the *beylerbeyi* (governor), and the *sancakbeyi* (district governor). Civil servants were educated and trained in the *Enderun*. The *Seyfiye* (Military) class consisted of military personnel other than the command level. Finally, the *Kalemiye* (Secretary) class consisted of clerks dealing with official records and correspondence (Eryılmaz, 2019: 289).

The bureaucracy, which was functioning during the rise of the Ottoman state, deteriorated significantly in the decline of the state. Reform movements were started to fix this situation by imitating Western countries during the Selim III period. Then, during the Mahmud II period, practices such as the establishment of a new modern army, the opening of military and civilian schools that provide modern education, and the creation of ministries gained momentum

(Işıkçı and Kocaoğlu, 2020: 308). The importance of military bureaucracy in the development of bureaucracy in Turkey is an undeniable fact. The reason for this is the belief that the rebuilding of the country, which has just come out of the war, can be done by the cadres who won the war. Another reason is that the constituent assembly is composed of those who have military backgrounds to a large extent (Genç, 2019: 119).

## 6. Result

Bureaucracy is a structure that has become more valuable since the establishment of the state in the modern sense and has taken place more or less in all the states that have existed in history. Although it has strong and weak sides, it has still continued its existence as a unique organization. Bureaucracy is neither a perpetually evil foe nor a friend that can be fully trusted. Bureaucracy can do very well under a strong control mechanism.

It is usual for such a gigantic structure, which takes place in all mechanisms of the state, to have political, social, legal, and technical problems. The problems like incompatibility or struggle with the political institution also cause the quality of services to decrease. This struggle between the two structures can be overcome with some structural reforms. The reforms to be carried out will take the bureaucracy further. The bureaucracy will continue to maintain its ideal type, with the efficient use of resources, by identifying the failing aspects.

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## CHAPTER V

# A STRUCTURAL EXAMINATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION FROM PAST TO PRESENT

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### **1. Introduction**

**G**lobalization, defined as the process of creating an economic whole in the world, gained speed and importance after 1980. With globalization, the barriers to international trade are gradually being reduced, in other words, the world economy is liberalized. In this process, significant progress has been made in liberalizing the world economy so far. In parallel with the globalization process, it is observed that rapid and comprehensive developments have taken place in the field of technology and these developments accelerate the globalization process. The globalization movement has led to the emergence of many important developments in the global dimension. One of the important developments brought about by globalization on a global scale is the phenomenon of transition from local competition to global competition, with the continuous increase in competition and the ever-hardening competition. Indeed, perhaps the most obvious result of the globalization that marked the last quarter of the 20th century is the intensification of competition with increasing intensity. The emergence of globalization and competition on a global scale has undoubtedly forced countries and companies to think globally (Bilgin, 2001:9).

Increasing competition with globalization has led both countries and companies to search for a number of ways to increase their competitiveness. In other words, in the new global economic environment, countries have needed to change their old protective policies and institutions with methods that will

make them more competitive and effective. The restructuring of the public administration, also called state reform or public sector reform, came to the fore in this period as one of the main issues on the agenda of the countries.

In this process, many countries saw the restructuring of public administration as a necessity to adapt to the globalizing world and increasing competition. In the framework of the search to adapt to global competition, restructuring efforts in public administration have come to the fore in many countries, especially after 1990. Restructuring efforts in public administration have become one of the main discussion areas in Turkey in recent years. However, in addition to global developments, other factors have also been influential in the introduction of reform efforts in public administration into Turkey's agenda. The severe economic crises we have experienced and the corruption incidents that shook public opinion can be cited as examples of these factors. The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the restructuring debates in public administration in Turkey in general and to try to propose an alternative model for restructuring in public administration. In this context, in the study, the subject of restructuring in e-public administration will be examined in general. Then, it will be discussed what are the factors that make restructuring obligatory in Turkish public administration. Afterwards, the restructuring efforts in Turkish public administration after 1980 will be discussed. At the end of the study, an alternative model proposal will be put forward for restructuring in public administration.

Neoliberal policies, the impact and prevalence of which have increased with the globalization process, have led to a change in the role and structure of the state. With globalization, the state given an interventionist, redistributive and directing role that the capitalist system entered before, was seen as responsible for the crisis, and therefore liberal discourses advocating that the state should be downsized have become widespread globally. With the implementation of the demands pointed out by these discourses, great transformations have begun to occur in the political and administrative structures of the countries. These transformations are realized through administrative reform initiatives. The effects of this development are also seen in Turkish public administration. Neoliberal restructuring processes in public services have started to show their effects in Turkey since the 1980s, and serious steps have been taken towards this transformation in Turkish Public Administration since the beginning of the 2000s. The most serious steps towards transformation in this line have been taken since the beginning of the 2000s.

## 2. Restructuring in the Public Administration

The legacy from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic includes a wide spectrum from economy to social area and from culture to administration (Eryilmaz, 1995: 341).

The theoretical infrastructure of the practices called new public management, having found wide application in many countries that have developed public administration reform programs, especially in developed western countries since the 1980s was inspired by the new right-wing ideology that increased its criticism against the “interventionist state” since the 70s. II. During the interventionist state period, which emerged as a result of welfare policies after World War II, the field of activity of the state expanded rapidly and in parallel with this expansion, citizens began to demand more services, higher quality and lower cost from the state. However, citizens that constantly demand more public services from governments, naturally don't want to pay more taxes to finance this service. This situation has led the states to seek solutions to produce maximum services and products with the scarce resources of the public, without paying more taxes (Canpolat and Cangir, 2010: 27).

In the period after 1980, when competition became increasingly global, the expectations of the people from the administration increased and a better quality administration became almost mandatory. Because it has been understood that it is very difficult to adapt to the global competition process with the traditional bureaucratic structure. Indeed, with the cumbersome structure of the traditional bureaucratic understanding, it is almost impossible to follow the rapid changes in the world. As a result, many countries have realized that the price of bad management will be very heavy in the global competitive environment (Bilgin, 2005: 30).

In this process, it has been witnessed that reform studies are carried out in public administration, especially in many OECD countries. In the restructuring process, the countries; although they aimed to transition to different forms of government depending on political, cultural and administrative differences, the basic standards and general trends in restructuring were common. Elements such as a citizen-focused bureaucratic understanding, participation, transparency, accountability, being effective and efficient, strengthening the strategic dimension, prominence of decentralization and flexibility in practice, application of modern market-based management techniques, results and performance-based management structures all over the world. It can be cited

as an example of the common aspects of implemented public administration reforms (Bilgin, 2005: 31).

According to Weber, the state should be directly responsible for the production and delivery of public goods and services (Ekinçi and Yılmaz, 2019: 67).

The public administration organization and personnel structures of the countries have been rearranged with reforms in accordance with the new public administration approach. In this direction, the application of private sector management techniques in the public sector is the most important feature of the new public administration. The new subject of this paradigm is what the personnel structure of the states will be by withdrawing their hands from the market and the new distribution of tasks. In the light of all these developments, the state has been redefined and moved away from politics to a business management approach (Ekinçi and Yılmaz, 2019: 70).

When we evaluate the administrative reform studies and development plans made before the 1980 period together, it is possible to evaluate that the studies carried out in this period are narrow-scoped, more introspective and stagnant. In addition, in this period, although very basic problems related to the internal functioning of the administration were identified and put forward and suggestions were developed for these problems, there was no determined political will to put these suggestions into practice. On the other hand, the reform movements after the 1980s are more comprehensive and more related to the political developments in the world; it is possible to see them as studies that have deep-rooted social, political and administrative consequences, and that also have the opportunity to be implemented by not staying on paper (Mamur Işıklı, 2017: 185).

However, although the reform process in the administrative structures of developed countries has achieved significant success, it is difficult to say that the same result has occurred in Turkish public administration. The reason for this is that the stage of social development which will enable the internalization of the basic values which lie behind the reform elements adapted from successful examples and lead them to Weber's rationally functioning bureaucracy has not been reached (Mamur Işıklı, 2017: 185).

The main areas affected by the reforms and subject to change are; financial structure, personnel management and organizational structure. One of the two main reasons causing the reforms in the financial structure, having found wide application in the world, is the limitation of public expenditures increasing due

to economic reasons, and the other is the need to change the financial structure in order for the public sector to provide effective, efficient and quality services. The prominent factor in the process has been the public sector's privatization or autonomy by withdrawing from many public services it carries out. The second area in which the reform is effective is personnel management. Through the reforms, it is aimed to make personnel management much more flexible, responding to needs more quickly and result-oriented. Thus, civil service as a permanent-safe and life-long profession is replaced by public personnel employed by contract. The practices of this system in the world spread the method of bringing in a contracted external manager to the head of the public organization, and this situation deeply shakes the career officer system based on promotion from within the institution according to seniority and qualification. In the organizational structure which is the third domain of the reform, there are four main areas subject to change:

- Public organizations should be organized on the basis of specialization in a way that achieves a single purpose.
- Coordination should be achieved through market mechanisms, contracting and quasi-contracting methods, not traditional hierarchical mechanisms.
- The authorities of the center should be delegated to the sub-units with a decentralized approach, both functionally and geographically.
- Large public organizations should be broken up and downsized. After the 80's, the extent to which the concept of NCC, which has been widely applied and whose borders became unclear by including almost everything that is the subject of reform in the field of public administration, has been intensively discussed since the late 90s, and after the 2000s, this approach has become the subject of criticism. has become its main target (Canpolat and Cangir, 2010: 30).

### **3. Factors That Make Restructuring Compulsory in the Turkish Public Administration**

Public administration that been shaped over centuries by the influence of many factors such as technological developments, industrialization, urbanization, rapid population growth, war and political transformations; especially in the 20th century reached its peak in terms of affecting social conditions and daily life. In this period that can also be described as public administration or public service, the structure of the public has grown and its functions have diversified

immensely. However, as a natural consequence of this growth process; paperwork, the constant increase in the need for additional financing, difficulties arose in preventing clumsiness and uncoordination in a growing structure. In addition to these unique problems of the public, the changes in the environment where traditional public administration developed and in the thinking patterns brought a radical paradigm shift in public administration to the agenda as we entered the 21st century (Prime Ministry , 2003: 19).

Today, concepts such as citizen satisfaction, quality, speed, efficiency, strategic planning, accountability, governance, effectiveness and efficiency in public services having emerged in the last two decades in the field of public administration have been widely accepted and, now the debate focuses on how the should be organizational structure (Canpolat and Cangir, 2010: 35).

In this context, public administration mentality and structure; from unilateral or unilateralism to multilateralism and multi-actor, participatory and governance approach, from a reactive and past-oriented approach to a pro-active and future-oriented understanding of preventing problems before they arise, from being input-oriented to being result and goal-oriented, self-focused has begun to undergo a radical change from being citizen-oriented to perceiving the citizen as a “target audience” and “customer”, from an understanding that provides and presents to an understanding that plays the role of facilitator and catalyst, from drowning in details to focusing on essential functions (Prime Ministry, 2003: 29).

Today, there is an increase in the number and diversity of trends and elements affecting public administration. Globalization, debates and developments in the field of human rights, statism-market economy debates and the developments it brings, political problems arising from excessive centralization, efforts to strengthen localization and local governments, demilitarization trend and civil society movements, dissemination of new management techniques and their application in the public sector, politician-bureaucrat relationship and bureaucracy-politics integration, new trends in public service and privatization practices can be cited as examples which have a decisive impact on the public administrations of countries and push them to reform (Parlak and Sobacı, 2010: 325).

Another reason behind the restructuring in public administration is the thought that the traditional bureaucratic paradigm shaped in the context of the Weberian bureaucracy model that has a legal and rational basis in the face of rapid change and transformation, is inefficient and ineffective. Within the framework

of this thought, a change has begun in public administration. In another issue that should be emphasized in this regard, with the development of information technologies, people have had the opportunity to see the lifestyles of people living in other countries and the opportunities they have. Therefore, the desire to live better has increased the desire for quality in public administration in individuals. To respond to these expectations, reforms have begun to be made in public administration in order to increase quality and efficiency in public administration (Küp, 2012: 83).

#### **4. Developments in the Turkish Public Administration After 1980**

The most comprehensive public administration model of Turkish republican history is being tried to be carried out during the AKP government. In this context, despite the fact that the draft Public Administration Basic Law is still on the agenda, it is also known that many drafts have been prepared by the government within the framework of restructuring. These; Draft Law on Public Administration Procedure, Draft Law on Principles of Duty, Authority and Resource Sharing and Service Relations Between Central Administration and Local Administrations, Draft Law on Municipalities, Draft Law on Metropolitan Municipalities, Draft Law on Special Provincial Administration, Draft Law on Municipal and Special Provincial Administration Revenues Draft Law on the Establishment and Duties of Regional Development Agencies. In a sense, the Turkish public administration system is being tried to be changed completely. As a general reason, it is stated that the cumbersome functioning mechanism of the existing structure has lost its functionality in today's conditions, and it is foreseen that the TR, which sees the integration with the EU as the main strategy in the globalizing world, will have a democratic, effective, participatory, transparent and accountable public administration structure (Ersoy, 2004 : 1).

While the reform studies in the administration before 1980 were carried out as a technical activity to increase the administrative power and capabilities of the state within the framework of the traditional public administration approach, after 1980, the focus of attention was on the size of the public sector (Ömürgönülşen, 2003: 20).

The studies carried out within the framework of these developments, changes and searches towards the information society, in the understanding of organization and management, continue in a wide line from the developed countries of the world to the developing countries. The essence of these

studies often answering the question of what kind of public administration in the 21st century consists of principles and concepts such as subsidiarity, effectiveness, efficiency, participation, and transparency that generally emerge in the context of central government-local government relations. These studies are expressed with names such as administrative reform, restructuring and reorganization in the administration within the framework of local autonomy, in parallel with the emerging global developments and the characteristics of the information society. These studies which emerged in Turkey, the effects of technological developments on the management, especially the increase in the quality of the management of the services provided by local governments, the global developments such as urbanization, localization and autonomy trends are all closely related to the changes in the understanding of organization and management (Yılmaz, 2007: 8).

Restructuring in public administration, changing the management and vision paradigm, means the reorganization of the organization in terms of form, content and corporate culture according to this new paradigm. In particular, the fact that the political system in a country cannot respond to the demands of the people and that the legitimacy of the political power is gradually damaged by economic crises brings the issue of restructuring in public administration to the agenda (Demirel, 2011: 98).

Although restructuring efforts in public administration have accelerated in recent years, restructuring efforts in public administration have a long history in Turkey. The studies carried out in this field can be summarized as follows (Prime Ministry, 2003: 12): The studies carried out in the 1930s, the report on the “Rational Work of State Departments and Institutions” prepared in 1949, the report on the “State Personnel Regime” prepared in 1951 with the support of the World Bank, “Report on State Personnel in Turkey” prepared by TODAIE in 1958, research conducted after 1960 under the leadership of DPT, TODAIE and State Personnel Presidency, “Central Government Organization”, which was prepared by DPT and TODAIE in 1962 and presented to the Prime Ministry in 1963, focused on personnel regime. Research Project” (MEHTAP), recommendations on public restructuring in all development plans since 1963, the report “Reorganization of the Administration: Principles and Suggestions” made in 1972 and the research and practices carried out in the early 1980s by DPT and TODAIE in 1962, prepared in 1963 and presented to the Prime Ministry in 1963, “Central Government Organization Research Project” (MEHTAP), which focuses on the sonel regime, proposals on public restructuring in all development plans since

1963, “Reorganization of the Administration: The research and practices carried out in the early 1980s with the report “Principles and Suggestions”, the Public Administration Research (KAYA) project carried out by TODAIE in 1988 and published in 1991, which brought the EU harmonization and citizen-oriented approach to the agenda for the first time. Within the scope of the 8th Plan, the establishment of a Steering Committee and Working Group in order to increase transparency and develop effective management in Turkey in 2001, and the Action Plan prepared in this context and submitted to the Council of Ministers in January 2002, and the development of good governance in the public sector in various agreements made with international financial institutions in recent years, especially the banking and financial sector, social security institutions and the improvement of the budget process, and in this context, regulatory boards and institutions established within the administrative structure of Turkey.

Despite all these efforts in the past, a fundamental restructuring in public administration has not been achieved until today and the problems in Turkish public administration have gradually deepened. One of the important reasons why past efforts have not been successful is that restructuring of public administration requires a holistic approach. However, in recent years, the programs implemented with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the development of relations with the European Union (EU) have led to the emergence of a holistic approach, albeit partially, by imposing some reforms in public administration. Regulatory boards and institutions embedded in Turkey’s administrative structure can be counted within this scope, with various legal and institutional arrangements on the development of good governance in the public sector, especially on the banking and financial sector, social security institutions, and improvement of the budget process (Bilgin, 2005: 37).

In Turkey, as in many other fields, it can be said that the studies on restructuring in public administration started with the planned development period after 1960. Local governments have an important place in the development plans prepared in the context of the restructuring of the administration as a whole. In the planned period, we can count the MEHTAP (Central Government Organization Research Project 1962) Report as the most important initiative aimed at reorganizing local governments. Again, the Ministry of Local Government experiment established in January 1978 and abolished in November 1979 has an important place among the major studies on reorganization initiatives in local governments. With its positive or negative aspects, this initiative can be considered as a study which provided an opportunity to emphasize the importance of local government. In

addition, it is an important experience in terms of revealing the strong image of strong central government thought in Turkey (Yılmaz, 2015: 13).

In general, it is observed that the restructuring efforts in public administration have passed through three stages. The first of these was the period until the 1980s and was shaped around the concept of administrative reform. Studies carried out in this context mostly involve making arrangements to improve organizational structures, processes and procedures for the solution of daily problems. The second phase came to dominate in the 1980s, went beyond institutional studies and focused on redefining the role of the state and limiting its functions. At this stage, the management approach of the private sector was taken as a basis and it was aimed to spread this understanding in the public sector. The third stage that continues its effects today has started to gain strength since the 1990s and has brought the approach of thinking of public administration together with the society in general, instead of looking at the public in itself. This new approach putting a strong emphasis on non-governmental organizations as well as the private sector; it can be summarized with the concept of governance that states that the public is an area formed by the interaction of the whole society. With this content, governance has emerged as a phenomenon that reverses traditional rules and procedures, restructures decision-making processes and managerial relations (Doig and Wilson, 1998: 267-272).

Arrangements carried out within the scope of restructuring efforts in Turkish public administration were created in 1988 to conduct a reform work called the Public Administration Research Project (KAYA) and to conduct a research on this subject from TODAIE within the scope of the SPO's Sixth Five-Year Development Plan. The KAYA project has the feature of being the most comprehensive administrative reform study after the MEHTAP project. With the Public Financial Management and Control Law No. 5018 in 2003, a new management approach and practice was initiated. In 2003, the Right to Information Law No. 4982 was enacted in order to ensure openness and participation in public administration. In 2004, the Law No. 5176 on the Establishment of the Public Servants Ethics Committee and Amendments to Some Laws was adopted, and the principles of ethical behavior that public servants must comply with while performing their services were set forth, and the Public Servants Ethics Committee was established for this purpose.

Later, reorganizations were made in the Municipal Law, the Metropolitan Municipality Law, and the Law on Special Provincial Administrations. In 2006, Law No. 5449 on the Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development

Agencies was enacted; for the first time in development, a new understanding and practice was introduced. To examine or reduce the public's complaints about the administration, the Law on Ombudsman Institution No. 6328 was enacted in 2012 in Turkey.

## **5. A Model Proposal For Restructuring Work In Turkish Public Administration**

A wave of industrialization on a global scale, and in the next stage, this process creates the phenomenon of spatial urbanization and an economically developed service sector; the integration of these sectors into regional and international service sectors depending on the speed of information, communication and transportation technologies; the international market integration or dependency realized with increasing trade opportunities and changing economic relations and understandings as a result of all these; factors such as the transformation of information and information analysis into a production factor together with the new economic model created by the technological opportunities, the driving force of this process, are seen and examined as the main reasons used to explain the phenomenon of globalization from an economic perspective. In this sense, the wind of globalization triggered by technological developments has facilitated the speed of movement and therefore the accessibility of commodities such as goods, services and information, and has carried the quantity and quality of economic relations to a different dimension from their old foundations. This multiplier effect, created by the changing main parameters, especially in the economic field, gradually penetrated all areas, and the phenomenon of globalization began to make itself felt in all areas of social life, as well as in the political and administrative field, and began to encompass the daily life of the individual (Yörükoğlu and Peker, 2011: 143).

To increase the efficiency, quality and citizen satisfaction in public administration, a fundamental restructuring of the Turkish public administration is essential. A fundamental reform in public administration is also necessary to prevent/minimize corruption, which has become a social problem, and to achieve radical and permanent improvements in the economy. Because the current structure of public administration and the inadequacy of public services play a major role in the emergence of economic problems and corruption. In this context, corruption refers to the inadequacies of the political and bureaucratic structure and the inability of this structure to respond to social needs (Bilgin, 2005: 42).

Another important point within the scope of the restructuring of the public administration is the provision of financial transparency. This is particularly important in the fight against corruption. Transparency, one of the important mechanisms that ensures the accountability of the state, is the state's regular, understandable, consistent and reliable presentation of the information necessary to monitor its goals, the policies it implements to achieve these goals, and the results of these policies. Fiscal transparency is a mechanism providing citizens with necessary information about how and for what purposes the political power uses public resources and the results of this use. One of the most important results of fiscal transparency is the increase in trust in public administration and the state. On the other hand, ensuring transparency in the budgets, being the means of allocation of public resources, and other related financial legislation, should be seen as a prerequisite for ensuring macroeconomic stability and reaching a state with a high management capacity. Today, the most important factor which makes the current political structure based on rent distribution possible in Turkey is the lack of financial transparency and therefore the state's accountability is extremely low. For this reason, ensuring financial transparency is of great importance for the success of the fight against corruption (Bilgin, 2005: 45).

While all these change and reform works are brought to the agenda, Turkish people should carry out these works not because someone wants them, but because they already deserve them in line with contemporary norms and principles (Balçı, 2005: 34).

Citizen satisfaction should be the basis in public services. Citizen satisfaction is ensured by adequate and quality service delivery. Improving quality is possible with the functionality of elements such as equality, continuity, regularity, transparency, competence and effectiveness in public service. It is now a necessity to solve the problems arising from the organizational structure, functioning and personnel structure of the public administration. Instead of political preferences in appointments and promotions, the principle of merit and career, which is the basic principle of public administration, should be reactivated. In this context, the Establishment and Duties of Ministries No. 3046 are aimed at ensuring harmony between the duties and organizational structures of public institutions, employment of personnel with the required number and quality, introduction of objective conditions and examination system for appointments and promotions, justice in wages, personnel training and the establishment of a public-oriented management approach. Necessary changes should be made

in its principles, Provincial Administration No. 5442, Civil Servants No. 657 and other relevant laws, administrative regulations should be made and public administration should be restructured (DPT, 2000: 33).

Within the scope of the public administration reform to increase efficiency and productivity in public administration, public expenditures should also be restructured by combining public financial accounts. It is known that in Turkey, in which fund application is very common, the consolidated budget covers a narrow part of the expenditures related to public activities. The fund application has become so widespread that the authority to determine public expenditures has passed from the legislature to the executive. In this respect, extra-budgetary funds, which show the extent of corruption in state administration and almost lead to the emergence of an “underground public sector”, should be liquidated and public financial accounts should be consolidated. The unification of public financial accounts is also of great importance in terms of ensuring fiscal transparency (Bilgin, 2005: 47).

On the other hand, the approach of “working with one’s own team” in every change of political power, even in the change of a minister from time to time, both causes political corruption and paralyzes the state bureaucracy and its continuity. To ensure continuity in Turkish public administration, the rules of appointment, relocation and dismissal should be rearranged and the principles of competence, competence, career and seniority should be emphasized in public administration. In addition, “Management by Purposes” model should be adopted in public administration and “performance evaluation” should be applied to employees. Performance evaluation should be based on concrete criteria and evaluation results should be directly reflected in wages and other managerial decisions. In this framework, factors such as the relations of the personnel with the employees of the institution and the citizens they serve, their productivity, self-sacrifice and honesty should definitely be evaluated (Bilgin, 2005: 48).

One of the main features of a democratic government is transparency. To bring this feature to the management system, the measures to be taken regarding the administrative functioning order and the sub-systems to be implemented have a special importance. To create an effective and efficient public administration, first of all, it is necessary to determine the functions, what works and how to perform the tasks in detail with the task and work instructions. On the other hand, job descriptions should not be of a general nature, but should be made in a clear and detailed manner that will enable each

personnel to see their job without any interruption. While the simplification of the procedures continues, handbooks and guides should be prepared that will enable citizens to be enlightened with the necessary information in their relations with the public administration. Emphasis should be placed on establishing administrative counseling centers and public relations units. Developing the methods of participation of public officials and the public in the administration is of great importance in terms of increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the public administration, as well as gaining democratic habits and developing democratic life (DPT, 2000: 44).

Taking into account the fact that the prohibition encompassing the personnel leaving almost all public institutions and organizations, enumerated by the Law No. 2531 on the Jobs That Cannot Be Done by Persons Who Leave Public Offices, is not clear enough in terms of their duties and fields of activity at the place of work in the last two years, the details and implementation principles of the law shall be published should be regulated in a regulation.. Within the framework of this regulation, it should be ensured that those who hold public positions are not allowed to do what kind of work should be determined, and the “duties and fields of activity” should be limited to private sector organizations that the person concerned makes a number of mutual commitments while holding a public office (DPT, 2000: 46).

The existing public administration structure accepted by everyone as inadequate in the provision of public services should not be allowed to be wasted in oTurkey’s limited resources (Günaydın, 2003: 139).

The awareness that the source of authority is the people should also be placed in the public administration. The public administrator should be accustomed to seeing himself as a servant, not a master. The labyrinth of legal regulations that increase the defensibility of the public administration against the political authority and the public should be removed. The legal framework should be simplified and formalities should be minimized. Thus, controlling and evaluating the functioning of public administration in certain areas will cease to be a task that requires extreme expertise (Bayar, 1975: 51).

In this respect, for a public administration reform program to be successful, there is a need to change the basic paradigms in the structuring of the state. The essence of the paradigm change, on the other hand, is that instead of a ‘bureaucratic-oriented’ state structure that finds its legitimacy in itself and provides it with a constitutional ground, it provides the democratic legitimacy of all institutions, especially the powers defined in the constitution, is sensitive

to the wishes, demands and tendencies of the citizens and is governed by it. a 'citizen-oriented' democratic state structure (Canpolat and Cangir, 2010: 40).

If the distribution of duties and resources is provided in a rational way and is not legally guaranteed, in such cases, local governments begin to lose their functions and reasons for existence. Thus, the decentralization practice that envisages the effective use of scarce resources and providing maximum social benefit is about to disappear completely. To provide the expected benefits from the separation of central government and local government and to protect local governments against the dominant central government, it is necessary and necessary to provide a rational distribution of duties and resources between these two groups (Günaydın, 2003: 140).

It should be ensured that among those who pass the written exam for public institutions and organizations, whose personnel needs are made with the central system, those who have the qualifications to be sought, such as education level and profession, should be taken according to the written exam score without the need for an oral exam. Recruitment in this way will not only relieve public conscience, but also prevent nepotism. For this reason, it is necessary to continue the studies in order to further expand the central examination system that has just started to be implemented, and to connect it to more objective criteria. Employment forms should be reviewed, and those who do the same job should be employed in the same status, and efforts should be made to abolish institutional privileges (DPT, 2000: 53).

## **6. Conclusion**

Many managerial efforts and approaches that deeply affect the delivery of public services have influenced public administrations on a global scale, especially in the last 20-30 years. This formation, change and transformation efforts, which include social, cultural, technological and economic factors, are the subject of practice in many countries and are on the public agenda as a discussion topic in some countries. Undoubtedly, beyond the approaches mentioned here, many other approaches and methods affect public administrations. However, the reality revealed by all this is that public administrations are now having difficulties in maintaining their existence as structures that are top-down, insensitive to citizen requests and expectations, excessively bureaucratic and centralized, acting in secret-closed and unquestioned methods, and not paying much attention to performance.

Today, the stagnation of public administration in Turkey and the resulting demand for a very severe social change necessitate a radical restructuring in the Turkish public administration. Increasing demands for transparency in public policies and public administration also exacerbate the need for restructuring. However, the rapid development of the globalization movement and the increasing competition in the international arena increase the need for restructuring in public administration. Failure to achieve such a restructuring will further increase the dissatisfaction of the citizens with the public administration. Undoubtedly, this situation will negatively affect the citizens' view of "life". Because many services offered by the public directly affect the daily lives of citizens. As a result, a radical restructuring to increase the efficiency and quality of public services in public administration will both increase the satisfaction level of citizens towards public services and positively affect their living standards.

In the process that started with the 1980s, the role and functions of the state began to be questioned on a world scale and policies such as that alternative service delivery mechanisms were brought to the agenda, that privatization practices were carried out, that citizens' wishes and expectations were taken into account, that an accountable approach was adopted, that decentralization was emphasized, that participation was encouraged, and public administrators were empowered which deeply affect public administrations with certain steps have been pursued. These discussed methods and approaches are closely related to public service provision and also bring about a radical mentality change and service delivery understandings in public administrations, which are also a part of social, political and economic life. However, these methods and applications are still in the evolution and development stage and are not yet complete to the last point. Countries should take steps by taking their own political, social, economic and cultural characteristics in the arrangements they will make into consideration. Otherwise, the policies designed to be realized will remain only on paper.

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## CHAPTER VI

# STRUCTURAL AND LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE CASES OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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### 1. Introduction

Organizational structure-operational principles that come to the fore in public administration restructuring studies are also important worldwide. The integrity of the administration, providing financial resources to local governments in proportion to their duties and responsibilities, continuous development, participation, regulatory impact reform, accountability, predictability, trust in declaration, transparency, which are included in the understanding of public administration in Europe, a continent where the world's most developed countries are located. It can be said that principles such as customer focus, savings, locality in service, performance measurement and control, effective and widespread use of information technologies, effective and efficient use of resources, cooperation are more reminiscent of business management and have a content parallel to the new public management approach. On the other hand, the principles called the SIGMA Programme, which the European Union wants Eastern European countries to consider when restructuring their governance structures, namely the rule of law, accountability, predictability, transparency, merit, organizational capacity building, participation, efficiency,

decentralization and consultation with civil society seems to have been an important reference for the restructuring of public administration in member and non-member countries (Kuhlmann and Wollmann, 2019)

Today, around the world, the final choice of laws for the re-establishment of public administration is made in the field of auditing and personal administration. In Europe, it is aimed to carry out management control over local administrations rather than the control of local administrations. For example, it is not possible to find out how the usage authorizations used to be included in the zoning planning will be designed in the municipalities that are being used. The same is positive as a return to more freedom about the personal management of local governments, similar principle should be explainable on how to get rid of nepotism, nepotism like patronage, worries.

According to the research firm *Worldometers*'s latest evaluation on the population of different countries in Europe, there could be seen forty-eight countries in the continent. East, west, north and south groupings have been the most preferred in both geo-strategic and cultural analysis. In some evaluations, it is stated that 51 countries belong to the continent, including Vatican, Armenia and Cyprus. However, this study, in which current evaluations and developments in public administration are reviewed, focuses on the studies in 48 countries apart from these three countries (Wordometers[web],2022).

Ten of 48 countries are in the eastern part of continent. Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Romania, Czechia, Hungary, Belarus, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Moldova are can be evaluated in the eastern region of Europe. The highest population of them belongs to Russia, having around 145 million citizens (Netesov and Conrad, 2001). The secondary highest population is seen in Ukraine, being more than 43 million. Among them Moldova has the lowest number for population which is around 4 million. These countries are also former Eastern bloc countries. In geographic terms some countries such as Austria, can also be accepted as eastern, yet they are mostly categorized with historical definitions under the effect of United Nations or UNSD's heritage on geo-scheme which was a system to divide countries via regions or sub-regions on behalf of UN-M9 practices. For example, Czechia exists in a similar coordinate with Austria, whilst it is classified as eastern, and Austria is western European country. Today, Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Monaco and Liechtenstein can be classified as Western countries in the continent. Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, North Macedonia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Malta, Andorra, Gibraltar, San Marino and

Holy See are mostly seen as Southern countries of Europe. Finally, northern part is composed by United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Ireland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Iceland, Channel Islands, Isle of Man and Faeroe Islands (Schadler et.al, 2006).

27 of these 48 countries in the European continent are now members of the European Union. Montenegro, Serbia, Albania and North Macedonia, Ukraine, Moldova and Turkey are the other 7 countries with candidate status to the EU. Among the remaining 14 countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo are referred to as potential candidate countries. Indeed, 12 countries outside these groupings can be considered as countries that are relatively outside the EU process and the European Administrative Space criteria. Along with this study, it is aimed to reveal both the impact of the EU process and the effort to create a European Administrative Space on the recent reform understanding of countries, as well as their current panoramas related to domestic and foreign politics. For this reason, after explaining the government regimes and some of their characteristic features, only recent developments have been underlined (Mazur-Wierzbicka, 2021)

## 2. Eastern European countries' cases

Among the countries with territories in Eastern Europe, Russia is undoubtedly the one with the most populous population. Besides its population of 144.1 million, it is the world's eleventh largest economy, and although most of its territory is in northern Asia, it has a share of 11% in the world land mass and is the world leader with this rate. Looking at Russia, this country has the governmental system which is named as semi-presidential system. In this model, Russian federation has also subunits, can be called in six different forms which are federal republics, which have ethnic minorities (i), *oblasts*, which have elected legislature and governors (ii), *krais*, known as frontier zones (iii), autonomous *okrugs* or autonomous districts (iv), federal cities (v) and autonomous *oblast* (vi), as well (Hale, 2005: 55-70; Orttund et al., 2000; Shabad, 1946: 303-311; Sharafutdinova, 2006: 273-293; Kelesh and Bessonova, 2021; Alessandro, 2015: 123-142). According to the Constitution, the Russian Federation consists of 83 administrative units. These are autonomous units that are subordinate to the central state, but have executive, legislative and judicial organs under their own laws. Each region is equally represented in the Federal Council. Each region has the right to send 2 representatives to the council. However, each region has different levels of autonomy. After the bloody terrorist attack

in Beslan at the beginning of September 2004, President Putin announced his decision to make serious changes in the country's electoral and administrative system (Steffen and Patt, 2022). In the new system, managers of all federated units began to be appointed by the federal center. Each of the 21 republics of the Russian Federation has its own separate constitution and president. These constitutions must comply with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and not contradict it. In the period before the reforms, local governments in Russia were influenced by the old enterprises that dominated the economy before the transition period and did not take new competitors to the market. Putin began to change the system of relations dominated by federated members in favor of the Federal Center. This process is called recentralization. First of all, the practices of making the constitution, laws and decrees of all federated units comply with the Federal Constitution and federal laws have been started after early 2000s (Stakhov et al., 2022:73).

Going through the second case, Ukraine can be the second largest European country after Russia, as to its own land mass. Unitary system was used in Ukraine, which has twenty-seven different subunits. Twenty-four of these units are named as *oblasts*, which have no autonomous legal bodies. Crimea is one of those subunits, which exceptionally has autonomous organs. Based on the regulations given by its own constitution, two special status owner cities also exist in Ukraine. Although Ukraine adopts the semi-presidential system as a form of government, it is more accurate to define it as a mixture of some features of the parliamentary system within the semi-presidential system (Khadzhyradiyeva et al., 2020: 88). Executive power is generally shared between the head of state, who is elected by the people, and the known heads of government, based on parliamentary trusts. When it is actually looked at, it is observed that the head of state comes at the head of the executive. In general, features similar to the presidential system come to the fore. Indeed, Ukraine has a multi-party political system with a unitary democratic parliamentary presidential republic. There are 459 cities in Ukraine. Kyiv and Sevastopol are cities with special status, 279 of which are called rayon and 178 are called *oblast* cities. The most recent reforms in public administration in the country have been shaped within the scope of harmonization with the EU on the axis of Europeanization. In 2005, the European Commission listed its priorities for Ukraine within the framework of its Neighborhood Policy. These can be summarized under the headings of political reform, cooperation and management on sectoral issues such as anti-corruption, justice, freedom, security and energy in the resolution of the

*transnistrian* conflict as well as trade and economic reform. Ukraine has been fighting against Russian separatists since 2014. Crimea was captured by Russia in 2014. The war, which started in the Crimea and Donbass, continues to exert its influence in the city of Kherson. In 2014, a Russian-controlled puppet state, named *Donetsk People's Republic* in Donbass and *Luhansk People's Republic* in Luhansk, was established. The Ukrainian administrative regime does not recognize these puppet states. Many public administration reforms in Ukraine since 2014 were interrupted by the war. EU candidacy has been the motivator of these reforms. It was desired to establish a governance system in the country based on international standards and better practices for management. For example, the National Anti-Corruption Strategy adopted in 2022 means strengthening the independence of institutions and promoting the fight against corruption in the judicial and prosecutorial services. The management of the budget in a more understandable and public manner was another topic. Eliminating regional inequalities in the country has been another important topic. After 2014, both local and regional development reforms were implemented in this area. The recommendations of the *2018 OECD/SIGMA Core Measurement*, a study for OECD countries, that have not yet been implemented, have been taken into account in the strategy texts recently. The New Public Administration Reform Strategy and Action Plan covering the years 2022-2025 is the most up-to-date reform draft in the country. Impartial treatment, quality service, non-political service understanding and accountability and efficiency have been made the top priorities of the new strategy (Romanenko and Chaplai, 2017).

Poland, an EU member, has a population of around 38 million. The country is a republic and has a unitary administrative regime. In Poland, which made one of the most recent administrative reforms in 1999, the number of provinces was reduced from 49 to 16. The most basic strategy for the implementation of market reform was with a pragmatist approach in early 2000s. For this reason, cultural transformation, that is, the end of the traces of the communist system in society and deletion was the most important prerequisite Poland became a member of the European Union in 2004. Right at the beginning of the 1990s, when Poland wanted to become a member of the EU. In those years, the EU demanded from Poland to establish an institutional structure that would implement basic values such as liberalization and democratization in the political field, privatization in the economy, and pluralism and individualization in the society. Reforms in health, education, pension system and state administration put more burden on the state budget than expected. The development of public finance has been

one of the most serious issues among public administration reforms (Burnetko, 1989). Particular emphasis has been placed on reducing losses arising from public economic enterprises. Recent reforms and developments in Poland; It was perceived as depending on the registration of the informal economy and the realization of tax reform. The Polish Government implemented an economic package in 2004 aimed at reducing public expenditures by approximately 17 billion US dollars by 2007. In the process of local reforms, for the first time, between 1989 and 1991, Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government gave importance to local assemblies in terms of decentralization. In the local, the levels were recognized as municipalities, *poviats* and *voivodeships* after the 1999 reform (Hoffman, 2021: 53). After 2004, the Polish public administration system entered the EU's mold of Europeanized public administration and co-management standards. In the formation of this pattern, as we have given in the example of Ukraine, the OECD's SIGMA study has a great role in the candidacy process. Reform has been carried out by the center-right government in Poland since 2017. One of the most controversial implementations of the judicial reform brought to the agenda in 2019 has been the Supreme Audit Commission of Judges, the composition of which the government has a dominant role in.

Romania is another EU country and is also the twelfth largest European country with a population of around 19 million. There are 42 provinces, 83 city-municipality, 163 cities and 2685 communes and around 13 thousand villages in Romania. In the country which has a unitary administrative regime, the government regime can be described as semi-presidential. The country that applied to the EU in 1993, the associated state in 1995, the accession status in 2004 and the full membership status in 2007. As we discussed in both the Poland and Ukraine review, the reform steps taken towards integrating the OECD/SIGMA and European Administrative Space achievements can summarize the development panorama of the 1990s and 2000s. Indeed, Madrid Summit constitutes the reference of new public administration management and reform movements. The pathology that the country's public administration regime has been dealing with most recently is corruption. The reforms made by adhering to the principle of redefining the duties of the state are quite comprehensive and generally focus on structural, functional, personnel and remuneration issues. Romania, which has been monitored by the EU Commission since 1992, has been officially included in the "Commission Framework Program" since 1998. In the program called "Monitoring, Supporting and Structuring Public Administration Reforms", the structural and functional development processes

of Romania were closely followed; In particular, the main strategies to be followed in public administration reforms have been determined. In addition, the EU's financial and technical support for reforms is also committed in the program. The framework program, which was operated for approximately three years, was reshaped in 2001 under the name of Framework for Strengthening the Management Capacity. The main purpose of this program, which is directly supported by the EU support fund, is to establish an effective institutional structure in order to accelerate the reforms of the Romanian central government. In order to carry out the reforms more effectively and from a single center, it was decided to establish the Public Administration Reforms Center Unit (CUPAR) within the Ministry of Interior in 2001. In this context, the main tasks of CUPAR are defined as restructuring of the central government in legal and organizational terms, determining and monitoring reform strategies, ensuring the transition to the new public administration management, establishing public financial and financial management, and providing technical and financial support. CUPAR activities are carried out hierarchically under the Prime Ministry, Public Administration Reform Supreme Council. It should also be noted that, in addition to CUPAR, the National Institute of Management (NIA) and the National Agency for Public Service (NACS) were established at the same time. Along with the year 2015, the public did not remain silent about the corruption scandals and started large-scale protests that led to the change of government. Sensitivity to public administration reforms is at a high level in the country, and there is a great discomfort, especially due to the easing of the measures taken in the fight against corruption. These protests lasted for 2 years and were suppressed in 2018. The National Anti-Corruption Directorate was established before it became a member of the EU for the fight against corruption, which is important in the public administration regime and has received a great response. Although it was a promising office in its first years, it has lost its functionality today (Androniceanu, 2021: 155)

Czechia, which is also classified as a Central European country according to some classifications, has a population of approximately 11 million. After the reform of 2000, the country has an administrative structure consisting of 13 provinces and a capital. In the country, which has a multi-party parliamentary system, the president is elected by the people. The country was included in the EU in 2004 and in the common visa regime with the EU in 2007. In 1997, a law was enacted that made the transition to the regional management model. This law was finalized with the Regional Administration Law with a regulation in

2000 and the Local Administration Reform process took its current form. Public administration reforms in the country were neglected for a long time and only a few of them were realized until the 1998 elections. During a 12-year period from 1990 to 2002, reforms regarding the new administrative structure of the country were implemented. In 1997, the country was divided into 14 regions, including a separate region and the capital Prague. Afterwards, with the Law of Regions enacted in 2000, the regional administrations were given their final shape. Immediately afterwards, regional management elections were held in 13 regions outside the capital Prague, and the regions started their activities as of 2001. Regional government elections were held in the capital Prague in 2002. In 2004, the Ministry of Interior prepared a draft plan in order to encourage the establishment of the Community of Municipalities in the country. As of 2005, more than 70% of the total municipalities have joined these unions. The Czech Republic National Reform Program (NRP) has currently been the annual strategy plans prepared under its supervision for compliance with both EU standards and priorities (Špaček, 2018). 2022 European Semester Cycle, Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF) implementation, Czechia Convergence Program are the strategy packages that guide other reforms. The National Recovery Plan is based on the use of 2022 European Semester-cycle Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF) assistance, as well as individual recovery and resilience plans drawn up in dialogue with other actors. The plan has also been submitted to the approval of the European Commission (Astrov et al, 2022).

Being a unitary parliamentary republic, Hungary has a population of approximately 9.7 million. There are 20 provinces in the country, one of which is the capital. Hungary became a EU member country in 2004. Looking at the most recent issues on public administration, it can be easily seen at first that thousands of people protested the change in the tax system for small businesses in Hungary, which developed major management reforms in its financial system. Due to the deterioration of the democratic mechanism in the country and the emergence of an oligarchic structure, public protests have continued in recent years. It is felt in the public administration regime that there is a structure that becomes more rigid and autocratic instead of reforming the country. However, higher education projects were among the other breakthroughs that were the subject of protest. For example, the project to open a Chinese university received a great response. The constitutional reforms carried out in 2012 led to the introduction of more religious and conservative articles into the constitution. Due to the deterioration of the democratic mechanism in the country and the emergence of an oligarchic

structure, public protests have continued in recent years. EU supports were also affected negatively by those protests, reactions, and the democratic principles' disappearance, which is directly stated by EU parliament declarations. However, higher education projects were among the other breakthroughs that were the subject of protest. For example, the project to open a Chinese university received a great response. Since 2015, with the strengthening of the nationalist stance in the country's political power, anti-EU opposition has also led to some resistance to the EU's immigration policies. The opinions of the Hungarian government spokespersons that the immigration problem should be perceived as a problem related to the developed countries of the EU, gathered the reaction of other EU leaders. However, steps such as the application of barbed wire on the Serbian line for the security and impassability of migration routes have also created a great uneasiness (Hajnal, 2020).

Presidential system is preferred in Belarus, which has the population around 9.4 million. Belarus has 6 regions or oblasts, including the capital oblast Minsk. Under this level, 118 different districts exist in the country. Considering the reform agenda, Belarus is a country that has experienced a post-communist recession and still has great potential in the hands of the state. It still has a state-run economy and a high level of authoritarianism. Belarus enacted the Civil Service Law in 2013. Although the Presidency was deemed to be actually responsible for personnel management in the public service, public institutions and organizations became governed by more arbitrary orders, since an understanding of principles and standards could not be created. Political influence in the country has an adverse effect on public administration. In the country where the presidential system is seen, this effect is observed in the council of ministers, which is the executive body in the first place. All appointments and assignments for duties always remain in the political shadow. There is little to no merit in the country. Recruitment takes place through political ties. A competitive environment open to everyone could not be created in recruitment. In addition, most civil servants do not have job security. Because term employment contracts are defined for most positions.

In Bulgaria, where unitary parliamentary democracy is seen, the population is around 7 million. This country also became a member of the EU in 2007. Establishment of Privatization Agency (1991), Return Laws, establishment of National Land Council (1992), Central Bank (1991), establishment of Bank Consolidation Company (1992), Labor Law (1992) and Social Protection Programs initiation (1991), corporate and individual income tax reforms (1993)

are the most well-known reforms of the 1990s. The constitutional changes that took place in the 2000s mainly concern the rule of law and judicial reform, as well as the preparations for EU membership (Pilgun and Leshenyuk, 2021: 35)

Along with a population of approximately 5.5 million, Slovakia was divided into 8 *kraje*, or provinces, with the 1996 regulation. There are 79 districts under these 8 provinces. By the 2013 reform, the districts were assigned duties related to education, transportation, environment and cadastre. Since Slovakia is a country that has achieved EU membership, it carries all the principles of European Administrative Space. In the recent reforms, there are around 2900 municipalities in the country. The self-governing region status was regulated in 2001 as a regional management principle, and the management of these regions was regulated by laws enacted in 2018. Both an elected administrator and an appointed administrator from the central government can be assigned to self-governing regions, and their boundaries are the same (Nemec, 2018)

Having a population of over two and a half million, Moldova has 2 different autonomous republics. There are also 3 municipal administration offices in the country, which has 32 different regional administrative units. In 2009, Moldova cooperated with the EU within the scope of the Eastern Partnership Program (DOP). The aim of these collaborations was to significantly improve the relations between the EU and Moldova and to support the reform process in Moldova. The aim of these collaborations was to significantly improve relations between the EU and Moldova and to support the reform process in Moldova. The years 2009-2014 were fruitful for the realization of these reforms. Numerous factors slow down the reform process in Moldova, such as Russian interference, high levels of corruption, and the country's unwillingness to accept reforms. After the action plan and strategic plan covering the years 2016-2020, an extension was made for 2 more years. By the plan, the demands of the EU Commission are tried to be turned into reform strategies (Popovici and Popovici, 2020: 739)

### **3. Review of Western countries**

Nine countries as Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Monaco and Liechtenstein are classified as western countries of Europe. Among them, Switzerland, Monaco and Liechtenstein are not the member countries of EU.

Germany having the population as 83 million has the administrative regime composed by 16 federal states. Germany can be described as a parliamentary republic. The most striking topic of the recent reforms is the government in

public administration, while following a restrictive fiscal policy and interrupting the jobs in the public sector, it has also implemented a series of reforms in the name of the labor market and welfare level. The government established as a result of the September 2005 elections gave priority to the issue of administrative reform and added this issue to the text of the Coalition Agreement. Strengthening federalism, making the states less administratively complex, giving priority and authority to issues such as education and improving the financial system were the main reform titles (Bauer and Becker, 2019: 952).

Along with Germany, another super power can be seen in western wing is France. France, which is a unitary state with a population of approximately 67 million, is governed by a semi-presidential system. The number of regions in France, which was 26, was reduced to 18 in 2016. The country has 100 provinces. Along with the reforms made throughout the 2000s, the increasing responsibilities and autonomy of local governments have also increased. By the reforms in 2003, decentralized regulations increased. In 2010, the age of retirement was changed added up with social security contributions. Thanks to the 2010 regulations, regional assemblies and cooperation channels became more functional. One of the most notable reforms in the country in recent years has been on the public personnel regime. Most of the senior bureaucrat classes were abolished and the senior public administrator was declared under a single title. In addition, with the pension reform, the retirement age in the country increased to 67 (Sager et al., 2018).

Having a unitary parliamentary regime, the Netherlands consists of 12 provinces and 3 overseas administrative units. By the regulations after 2010, 4 autonomous regions have been defined. Its population is over 17 million. The country initiated the first reform process for the reform of civil servants, especially in the public administration, in 1994. In this context, with the influence of OECD's SIGMA program, it has developed a Public Service program for Senior Executives, which aims to improve the professional development and coordination capacity of administrators. The Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Interior carries out the task of regulating public services. 2008 reforms increased the level of decentralization in the country. Owing to the 2017 local government reforms, the number of municipalities was reduced from 913 to 390 (Karré et al., 2020).

Belgium is another important case in European countries. Along a population of over 11 and a half million, Belgium is known to have a federal parliamentary monarchy. The country consists of 3 regions and 10 states. By

the radical constitutional amendment made in 1993, it was transformed into a federal state with three regions. In fact, while the provincial administrations were under the supervision and control of the central federal administration before the constitutional reform in 1993, today this authority has been given to the community and regional administrations as well as the central federal administration. Since 1993, it has taken on a federal structure with the reform that took place both under the influence of the Europeanization process and under the influence of social, political, economic and cultural dynamics. In 1999, it was included in the group of the first countries to form the Eurozone. Provinces and municipalities constitute the local government units of Belgium. The effect of the new public management approach and reforms was also seen in Belgium, and the number of municipalities, which used to be more, decreased to 589 over time. From the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, in accordance with the transformation of the system, regional governments began to be decisive on local governments and the content of the reform began to change according to the regions. At the beginning of the 2000s, the vertical re-sharing of powers, duties and responsibilities first took place in the reform discourse. In the years covering the 2004-2009 period, new laws were made on municipalities, provinces and local social welfare institutions. In the period between 2009 and 2014, reforms initiated by the regional government that sought to reduce the complexity of relations between levels of government were implemented. After 2014, that is, in the last reform period, it was aimed to increase the capacity of local governments by decentralizing the scale of the area and functions.

Having less population than Belgium, the population of Austria is about 9 million. Although the country is located in the central European region, it is more commonly referred to as a western European country due to geo-cultural reasons. Indeed, Austria is a federal parliamentary republic. There are 9 different states in Austria. Austria can be shown among the countries that carry out reforms for a performance-oriented mixed administration. Business-Exchange was established in 1992. Thus, an office for employees with a contractual business relationship other than civil service in the public sector was created. This institution, which does not only act as an intermediary throughout the country, also has an international character. This office also operates to cover EU institutions. In 1994, the Wage Reform Law was enacted in the country. Along with the accession of Austria to the EU on 01.01.1995, legal changes in the definition of civil servants came to the fore. Significant changes have been made in the Civil Servant Pension Law since 1997 and the rules regarding the salary

taken as the basis for retirement and leaving active duty have been rearranged. The Innovation Program in Management was initiated with the decision of the Council of Ministers in 1997 and the new public administration paradigm was adopted. Within the scope of harmonization of the Wage Reform Law and EU regulations, the laws regarding contracted personnel were reformed in 1999. The Federal Ministries Law enacted in 1999 paved the way for non-official technocrats to be brought to various levels. By the Civil Service Law enacted in 1999, the principles and rules that the public services in Austria should have were determined. The regulations between 2000 and 2002 were due to budget constraints. It was aimed that the public sector will switch to a balanced budget by 2003. In 2004, the policy of vacant civil servant recruitment was adopted. Civil servants who have been appointed since 2005 have started to be subject to the Pension Harmonization Law. In 2008, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was ratified. A new dynamic has been brought to the discourse on inclusive education in Austria. Thus, demands for the quality of inclusive education and the continuation of private schools have increased. In 2012, the Ministry of Social Affairs coordinated a discussion process between various ministries and stakeholders on the implementation of this reform. It led to agreements on what measures should be taken to meet the obligations of education reform (Wright, 2019: 105).

Looking at a similar population volume owner country in numbers, Switzerland, which is not a member of the EU, has a population of 8.5 million. Switzerland's administrative system is a federal republic based on direct democracy. A reform amendment was made in the 1999 constitution and the principle that all powers that were not specifically authorized to the federation would remain in the hands of the cantons was adopted. There are 26 cantons in the country and today there are around 2800 municipalities. The country, which refused to join the EU in 1992, accepted to join the UN in 2002. The number of municipalities, which was 3021 in 1990, even decreased to 2636 by the end of 2008. In order to ensure economic equality between the cantons and to strengthen some weak cantons, a fundamental local government reform was undertaken in the country in 2008 (Meynhardt et al., 2015).

Differently from Switzerland, being a micro country, Luxembourg, with a population of six hundred thousand, is one of the founding members of the EU. It is the 43rd among the European countries' list with 51 countries and the 41st among the 48 countries with the largest population and land area. The country with a parliamentary representative democracy and a constitutional monarchy

system consists of 3 provinces. The general framework for local administrations in the country was determined by the 1988 reforms. Local governments have been given tasks on land use, social welfare and basic education. The ombudsman office, which became effective with the 2003 reforms in the country, also tries to find solutions to the problems related to local governments. After the civil servant law enacted in 1979, not many changes were made until 2015. Changes have been introduced in the regulations to ensure that civil servants can work more comfortably. In 2005, an arrangement was made in order for the appointments of senior civil servants to be more suitable for merit, in compliance with workplace democracy. Along with the post-2015 reforms, it was desired to integrate the strategic management requirements into the public administration (Thijs et al., 2017)

Having a population of approximately 38 thousand, Monaco is one of the smallest populated and landlocked countries in Europe. Although they have their own language, the official language of Monaco is French. The French population is more than the Monaco native-population. There are 4 different districts in the country, which is surrounded by the borders of France. The country is governed by a constitutional monarchy and became a member of the UN in 1993. Together with the National Council, the Prince is responsible for the administration of the country. The reforms made in 2005 during the reign of Prince Albert II can be accepted from the current developments. In this period, regulations were made for the modernization of public services (Heath-Brown, 2015: 845)

Being another micro state, Liechtenstein, another monarchy located between Switzerland and Austria, has a population of 38 thousand. This state is also ruled by a prince. The country is a democratic parliamentary monarchy. The prince has very broad powers. However, reforms were made in 2003. Some political powers of the prince were restricted. Among these, the power to veto parliamentary representatives who want to change the regime can be recalled. The people of the country can demand a republican regime if they wish. Owing to the reforms of 2000, the citizenship law was rearranged and connected to a modern procedure (Veenendaal, 2015:339).

#### **4. Northern countries in Europe**

The United Kingdom, with a population of 56 million, is a constitutional monarchy. The United Kingdom is formed by the merger of three countries and one province. Scotland, Northern Ireland, England and Wales can be defined for these items. Under this, 935 towns and 51 cities exist in UK. In 2020, the

country left the EU. Since 1979, significant progress has been made in terms of public administration reform. While the priorities of the public were issues such as inflation, unemployment and unions in the 1970s, these priorities after the 2000s; education, the health system, defense and terrorism, and immigration. Review reports have an important place in the British public administration reform tradition. Citizens' requirement program is a program that started for a period of 10 years in July 1991. In 1994, the information law was put into practice for the supervision of the public, and in 1997 this law was revised to increase transparency and the ombudsman model was introduced. Renewal in the public sector continued in 1997 with Private Partnership, a private privatization method based on increasing customer satisfaction, commercial innovation, efficiency, efficiency and control in the public sector. The Code of Practice on Access to Government Information was introduced in 1994 and then revised and reorganized in 1997. These innovations were tried to be taken further with the service first concept introduced by the British government in 1998. The first revisions were carried out in 1998 and were repeated in 2000, 2002, 2004 and 2007. The reports prepared in 1998 and 2007 are called Comprehensive Spending Reviews, and the others are called Expenditure Review Reports. In 1999, this reform process was introduced under the modernizing government. In 1998 the Service First-The New Charter Program was launched. The Scottish Parliament was established in 1999, the Welsh and Northern Ireland assemblies were established in 1998, and the Greater London Government was created in 2000 (Kuhlmann and Wollmann, 2019)

Being an EU member, Sweden has a population of over 10 million. Sweden, which is a unitary parliamentary monarchy, has 25 provinces. There are also 290 municipalities. Valid from 1809 to 1974, the monarch ruled the kingdom alone, its rule was changed by the 1974 Constitutional Act to all public power in Sweden. Since 1990, the number of employees has decreased in local and central government. After the tax reform of 1991, the majority of local government expenditures in Sweden were met by income taxes collected by local governments. In the same year, a budget reform was made. The Swedish Local Government Act 1992, which finalized Sweden's territorial organization of local government, organized Swedish local governments into 290 municipalities, each run by a municipal council made up of elected members. The Local Government Act of 1991, in which the powers of the central government were transferred to local governments, was the final point of these reforms. The practices aimed at ensuring budget discipline in 1996 accelerated with the transition to the balanced

budget rule as of 2000. Thus; local governments have been given the authority to borrow only for investment expenditures. In 2003, a new organization, the National Audit Office, was established (Öberg and Wockelberg, 2012)

A Constitutional Monarchy, Denmark is a country of 5.8 million people with a unitary regime and a parliamentary democracy. Denmark is also a member of the EU. The most recent public administration reform in the country took place in 2007. The number of municipalities was reduced from 271 to 98. The country consists of 5 regions and has 11 provinces in the unitary system. In Denmark, after 1980 and more intensively after 1990, the government brought about serious central and local government reforms. Within the framework of the reforms, the duties, limits and responsibilities of the public administration were rearranged. The role and importance of municipalities has increased. Owing to the structuring of the Union of Local and Regional Authorities created in 1998, representatives of administrative units, capital representatives, university members and NGO representatives together made a study called Public Services Quality Strategy (Ongaro, 2019).

Finland, which became a member of the EU in 1995, has a population of 5.5 million. The country is a unitary republic and is governed by a semi-presidential system. The country consists of 19 regions. While experiencing a deep economic depression and financial crisis in the 1990s, the transition to results-based management and decentralization of the public sector was accelerated. In 2003, the 'horizontal Information Society Policy Program' was launched. In 2010, the Regional State Administrative Agency was established. These became the local offices of the central government. The status of public institutions such as Post and Telecommunication Authority, State Railways, National Printing Authority, National Institute of Geography, Public Food Service Authority, National Data Processing Center was changed between 1989 and 1990, and a significant number of public personnel cadres were canceled with a reform. By the reforms initiated in 2005, municipalities were merged in order to benefit from economies of scale, increase the service capacity of municipalities and improve service quality, and therefore, the number of municipalities has decreased significantly in recent years. The administration at the regional level was changed and reformed in 2010 as part of the Reform Project for Regional Governments, namely ALKU. Owing to this restructuring, provincial offices, economic and employment centers, regional environmental centers, agencies that allow environmental use, regional offices and occupational health and safety areas affiliated to the central government have been gradually reduced (Ahonen, 2014: 753). Their functions

and duties have been transferred to two regional administrations. According to Moisiso et al (2010), these administrative units can be summed up as Regional State Administration (AVI) and Center for Economic Development, Transport and Environment (ELY).

Looking at Norway, it is not an EU member. Its population is 5.4 million. This country, which is ruled by a monarchy, has a parliamentary and unitary regime. 11 administrative regions are subdivisions of Norway. Norway adopted the ILO resolution on indigenous peoples in 1990. The free local governments' reform process, which started in 1986, continued with the new local governments law enacted in 1993. That is, in 1993, a law was published containing the main issues related to the organization of municipalities and provincial local administrations. Issues related to planning and information, political and administrative organization, elected local representatives are regulated. Here, the financing of local administrations and the position of central administrators are also regulated. This law, which is regulated by municipalities and provincial local administrations, is called the Local Administrations Law. The number of provincial local administrations, which was 20 with the 1996 reform, decreased to 19 in terms of number. By the same reform, the number of municipalities decreased from 744 to 435 (Christensen and Lwogreid, 1998: 463).

Being different from Norway and UK, Ireland is still an EU member and has a population of 4.8 million. It has a unitary system and has a parliamentary republican regime. The country initiated an important reform by enacting the public administration-ethics law in 1995. Indeed, the general auditor law was renewed in 1993, before this session. Three years later, a program was launched under the name of a better neighborhood-program for change. In the same year, an amendment was made to the health law. In 1997, Ireland enacted the law on public administration management. In the same year, the government also initiated the law on freedom of access to information (Adshead, 2005: 164)

Lithuania has a population of 2.8 million and is a parliamentary democracy. There are 10 provinces and 60 municipalities in the country. In 1994, the first public administration reforms were initiated. Since Lithuania became a member of the EU in 2003, these reforms have been updated as of 2000. In its final form, provinces, municipalities and sub-districts were defined as three basic levels of administration. There are about 500 sub-districts in the country. Indeed, the country has undergone a major change in terms of local governments and their financing in 2009 and 2010. Administrative regions were abolished in 2010.

As of 2015, mayors are directly elected and serve for a period of four years (Nakrošis, 2018: 103)

Another Northern European country, Latvia has a population of 1.8 million. It became a member of the European Union in 2004. The local government law came into force in 1994. There are five provinces in the country. Many municipalities were merged in 2009. The number of municipalities in the country has decreased from 524 to 119. The municipal level was also reduced from two levels to one level. Although not at the constitutional level, political autonomies have been updated for local governments with this current 2009 reform, being increased (Thijs et al., 2017: 95).

In Estonia case, we see that it is a country with a population of 1.3 million. The country regime can be defined as a unitary parliamentary republic. There are 15 different provinces in Estonia. By the 1992 reform, a single-stage local government regime was introduced in the country. In 2004, the number of local governments was reduced. The Law on the Development of Local Government Mergers was a reform that led to this regulation. A new reform was initiated in 2014. In 2016, the Administrative Reform Law was passed by the parliament. Here, five thousand population criteria have been introduced for municipalities. It was desired to give consolidation facilities to those who are below this. In this process, which lasted until 2018, merger incentives were made for municipalities. Looking at the year 2017, it can be mentioned that the number decreased from 2013 to 79. This year, the office of the governor was also abolished. As of 2018, most of the duties of governors were transferred to ministries, municipalities or a special unit by transfer of authority (Sarapuu, 2011:69).

Iceland, one of the most secluded countries in Europe with a population of around 365 thousand, is not a member of the EU, but a unitary and parliamentary republic. There are 14 cities and 23 regions in the country. The Public Administration Act 1993 and the Public Information Act 1994 laid the groundwork for reform in Iceland. It entered the European Economic Area in 1994. By the reforms of 2003, the banking sector was privatized (Kristinsson, 2021:123)

Looking at the micro countries, Channel Islands, which is a country dependent on England in foreign affairs with a population of 171 thousand, is one of the countries in northern Europe. The Bailiwick of Guernsey and the Bailiwick of Jersey are the two subunits that make up this country (Maasey, 2004:423). A constitutional reform was made in 2005 in order to establish the principle of separation of powers in the country (Morris, 2018 :109)

Among the northern European countries, another micro country, the Isle of Man has a population of about 84 thousand. This country also has a crown dependency, that is, it has a dependency on the UK in foreign affairs. The country is not a member of the EU. Four types of parishes were defined for local units. There are a total number of 17 parishes (Carmichael, 2002) These types are corporation of town parishes, districts, village districts and parish districts. The country has a parliamentary democratic constitutional monarchy. The legal amendments such as the land registration law in 1982, the Local Elections Law in 1986, the supreme judicial reform in 1991, the Climate Change Law of 2021 and the Income Tax Law in 2022 draw attention as significant reforms (Parr and Gell, 2021)

The third micro country in the north, Faroe Islands, with a population of 52 thousand, is another country located in the north of Europe. The country is dependent on Denmark for foreign affairs. Furthermore, the country has a parliamentary monarchy and the prime minister is responsible for the administration of the country. It is a country with an administrative structure in which there are 29 municipalities and 120 scattered settlements. Two separate attempts were made in the country in 2011 and 2015 to have a constitution different from the Danish Constitution, but they were unsuccessful. The country is not a member of the EU. The ideal of developing villages was abandoned by a public administration reform in the 1990s. Instead, regional development and regional administrations were encouraged and strengthened. Small rural villages and municipalities were also sought to be combined with the same reform initiative. Indeed, within the scope of this reform, large investments have started to be made in the infrastructure that will connect the regions (Pieters, 2021:99)

## **5. The review of Southern countries**

Italy is a democracy with a population of over 60 million, governed by a parliamentary democracy. Since the unitary system exists, it has 96. However, since there is a regional management system, there are 20 regions in Italy. There are over eight thousand communes in the country. In Italy, the fundamental reform of the civil servants' regime took place in 1993, and today only a few thousand top civil servants are covered by civil service law, while the rest are regulated by labor law and collective bargaining agreements. The public administration reforms that started in the 1980s in the Italian public administration gained momentum in the 1990s. A sharp distinction was made between decision makers

and those who implement them, the status of public officials was changed, and a contract system was introduced instead of a lifetime job and career guarantee. The powers of the central government in the country have been reduced in favor of local and regional governments. While the powers of the Prime Minister were increased, the number of ministries was reduced. Reforms were made for senior public officials in the same direction. In the public sector, innovations were made that evoke the understanding of the private sector. The pressure of the National Audit Office on local governments was eased, and a transition from pre-expenditure control to post-expenditure control and performance auditing was carried out. With the law adopted in Italy in 2009, two separate units that can be effective in the field of auditing have been created. These can be expressed as the Independent Evaluation Unit (OIV) and the Public Administration Evaluation, Transparency and Integrity Commission. Italy, one of the founding countries of the European Union, emphasized the importance of the autonomy of regional and local governments, which comes with EU policies. It was seen that the autonomy provided by the Italian Constitution to local and regional governments in certain issues was not sufficient and new regulations were made to correct this situation. Important steps were taken towards decentralization in the 1990s. Local governments were strengthened by holding a referendum in 1990. By the Law No. 142, the scope of autonomy was expanded by giving important powers to local governments in administrative and financial terms. The reforms made especially in 1990 and 2001 in order to eliminate the inadequacies of the centralized administration are very important for local governments. In 1990, the new local autonomy system was enacted. Between 1990 and 1997, the financial autonomy of regions and municipalities was significantly increased. It is possible to say that with the reforms made in 1990, real autonomy was given to local governments. According to the principle of decentralization in Italy, provinces and municipalities have administrative powers. Owing to the law enacted in 1993, the institutions of the municipalities and provinces, and then with the laws enacted in 1995 and 1999, the institutions of the regions can be selected by majority election. Thus, it gave legal basis to elect their own institutions, parliamentary seats and administrators (Hinna and Ceschel, 2021: 120)

Spain, which became an EU member in 1986, has a population of 47 million. The country is a unitary parliamentary monarchy. There are 50 provinces, 17 autonomous regions and 2 autonomous cities in the country. Local government reforms are defined by the local governments law enacted in 1985,

within the framework of the provisions of the Constitution and the framework determined by it. This Law ordered that laws and other legislation enacted by both the parliament and local assemblies be adapted to it within a certain period of time. 6/1997 and 50/1997 laws were the identical laws about the reforms on general administrative framework and functioning. The Spanish Constitution also includes the existence of some local units apart from the provincial administration and municipalities. Article 103 of the 1978 constitution is about the public administration regime. In 2015, the legal basis of the public administration system was determined with the laws numbered 39/2015 and 40/2015. Reforms were made about the legacy of the public administration regime in Law No. 33/2003, on public grants with Law No. 38/2003, and on royal directives with Law No. 5/2015 (Parrado, 2018).

Greece is a unitary parliamentary republic. The population of the country is around 10 million. The country joined the European Union in 1981. The country consists of 13 geographical regions. There are 74 regional sub-units. There are also 325 municipalities. The Kapodistrias reform in 1997 is one of the important revision reforms made in the country recently. The reforms of 2011 are very important for the country. By the Kallikratis Reform, which came into effect in 2011, a 3-level local government was finally established. This reform period is also called the Kallikratis program. Amendments were made to the 1975 Constitution in 1986, 2001 and finally in 2008. The state structure of Greece and the position of the legislative, executive and judicial powers were regulated at the constitutional level in the 1975 Constitution and took its final form with the 2008 amendment. In 2001, new citizenship rights, genetics and data protection, transparency in funding of political campaigns, relations between the mass media and government, regulation of the judicial system and decentralization of government were regulated at the constitutional level (Lampropoulou and Oikonomou, 2018:109)

Portugal, which has a unitary semi-presidential system, is a republic. The population of the country is around 10.2 million. Admission to the EU took place in 1986. There are 18 different units in mainland Portugal. There are 308 municipalities in the country. Apart from the mainland, there are two autonomous regions. These regions are called Azores and Madeira, and they are not divided into sub-administrative sciences. In a referendum held in 1998, the mainland was rejected to be divided into 8 different regions. The decision to create metropolitan cities in Lisbon and Porto emerged in 1991. Owing to the 2003 reforms, it was decided to expand the metropolitan areas. This reform

enabled both the strengthening of urban communities and the promotion of municipal associations. The reforms of 2008 revised the municipal associations and changed their format. A new type of union has been brought into an inter-municipal format. By the 2013 referendum, the differences were reduced and two types of administrative units were defined. These units can be described as metropolitan units and inter-municipal communities. While there were 308 municipalities and 4259 neighborhoods before this reform, 3091 neighborhoods were created after this reform (Teles, 2020:447).

Serbia is a unitary parliamentary republic with a population of 6.8 million. The country has 5 regions, 29 counties, 150 municipalities. 33 of them are city municipalities. The country is not a member of the EU, but is a candidate. By the 2009 reforms in the country, the number of regions was reduced from 7 to 5. In 2014, a reform strategy plan was published with civil servants (Đinđić and Bajić, 2018:17). The country has an ideal of becoming a member of the EU in 2025. In 2021, it has put forward another reform plan that it plans to complete by 2030 (Zlatanović et al., 2022:36; Zaka, 2021:5).

Croatia, a member of the European Union, has a population of 4.2 million. The most recent reform occurred in 2006 and there are 127 cities and 429 municipalities in the country. The country is a unitary democratic parliamentary republic. It is the last country to join the EU and the accession took place in 2013 (Koprić, 2011:8). The modernization, search for quality and reform process in public administration, which started after 1990 in Croatia, led the country to EU values. In Croatia, the ombudsman was established in 1993 by the Ombudsman Act 1992. In 1997, the EU Charter of Local Self-Government was adopted. Local and regional self-government is legally structured by the Constitution, the Local and Regional Self-Government Act in effect from 2001, subsequent amendments, and other laws structuring these issues of self-government. It is also seen that the public administration reforms in Croatia, especially after the 2000s, are designed as democratic, decentralization-oriented, ethically based, transparent and participatory. The first Public Administration Reform Strategy was adopted in 2008 (Koprić, 2008). A Public Administration Reform Strategy has been developed for the period 2015-2020 in Croatia. New reform topics are included in the Croatia 2030 strategy (Vojković, 2022,1123).

Established in 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a member of the EU. The country has about 3.5 million inhabitants. The federated country is governed by the presidential system. The country consists of two sub-states. 13 states and 232 cities are located in this country. It gained its current structure

with the Dayton Peace Agreement. There are a total of 78 municipalities in the country, which has two metropolitan municipalities. By the 2004 local government reform, the mayor was started to be elected by the people instead of the council. There are 10 cantonal administrations. In 2004, the Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Administration Reform Coordinator Office was established. In 2006, the National Public Administration Reform Strategy and I. Action Plan were introduced, which were adopted by all levels of government in the country. At the end of 2010, the 1st Action Plan was revised and re-adopted to cover the years 2011-2014 (Zaka, 2021).

Albania is a unitary parliamentary country with a population of 2.8 million. There are 12 regional councils and 73 city municipalities in the country. The country is one of the candidates for the EU. The first democratic elections were held on May 31, 1991 in Albania, which switched to a multi-party system. The last constitution in Albania towards democratization was made on 28 November 1998. In 1999, the Public Administration Training Center was established under the Public Administration Department. Being an EU candidate country in 2006 has had an impact on the acceleration of Albania's political development, and has played an important role in the establishment of the democratic management approach in Albania today. In 2006, the Albanian government made a serious reform of the scientific research system. Thus, it was aimed to reverse the brain drain in the country. In 2008, the Albanian Strategy for Higher Education and the National Strategy for Development and Integration (2007–2013) were adopted. In 2009, the Regional Planning Law was adopted. The National Strategy for Science, Technology and Innovation in Albania covering the years 2009-2015 was adopted in 2009. In 2009, the Albanian Research, Technology and Innovation Institution was established. In 2012, the Draft Civil Service Law was prepared to form the basis for the public administration reform. In addition, studies on the Draft Law on General Administrative Procedure continue (Kume, and Qejvani, 2021)

North Macedonia, which has a population of 1.8 million, consists of 84 municipalities and 8 regions. By the reform made in 1996 in the country, the number of municipalities was reduced from 123. But this reduction was not by closing the municipality, but by merging the municipalities. In 2005, it obtained the status of a candidate country to the EU. The country faced very serious economic problems in the 1990s, and it continues to experience a very serious reform process after the 2001 crisis. Since 1991, two local government laws have been introduced, one in 1995 and the other in 2002,

which is comprehensive and still in effect today. Constitutional changes in local governments started in 2001. Owing to a new law and elections in 2005, local government functions were divided among 78 municipalities. Today, there are 84 municipalities. The country was selected as the best reformer country by the World Bank in 2009. By the service reforms after 2010, in the North Macedonian Civil Servant system, employees are subjected to vocational training both during the candidacy period and for the needs of the institution they work for. In North Macedonia, civil servants have the “right to receive additional wages” if they work on weekends, at night, in shifts of more than 24 hours and in high-risk jobs (Garding, 2019).

Slovenia is one of the EU member states. The population of the country is around 2.1 million. The country has eleven provinces and 210 municipalities (Kovač et al., 2016). In 2002, the Law on the Public Salary System was enacted. The 2014-2018 government established a Government Project Office. In November 2016, the Ministry of Public Administration initiated a project to improve the law-making process. In 2018, this understanding of reform was expanded. This evaluation process has been extended for all policy branches. The transparency program was launched in 2017-2019 (Mazur, 2021). By the 2019-2022 action plan, an improvement program in public services was initiated for activities such as planning and budgeting (Kukovič, 2022:174).

Montenegro has a population of approximately 670 thousand. There are three regions, under these regions there are 24 counties. While there are 21 district-level municipalities, there are 3 city-level municipalities. Montenegro is one of the EU candidate countries. Montenegro has adopted many laws and initiated changes in various fields in order to adjust its legal system to that of Europe. The large number of laws and amendments adopted is a result of the development of the European integration process. Parliament has a legislative role according to the Constitution. A public administration program was announced in the 2016-2020 budget. The 2014-2020 Indicative Country Strategy Paper is another announced reform strategy program. The Economic Reform Program 2017-2019 has been determined as the economic reform agenda. The Public Administration Reform Strategy 2016-2020 was adopted in 2016. The National Environmental Approximation Strategy and action plan were also adopted in 2016 (Injac, 2022:85)

Malta is an EU member state with a population of five hundred thousand. Malta is a parliamentary republic. There are 3 regions and 7 local government units in the country. The most up-to-date and well-established public administration

reform in the country took place between 1988 and 1995. It enacted the Local Assembly Law in 1993. Indeed, after many reforms, the country became an EU member in 2003. In 2009, the Local Assembly Law was revised. Moreover, the Freedom of Information Act was enacted in 2012. In 2016, the Public Administration Act was also amended. The Whistle Blower Act was enacted in 2013 with the Criminal Law and anti-corruption regulation. The Institute for the Public Services was also founded in 2016 (Bianco, 2021).

Andorra, another micro-state, has a population of 77 thousand. A unitary parliamentary is a country governed by a constitutional elective diarchy. It has an administrative structure consisting of 7 parish and 2 municipalities (Everest-Phillips and Henry, 2018). When we look at the recent reforms in the country, we can remember the regulations on education in 2016 and the tax reform that will be prepared in 2022 and come into effect in 2023. This reform process was initiated in 2013 with the first regulations. A radio-TV and broadcasting reform took place in 2000 (Harts, 2021).

According to some sources, Gibraltar can also be considered a state even though it is a UK overseas territory. There is a population of thirty-two thousand in this region, which clinched its right to manage its own cat with the 2006 constitution. Although there are seven residential areas, it is not possible to say that they are administrative divisions. Another recent reform was planned through a commission in 2012 under the title of the democratic and political reform agenda. The reform package in the country was announced in 2019. By this package, innovations were made in the areas of responsibility, unit management, and reorganization of units (Pieters, 2021b: 118).

San Marino as a country of 34 thousand people includes the saddle in the south of Europe. It has a government structure that is described as a unitary parliamentary diarchic directorial republic. It has a government structure that is described as a unitary parliamentary diarchic directorial republic. Municipalities are the largest administrative units in the country. Only 9 different municipalities are located in the country. The 1974 constitution in the country presented the basic principles for the public administration regime. 184/2005 is one of the first reform initiatives in the last period. By the law numbered 188/2011, the structure of township councils was changed (Pieters, 2021c, 209).

The Holy See is also a country with a population of about 805. The most recent reform initiative in the country took place in 2013. Until 2014, it was decided to revise the transparency, simplicity, integration and financial standards with the work of the commission (Gesiak, 2017). The country is a monarchy and

is ruled by the Pope (Güllü, 2019). However, it is the smallest country in the world and consists of a single administrative unit.

Although it is not seen as such in many classifications, Turkey can also be seen as a Southern European country according to some sources. Turkey is a constitutional republic with a unitary presidential system with a population of 84 million. There are 81 provinces in the country. There are 1391 municipalities in total and it can be said that there are 30 metropolitan municipalities. Turkey is not a member of the EU, but its candidacy status was upheld by the European Council in 2001. In 2003, the Public Financial Management and Control Law No. 5018 was enacted. In the Law No. 4982 on the Right to Obtain Information, enacted in 2003, it has been committed that everyone has the right to obtain information, and that they can request information about them from public institutions and organizations within the framework of a democratic, transparent and open approach. By the enactment of the Law No. 5176 on the Establishment of the Public Servants Ethics Committee in 2004, it was accepted that the public servants should act according to the principles and principles of ethical behavior, and the Public Servants Ethics Committee was established to ensure this. Probably the most concrete reforms regarding local governments are the Law on Special Provincial Administration No. 5302 and Law No. 5393 on Municipalities, which were enacted in 2005 (Çetin, 2010). Owing to the Law No. 5449 on the Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies, which entered into force in 2006, it has become possible for local people, public and private sector organizations to use their resources and activate local potential in a governance-based manner. It was rearranged under the title of “Right to Information and Ombudsman” with the amendment made to the Constitution with a referendum on 12/09/2010 By the Constitutional Amendment Law No. 6771, which entered into force in 2017, for the first time in Turkey, the transition from the Parliamentary System to the Presidential Government System has resulted in significant changes in the structure of the public administration (Kutlu and Kahraman, 2020)

## **6. Conclusion**

In the current period, the change process from the traditional public administration approach to the new public administration understanding has been very rooted. By the development of a more flexible, transparent, participatory, decentralized, accountable and managerial dimension of public administration, states in Europe were reduced to a more minimal level. This process has resulted in the

reorganization of the relations between the individual and the state in countries. Whether it is an EU member or not, parliamentary or not, the closed structure in the understanding of public administration and which cannot keep up with the change is thought to be broken with reforms. The success of the public administration reforms in the east, west, south or north, which are closely related to the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the countries in Europe and which must be carried out as a part of the system as a whole, is undoubtedly due to the fact that the reforms are aimed at realistic goals and objectives, as well as to the various depended on the support of the parties.

Appropriate policies and strategies to be followed in European countries have not been sufficient on their own. It is necessary to explain the benefits of public administration reforms very well, especially to those who will be reformed, and to turn the general opinion about the reform into a positive atmosphere. It is understood that the reforms have been prepared by governments across Europe and are seriously supported according to the same perspective. In fact, although reforms are seen as a recipe for salvation in many countries, unfortunately, not every reform attempt has resulted in the same way. While the strategies and reforms were successful with the insistent policies of the governments, some reforms could not go beyond being on paper, since some reforms did not receive enough social and political support.

Although the reform movements in public administration have been implemented with different methods and instruments in each European country, some common aspects of the reforms draw attention. For example, when we look at the northern European examples, it is seen that the reforms within the scope of the new public administration are carried out on some common issues. These common issues can be said to be downsizing of the state, restructuring, privatization, ensuring efficiency in public functioning and services, performance management, focusing on the citizen like the customer, accountability and transparency, acting like an operator, competitiveness, being result-oriented, taking responsibility, less hierarchy and precaution.

It is also understood that these examples, almost all of which are included in the classification of developed economies or countries in Europe, have guided the new public administration principles in the reform movements. The understanding that reforms should be implemented as a part of the national development approach can be seen as the main characteristic of this period. However, since the reform targets are determined in general terms in the plans, it is difficult to say that the reforms were carried out concretely with the

plans. It is seen that the new public administration and reform understanding strategies, which came to the forefront in Europe in the 1980s, were concretely reconsidered and implemented in most countries, especially as of the 2000s. In Europe, it has been decided in most countries that public administrations use their resources economically, effectively and efficiently, based on the strategic planning approach, and monitoring risk and process management in management with the internal audit system. Participation and accountability practices were emphasized. In this context, it has been accepted throughout Europe that everyone has the right to information and this right needs to be improved. In addition, with the recent developments in almost all countries, the ethical principles and rules that public officials must comply with in financial management have been bound to certain standards.

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## CHAPTER VII

# PUBLIC POLICY: CONCEPT AND THEORY\*

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### 1. Introduction

One of the main tasks of governments is to improve their ability to solve social problems and respond to the needs of the people. The embodiment of this task is public policies. In this context, public policy is defined as “the art of creating and solving problems worth solving” (Akdoğan 2015a: 214).

As a result of the change and development of societies, social problems also diversify and deepen. This causes the studies in public policy to gain new qualifications and to be associated with many disciplines such as politics, law, economy, and sociology, especially public administration. Thus, the public policy literature has become rich and complex.

This study aims to create a conceptual and theoretical framework for the developments in the public policy literature. For this purpose, first of all, the definition, features, elements, scope, and types of public policy are discussed. The historical course of public policy is examined, and then prominent theories in this field are explained in the axis of the public policy process.

### 2. Public Policy in General

Examining the etymology of the word “policy,” Dunn (2008: 34) made the following analysis: The word “policy” emerges from the Greek “*polis*” (city-

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state), the ancient Sanskrit “*pur*” (city), and the Latin “*politia*” (state) words. These words eventually evolved from the medieval English word “*policie*” meaning “actualization of public activities” or “administration of government.” The concept of politics in Turkish is used in two different ways. The first of these is the usage in the sense of political science (politics). The second one is used in terms of purpose and how to handle a job (policy) (Altınok & Gedikkaya, 2016: 244). Security policy, education policy, and similar uses are examples of secondary use.

There are various studies on public policy in the literature, and many scholars have tried to define public policy from different perspectives. This has created a richness of definition in terms of characteristics. The most well-known definition of public policy is the definition of “*everything that governments choose to do or not do*” made by Dye (2013: 3). With this definition, Dye has not limited the scope of public policy to the actions taken by the public, but has also included the things that the public does not prefer to do, into the public policy. Even this inactive state of government has a huge impact on society. While the government’s inaction on any issue may positively affect one part of society, it may negatively affect another. On the other hand, according to Kraft & Furlong (2018: 38), public policy is a series of actions or inactions that governments develop in response to public problems. Public policy also encompasses official policy objectives, policy instruments, the actions of policy actors, and the actual behavior of these actors.

It is possible to examine the characteristics of public policy through definitions. Anderson (2003) claims that the definition mentioned above of Dye is not descriptive enough. According to Anderson, public policy should be evaluated systematically based on some concepts. These concepts are that public policy consists of purposeful actions, is carried out by actor(s), and includes determination. Birkland (2011: 9) argues that a policy can be a set of legal regulations governing a particular problem area or problem. On the other hand, Akdoğan (2015b: 77), emphasizing the policy actors, defined public policy as any activity carried out by a public institution or officially authorized in any matter by the legal power of the state. Similarly, Çevik & Demirci (2012: 13) stipulate that public policy should be formed by a public institution or handled within the framework of public administration. Usta (2013: 24) emphasized that public policies are “an expression of public power.” The main features of public policy can be listed as follows (Anderson, 2003: 5; Birkland, 2011: 8; Yıldız & Sobacı, 2015: 18):

Authorized government action: It is the action implemented by the government body with public policy and political and financial authority.

- Response to real-world needs or problems: Public policy aims to respond to the concrete needs or problems of society or groups (citizens, non-governmental organizations, or government bodies).
- Goal-oriented: Public policy represents initiatives and actions to meet a social need or solve problems and envisages reaching a specific goal.
- A course of action: Public policy is often not a single decision, action, or reaction but a detailed approach or process.
- A decision to do or not to do something: A detailed public policy can either attempt to resolve a problem or be based on the belief that no action will be taken.
- A decision made: Public policy is a predetermined decision, not an intention or a promise. The purpose of public policy can be explained beforehand and left for later.
- Distribution of resources: Public policy is the equitable distribution of resources, eliminating social conflicts, and protecting individual rights.

### ***2.1. Scope and Elements of Public Policy***

Elements of public policy were identified by Usta (2013: 82) as actors, descriptions, processes, institutions, and outcomes. Actors are bodies that have certain powers, can use resources, and can set policy. Descriptions are the background on which the basic normative and cognitive values that guide policies are based. The descriptions are abstract. Institutions are the rules and standards upon which political action is based. Processes involve the interaction of actors over time and the explanation of changing actions. Outcomes are the outputs or effects of public action. Addressing public policies includes the spiritual dimension as well as the material dimension. Therefore, a policy that gives positive results in one country may not produce the same result in another.

Smith & Larimer (2009: 5) point out the impossibility of defining the discipline of public policy as a whole and state that each field develops independently. Considering public policy as an umbrella concept from this point of view, Smith & Larimer divide public policies into three areas. These are policy process, policy evaluation, and policy analysis. While the policy process is concerned with how and why the policy is made, policy analysis is about what needs to be done. On the other hand, policy evaluation systematically considers

the results of the studies carried out. Similarly, Çevik & Demirci (2012: 105) expressed three main ways of public policy. The first is the policy process, which is getting stronger and progressing to become a discipline and focuses more on the implementation phase. With the analytical methods he developed, policy analysis was specified as the second way, while specific policy areas were considered the third way. Analysts who want to specialize in specific areas such as education, health, social security, homeland security, transportation, and the environment can be seen as representatives of the third way.

There is no general framework that binds together public policies. In addition to building scientific theories, it should be added that public policies are value-oriented. Value-oriented theories may not reveal universal truths, but they make it easier to understand the different perspectives underlying conflicts. Describing the public policy as a loosely organized structure, Smith & Larimer (2009: 1) made the analogy of “mood rather than science” for public policy. In other words, public policy can be expressed as a set of rules rather than a tightly associated systematic set of knowledge and art rather than facts.

The public policy literature has a dispersed structure. Sabatier (2007: 3) proposes a solution to this messiness with two basic approaches. According to the first approach, to make sense of complexity, certain issues should be simplified for certain purposes, and complexity should be made understandable from an appropriate point of view. Secondly, it is necessary to take complexity and make sense of the causal relationships that underlie it. If these causal relationships can be identified, a logical framework for how the world works can be established. With field studies, information about a certain policy process can be obtained, but it is difficult to generalize based on this information.

## ***2.2. Types of Public Policy***

As stated above, public policy has different dimensions and complex structures. This situation has led to the classification of public policy according to various variables. Hughes (2013: 193-196) characterizes the positioning of public policy against public administration as reactionary and critical and classifies public policy in three contexts. These are policy analysis, political public policy, and public economic policy. Emphasizing the methodological dimension of policy analysis, Hughes defines the correct understanding of the public policy process and presenting accurate and useful information to decision-makers as the main purpose of policy analysis. For this, policy analysis explores viable patterns of action. Although public policy is considered an interaction between individuals,

it would not be wrong to state that this interaction is open to social and cultural influences. Political public policy theorists generally analyze policy outcomes by considering political interactions in a policy area. Consequently, Hughes argues that treating the public policy process as a dispersed structure is a more realistic formulation.

Anderson (2003: 6) dimensioned public policies according to their domains and made four different classifications. The first of Anderson's classifications is the distinction between "*substantive and procedural policies*." Substantive policies directly provide advantages and disadvantages to citizens and affect daily life. On the other hand, procedural policies determine the principles of how and by whom action will be carried out. Substantive policies parallel the values and norms of society, and procedural policies reflect the preferences of decision-making mechanisms.

Anderson's (2003) second classification is "*distributive, regulatory, self-regulatory and redistributive public policies*." This classification differentiates policies according to their impact on society and the relationships among those involved in the policy process. Distributive policies provide services or benefits to different segments of society. In general, these policies use the government budget as a resource. For example, the government provides private school support to those who meet certain conditions and micro-credits to entrepreneurs who want to start their businesses. Regulatory policies, however, impose certain restrictions on the rights and freedoms of individuals and groups. Policies regulating commercial and industrial life generally are included in this group. In addition, there are regulatory policies that regulate individual responsibilities and social life. While distributive policies are policies that can produce immediate results, regulatory policies are those that are effective in the longer term. Legal regulations regulating compulsory education or preventing air pollution are included in this group.

Self-regulatory policies aim to protect the interests and regulate the rights of members of a particular group. For example, work permits, certification, and licensing procedures in a certain profession are included in this group. Finally, redistributive policies can change social balances, such as the reorganization of welfare among different social masses, the reorganization of privileges provided in favor of some groups, and the transfer of some powers by the central government to local governments.

Anderson's (2003) third classification is based on the *material-symbolic* distinction. Material public policies provide a positive or negative financial

benefit or power to target audiences. Symbolic public policies, as the name suggests, are policies that provide moral rather than material advantages to those they benefit from. Social justice, patriotism, and the promotion of human rights are included in this category. Anderson's final classification is the distinction between *collective goods and private goods*. While national services such as education, advocacy, or local services such as a streetlight are collective goods, solid waste collection, health care, or postal service are private goods.

### 3. Public Policy in Terms of Historical Development

Public policies are as old as governments. Regardless of the form of government in the historical process, all governments have formulated and implemented various public policies to cope with the people's demands. The historical course of public policy studies has been handled by Yıldız et al. (2016: 136) in three stages.

The first stage is the dominance of the developing consultancy institution in societies where the "ruling-ruled" structure based on the division of labor is effective. The first public policy records are found in Mesopotamia in the 21st century BC. The Laws of Hammurabi in the 18th century BC, the works of Confucius in China, the works of Aristotle in Greece, and Kautilya in India are ancient public policy documents (Dunn, 2008: 34). In this period, wise people, advisers of governments, generally advised senior managers to solve social problems. These recommendations have been of partial and local quality and remained as personal comments (Akdoğan, 2015b: 79). For example, Plato's proposition that philosophers should be kings or those kings should be philosophers is important in terms of public policy understanding. Machiavelli's statements about the characteristics of the actors in the policy-making process can be considered in this sense.

Orkhon Monuments, written in the 8th century, are important documents in Turkish history. In his work "El Medinetül Fazila," Farabi discusses the qualities that rulers should have. In Ibn Khaldun's *Mukaddime*, there are evaluations related to the public policy, such as the theory of the state and the classification of services (Yıldız & Sobacı, 2015: 32). The advice given to Osman Gazi by Sheikh Edebali, which later became the spiritual constitution of the Ottoman Empire, is an example of these.

The second period, which started in the 18th century, is the systematic data collection and processing of these data with scientific methods. For example, cameralism, which aims to establish a modern management structure, has

been shaped according to the principles of public policy analysis in terms of its theoretical background and implementation. In addition, the “Progressive Movement” implemented by the President of the United States (USA) Wilson is another important example of this period.

The third period after the Second World War is considered the starting point of the public policies and is the most cited period. This period was shaped mainly by studies using analytical methods that started in the USA (Yıldız et al., 2016: 136-142). The most important of these is the work of Harold Lasswell (DeLeon & Martel, 2006: 31; Birkland, 2011: 7). Lasswell (1951) defined political sciences as “a science that produces knowledge about the problems of the society and tries to explain the policy-making processes of the society” (Altunok & Gedikkaya, 2016: 21). The USA’s questioning of its public order against the world order that emerged after the Second World War is the main theme of Lasswell’s works. Lasswell highlighted public policy as the most important response of governments to problems. Since this period, public policy has developed rapidly in the USA. The first of the basic assumptions of this development is that political science is considered based on a problem. Secondly, because each problem area consists of different components, it requires an interdisciplinary approach. The last one is based on values (Hupe & Hill, 2016: 16; Köseoğlu, 2013: 8).

While the public policy was under the influence of the behavioral paradigm in the 1960s, it has been influenced by the disciplines of public choice, economics, and sociology since the 1970s (Akyıldız & Akman, 2012: 294). Concepts such as public management, governance, participation, and negotiation have gained importance since the last quarter of the 20th century and have given a new impetus to public policy studies. Positivist analysis techniques such as strategic management, cost-benefit analysis, and system analysis became effective again in decision-making processes (Köseoğlu, 2013: 11-12). It is seen that problem-oriented studies and field studies have gained weight since the 1990s (Akyıldız & Akman, 2012: 294).

#### **4. Public Policy Process and Classical Approach**

Heywood (2011: 506) attributes the treatment of public policy as a process to the fact that it covers many stages, such as a chain of interrelated actions, determination of solutions to problems, and implementation of the decisions taken. Since the public policy is considered a process, the decisions, actors, events, and movements in the process should be considered. Although he

criticizes the incremental model, Sabatier (1999: 3) also explains the policy process under the incremental model as follows: “In the process of creating public policy, problems are conceptualized, brought to the agenda for a solution, government agencies formulate solution alternatives, select the most appropriate solution, implement, evaluate and revise these solutions”

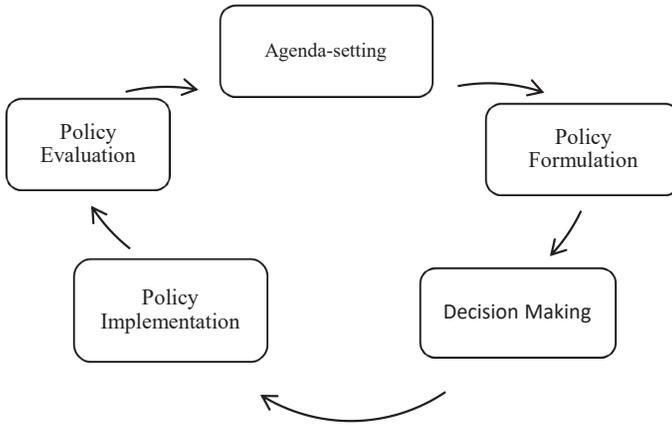
The understanding of the public policy process started in the 1950s and gained an important place in the public administration in a short time. Undoubtedly, one of the main reasons for this development is its positive effect on increasing the quality of public service. Many theories have been produced to understand the public policy process. *Stage Heuristics*, which is based on the work of Laswell (1951), is the most well-known of the theories that systematically explain the public policy process and has been developed over time.<sup>1</sup> According to Lasswell, the public policy process is divided into seven main stages. These stages are (1) intelligence, (2) promotion, (3) prescription, (4) invocation, (5) application (6) termination and (7) appraisal (Cited by: Hupe ve Hill, 2016: 16).

The policy process has been considered by Birkland (2011: 25-26) as a kind of system that transforms policy ideas into real policies with positive effects. Birkland considers the policy process based on Easton’s systems approach. Easton designed politics and policy making as a system with input-output and feedback dimensions in 1965. The system takes inputs and requests affected by the characteristics of the policy environment and transforms them into policies. Thus, systems models see politics as the product of many influences inside and outside of government.

Smith & Larimer (2009: 31) suggest a similar method. A problem must first come to the attention of the government. Policymakers then develop solutions to solve the problem, specifying what they perceive to be the most appropriate solution, and then evaluate whether they serve their purpose. Since a public policy rarely produces a complete solution to the problem, the stage of redefining the problem is started according to the results of the evaluation.

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<sup>1</sup> In the literature, there are nomenclatures such as the Classical approach, the Stage Heuristic Model, and the Progressive Model.

**Figure 1:** Public Policy Process

**Source:** Dye, 2013: 51.

Studies conducted since the 2000s show that the public policy process is mainly examined in five stages.<sup>2</sup> (Figure 1). These stages consist of (1) agenda-setting, (2) policy formulation, (3) decision-making, (4) policy implementation, and (5) evaluation (Dye, 2013: 5; Anderson, 2003: 27; Çevik & Demirci, 2012: 54-55; Yıldız & Sobacı, 2015: 24-25). As mentioned above, the public policy process is mainly handled through the classical approach. For this reason, detailing the classical approach with its stages will benefit understanding the public policy process.

#### ***4.1. Agenda-setting***

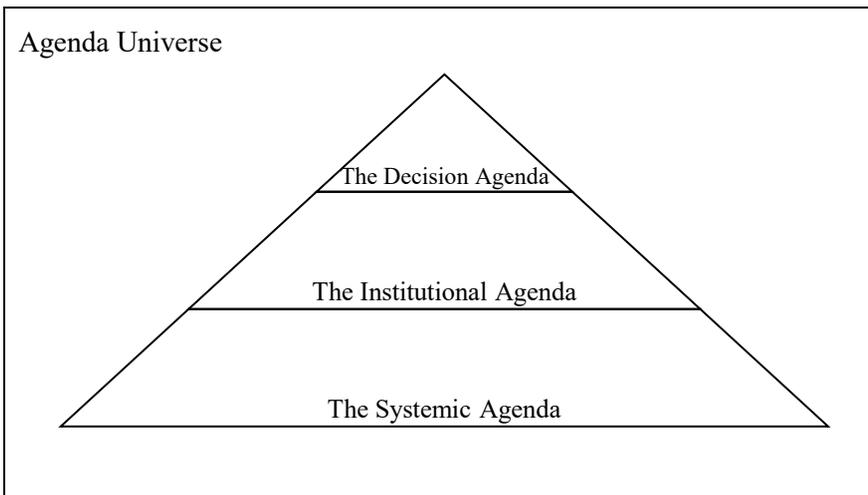
Governments are faced with a myriad of problems to be solved and a variety of demands that must be met. Out of this sea of problems, those that the government will bring forward, those that will be postponed, or those that will not be taken into account form the basis of this stage. (Birkland, 2011: 169). Akdoğan (2015a: 213) defines agenda setting as “the examination of how important or prioritized a particular public policy issue is for a particular public policy actor.” While agenda setting is mainly handled as an initiative of civil society, defining the problem -as in other stages of the policy process- is characterized as a process in which the state is more effective.

<sup>2</sup> This concept is expressed as “public policy processes” in policy analysis and as “stages” in the classical approach..

The way the problem is defined also affects the solution policies to be created. Groups that want possible solution proposals to develop under their interests want to be more active in defining problems. In addition, the first step in the struggle to keep rival groups out of the solution is to exclude them from the definition of the problem. For this reason, hard struggles are experienced between rival groups during the agenda-setting (Demir, 2011: 111).

Dunn (2008: 84), who takes the definition of the problem from a broader perspective, proposes a four-stage problem structuring process. These are problem research, problem definition, identification of problem characteristics, and problem perception. In structuring the problems, the groups affecting the problem and affected by the problem should be determined in detail. Through this gradual process, a fundamental problem becomes a formalized problem. The main goal here is to understand the nature of the problem. A proper understanding of the nature of the problem can help discover hidden assumptions, diagnose causes, map potential targets, synthesize conflicting views, and design new policy options.

**Figure 2:** Phases of the Policy Agenda



**Source:** Birkland, 2007: 65.

On the other hand, Cobb & Elder (1983) defined the policy agenda by dividing it into stages (Figure 2). The most general level of the agenda is the agenda universe, which includes all the ideas that can be put forward and discussed in a society or political system. The systemic agenda consists of all the problems

generally perceived by the members of the political community, which attract the public's attention and include issues related to the legitimate scope of the current government authority. The institutional agenda is the sum of the items listed for active and serious consideration of the institution's decision mechanisms. The last phase is the decision agenda. Undoubtedly, very few of the problems that make up the agenda universe reach the decision agenda (Cited by: Birkland, 2007: 65-66).

#### **4.2. Policy Formulation**

Policy formulation is the development of policy alternatives to produce solutions to the problems on the public agenda and respond to the needs. The formulation of policies is usually made by middle managers, not top managers (Dye: 2013: 44; Anderson, 2003:101). Pressure groups, bureaucracy, commissions formed in the parliament, and think tanks play a role in interacting with each other. The strength of these actors' ideas, and especially the stability of their policy subsystems, has attracted great interest in policy-making in recent years. Contrary to defining and bringing up the problems, the public is not directly influential in formulating the policy (Howlett & Giest, 2013: 19).

Çevik & Demirci (2012: 59) define policy formulation as the stage in which the policy program is made, and the goals and objectives are determined. Kaptı (2013: 34), referring to being scientific, lists the features that a good policy formulation should have as follows:

- Public policy should be simple for everyone to understand and clearly defined.
- The public policy that is considered to be formed should be supportive of other public policies in force and at least should not conflict with other policies.
- While formulating public policies, the real situation should be taken into account, and the competencies of those who will implement the policies should not be overlooked.
- Policy formulation should be open to new situations and should be able to update itself constantly.

Anderson (2003: 80) characterizes policy formulation as merely processing alternatives or options to deal with a problem. Demir (2011: 111) adds positive and negative externalities to these elements. Recent studies highlight that policy

formulation “depends on the configuration of a particular policy community” (Howlett & Giest, 2013: 19).

### **4.3. Decision Making**

Kaptı (2013: 35) defines decision-making as moving the policy draft to the legislative ground. Decision-making includes one or more of the alternatives to reject, change and adapt. Tools such as legislative approval, executive approval, seeking consent through consultation with interest groups, and referendum are used to provide support for selected policy tools (Cairney, 2012: 33). The importance of this stage for policy analysis is that the context that determines the policy choice of decision-makers can be determined at this stage. Therefore, this stage attracts great attention from policy analysts, researchers, and academics (Demir, 2011: 112). Political scientist Heywood (2011: 506) describes the decision-making phase as the central element of the policy process.

Decision-making models are discussed under three headings: rational decision-making, incremental, and hybrid, per Anderson’s (2003: 119-125) classification. The rational model in decision-making is based on the “economic man” thesis, deciding on the policy in which the maximum possible benefit can be achieved. Rationality, which emerged under Weberian understanding and was later developed by Herbert Simon, plays an important role in decision-making, especially after WWII. However, it was subjected to significant criticism afterward (Köseoğlu, 2015: 246-247). Building on Lindblom’s criticisms of the rational model, the incremental model includes only certain adjustments. Policy goals and tools are constantly cyclically adjusted so optimal decisions can be made without seeking the “best.” On the other hand, the hybrid model is a generally more abstract one that reconciles the rational and incremental model. When describing the hybrid model, Anderson (2003: 125) gives an example of using a wide-angle camera that can see the whole and a close-lens camera that can see the details together.

### **4.4. Policy Implementation**

The policy implementation stage is defined as the action or series of actions that take place from the government’s declaration of a formal intent to do something to the emergence of results (Smith & Larimer 2009: 157). Based on the implementation of public policies and the achievement of determined targets, this stage constitutes the most emphasized dimension of the public policy process literature (Birkland, 2011: 264). The key role of the implementation

process is whether the success or failure of the policy is revealed in this process. Another issue is that those who investigate the cause of policy failures focus on the implementation phase.

Although many perspectives have been developed to understand the implementation of public policy, there are two main approaches. These are the “top-down implementation model,” which assumes that policies are formed as a result of a hierarchical top-down activity or interaction, and the “bottom-up implementation model” that focuses on the qualities of the lower segments (Anderson, 2003: 195; Hill, 2013: 176; Birkland, 2011: 265).

According to the top-down implementation model, implementation starts with the top managers. The success of the implementation directly depends on the harmony between the decisions made by the top managers and the policy results (Kaptı & Alaç, 2015: 230). On the other hand, the bottom-up implementation model is mainly based on the work done in the early 1980s. The basis point is the audience’s motivation, capacities, and performance in the last link of the implementation process. In other words, the most influential actors in the implementation process are the actors in the last link. Lipsky (1980) defines the public officials in this last circle as “street bureaucrats.”<sup>3</sup> (Cited by: Kaptı & Alaç, 2015: 234).

#### ***4.5. Policy Evaluation***

Evaluation is the mechanism established to monitor, systematize and rate ongoing or recently completed government interventions (Vedung, 2013: 387). Dye (2013: 63), who defines evaluation as the objective, systematic and empirical examination of policies in terms of the goals to be achieved, suggests investigating the policy effects and considering the goals. Of course, the objectives of every policy are not clearly stated. With the impact evaluation, the social and political impact of the policy is investigated (Çevik & Demirci, 2012: 63).

The evaluation stage provides important contributions to the policy process. Evaluation has a cognitive dimension as well as a dimension involving public actions. It informs the actors about the process. Evaluation includes normative features as well as descriptive features. Contributing to the production of social values about the process is another dimension. The most important contribution of the evaluation stage to the public policy process is that it facilitates the decision-

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<sup>3</sup> Public employees such as judges, prosecutors, lawyers, police, teachers, and health workers who have legal powers.

making stage (Usta, 2014: 23). In addition, the evaluation needs to be carried out in two different dimensions that deal with both the process and the results. While the process evaluation deals with what has been done, the outcome evaluation examines what has been achieved (Smith & Larimer, 2009: 135).

#### ***4.6. General Evaluation of the Public Policy-Making Process***

Early public policy studies viewed decision-making as an important rational tool for achieving optimal policy outcomes. For this reason, mathematical models were used predominantly in this period (Hughes, 2013: 199). Since the 1990s, the criticisms brought to the main public policy trends have led to the developing of more comprehensive approaches. It has come to the fore as a deficiency that the analyses and evaluations to be made in the public policy are only made with approaches fed by structuralism and behaviorism theories. This new approach synthesizes multiple approaches by emphasizing complexity and fragmented, and Orhan (2015) named this as the interpretative approach.

The concept of the process was shown as the best way to understand public policies until the 1980s and has been subjected to severe criticism since these years (Nakamura, 1987; Sabatier, 1999: 7; Kaptı, 2013: 42; Gültekin, 2014: 47). These criticisms can be listed as follows:

- Process understanding is not causal theory, as it deals with the policy process in a general way and does not define a causal theory set.
- There is no consistent set of hypotheses between the stages. The descriptiveness of the proposed sequence of stages is questionable.
- Stages are overly formal and top-down oriented. This orientation ignores the interaction of applications.
- Stages assumed to have taken place in theory do not actually occur. The transition between stages is not evident.
- The process model ignores internal and external factors, socio-cultural structure, and actors that affect the process.
- Policy actors influence each other at every stage.
- Political actors are affected positively or negatively by past experiences. However, the policy process ignores political learning.

As a result, as Gültekin (2014) and Sabatier (1999) pointed out, more descriptive, experimental, testable, and descriptive models are needed to understand the policy process fully. However, it is possible to say that the process model, as

the most cited approach in the literature, continues to be the mainstream in understanding public policies.

## 5. Conclusion

Since public policy interacts with various disciplines, it remains up-to-date and rich in theory. On the other hand, since other disciplines carry their own terminology to the public policy, it causes a dispersed structure. In order to develop and deepen the Turkish literature, the number of policy analyses based on field studies should be increased. Policy actors, who constitute another pillar of public policy, should not ignore the impact of public policy studies built on economic, legal, and sociological foundations on policy processes.

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## CHAPTER VIII

# PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSES AND PRACTICE EXAMPLES

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### 1. Introduction

Public policy analysis increasingly strengthens its claim to be an alternative to the field of public administration. The orientation of respected universities in the United States to the field of public policy, the publication of the analyses in prestigious publishing houses, and the rapid increase in the number of analysts providing consultancy services in the field have given a great impetus to public policy analysis studies (Çiner, 2020).

Today, especially by politicians, public policy analysis is perceived as “prescribing”. This negative perception causes the field not to receive the attention and value it deserves. However, the primary priority of public policy analysis is to explain rather than prescribe. Public policy analysis mainly focuses on the nature of public administration and how decisions are made. While Lasswell (1936) argues that political science deals with the questions of “Who gets what, when, and how?”; Dye argues that policy analysis is concerned with questions of “*what governments do, why they do it, and what difference they make*”. (Dye, 2013: 5-9). Creating an explanatory scientific framework for the causes and consequences of public policy and developing a viable theory can be expressed as the second priority.

This study has been prepared to explain the basic concepts of public policy analysis, give general information about the approaches and models used, and introduce different practice examples. In this context, the definition,

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purpose, characteristics, scope and dimensions of policy analysis are explained. Afterwards, the approaches and models used in policy analysis are introduced. Finally, different examples of policy analysis are given.

## **2. What is Public Policy Analysis?**

Smith & Larimer (2009: 104) define public policy analysis as “an applied social science discipline that uses a great deal of inquiry and evidence to generate and transform policy-related information that can be used in political settings to solve policy-related problems”. Akdoğan (2015: 79) explained the concept with a pragmatist point of view, as “the scientific use of the results obtained as a result of experimental research in the solution of social problems”. On the other hand, emphasizing the multidisciplinary nature of policy analysis and its chain of actions, Dunn (2008: 1) defined it as “a multidisciplinary research process designed to generate, critically evaluate and convey information useful in understanding and developing policies”. Çevik & Demirci (2012: 68) defined policy analysis as “if the public policy is accepted as a whole, it is the activity of breaking this whole into parts and revealing the details by examining the parts and sections, thus having an idea about the whole”. Dye (2013: 11) describes policy analysis as an applied subfield of traditional disciplines such as politics, law, public administration, economics and sociology.

Although policy analysis has normative features, its descriptive aspect is more dominant. Dunn (2008) focused on the explanatory aspect of policy analysis in his study, in which he dealt with public policy analysis in detail. Based on the five questions he developed (What is the problem for which a solution is sought? What course of action should be chosen to solve the problem? What are the consequences of choosing this course of action? Do achieving these results help solve the problem? What future consequences can be expected if another course of action is chosen?) he built his policy analysis on five basic elements. These five elements are policy problems, policy performance, expected policy outcomes, preferred policies, and observed policy outcomes. The information provided through these elements constitutes the policy analysis process. Dunn (2008: 2-3) points out that solutions to social problems brought by any political, economic, administrative, legal or ethical disciplines will be inadequate. In addition, he states that dealing with public policies, which are complex and multifaceted in nature, with a multidisciplinary approach can yield more positive results.

The idea of seeing public policy analysis as both an art and a craft is one of the rare views agreed upon in the literature (Wildavsky, 1979; Dye, 2013: 11; Çevik & Demirci, 2012: 105; Köseoğlu, 2013). Public policy analysis requires intuition, creativity, imagination, and persuasion, which has caused it to be considered an art. On the other hand, performing policy analysis in the shadow of disciplines such as political science, economics, sociology, law, statistics and finally, public administration points to the craft aspect. The most striking characteristic of policy analysis was made by Wildavsky (1979: 3), who pointed out that “policy analysis is a discipline that can be learned but not taught”.

Based on the definitions above, it can be said that the definitions made about policy analysis are mainly clustered around specific characteristics. Accordingly, policy analysis is a multi-aspect concept that refers to intuition, creativity, and scientific features.

### ***2.1. Scope and Dimensions of Policy Analysis***

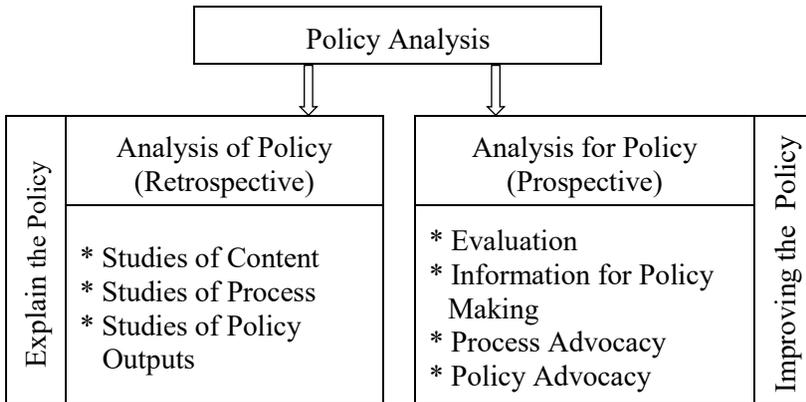
Demir (2017: 90-92) addresses the scope of policy analysis in three dimensions. The primary function of policy analysis is to generate knowledge. How are public policies formed? How are these public policies put into practice? Policy analysis seeks empirical and systematic answers to these questions. In other words, policy analysis functions as a technical tool to determine what needs to be done. However, it would not be correct to define policy analysis as a reductionist approach that provides only scientific information because it is impossible to deal with scientific information to be produced independently of social values. The second is the problem-solving function. The desire to solve social problems has led to different methods and techniques. Although various problem-solving theories and models have been developed in the literature, “problem identification” is considered the first step in almost all of them. However, the problem-solving function should not be considered the only determinant. The proposal developed for a solution should be preferable by the political authority and compatible with existing policies. The problem-solving function does not always have to offer solutions directly. Providing detailed information about the proposals indirectly contributes to the solution. Gül (2015: 9) summarized the main issues addressed by the policy analysis as follows:

- Defining the problem, which is the reason for the policy, determining its dimensions and the effect of the actors in the policy-making process,
- Characteristics of alternative policies that can solve the problem,

- Purpose of public policy and the basic principles, values and social norms on which it is based,
- Characteristics and dimensions of the public policy adopted,
- Implementation of public policy and its implementing actors,
- Who is affected, or how do they benefit from public policy implementation.

In the literature, the analyses made for a public policy analysis are called primary analysis, and the ones that support and improve an existing public policy are called secondary analysis. As shown in the figure 1, Hill (2013: 5) considers policy analysis in two dimensions: “analysis for policy” and “analysis of policy”. Policy analysis investigates one or more cases to track how a policy came about, how it was implemented, and what the results were. Many academic studies have focused on a single policy or area (social, environmental, foreign, etc.). Enserink et al. (2013: 13) characterize policy analysis as an academic study and name it “policy studies”. The main feature of analysis for policy is that it is interventionist and prescriptive. Thus, qualified information can be provided to decision-making mechanisms.

**Figure 1:** Dimensions of Policy Analysis



**Source:** Hill, 2013: 5.

Knoepfel et al. (2007: 8), who developed a unique model for public policy analysis, explained the theoretical background of policy analysis through three schools. The first of these schools is the one that bases its policy analysis on state theories. For analysing public policies, it is necessary to consider policy questions concerning the theory of the state. In this context, three theoretical

frameworks stand out. The first is the pluralist framework, which considers public policies in response to social demands and sees the state as a “gateway of service”. The second is the neo-marxist framework, which sees the state as being dominated by a social class or certain groups. The last is the neo-corporatist or neo-institutionalist framework that emphasizes the distribution of power and the interaction between actors.

The second school identified by Knoepfel et al. (2007: 9-11) is the school that explains how public actions work. Trying to understand the working logic of public authorities, this school relies heavily on early policy analysis studies in the context of rationalizing public policies. Inspired by management sciences, complexity sciences and economics, this school is fed by Easton’s systems approach, Simon’s concept of limited rationality, and most importantly, Lasswell’s principle of rationalizing public policies. The third school was founded on the evaluation of public policies. This school tries to explain the consequences of public actions. In this sense, many models have been developed to evaluate public policies. Benefit-cost analysis, analyses based on a statistical analysis of quantitative data and experimental comparisons can be given as examples (Knoepfel et al., 2007: 9-11).

## ***2.2. Policy Analysis Forms***

Dunn (2008: 10-15) developed different forms of policy analysis and placed policy analysis in an analytical framework. These analysis forms are the “retrospective-prospective policy analysis form”, “descriptive-normative policy analysis form”, and “problem finder-problem-solving analysis” form. Retrospective policy analysis involves generating and transforming information before policy actions are taken. The working principle of economists and analysts is based on the form of analysis of planned policies. Analysis of prospective policies is an older form of policy analysis and involves generating and transforming information after policies are implemented. This type of analysis explains the causes and consequences of public policies.

The second form of policy analysis is the “descriptive-normative policy analysis” form. Descriptive policy analysis is parallel to decision-making theories. Through applied policy analysis, public policies are analysed, and policy results are determined with causal inferences. Normative policy analysis represents normative decision theory, which expresses a set of logical propositions that evaluate action. The most important feature of normative policy analysis is that those policy proposals consider different subjective

criteria, including efficiency, equity, sensitivity, freedom and security. The last of the policy analysis forms are the “problem finder-problem solver analysis” form. Problem-finding is about identifying the problem and its elements rather than finding solutions to problems.

### ***2.3. Use of Approaches and Models in Policy Analysis***

Various ideas have been developed to simplify public policies and make them understandable. These ideas have uses such as “*approach* (Anderson, 2003)”, “*model* (Dye, 2013)”, “*theory* (Usta, 2013)”, and “*framework* (Sabatier, 2007)”. The fact that the concept of the model (such as policy analysis models, decision-making models and public policy-making models) has multiple uses causes ambiguity (Çevik & Demirci, 2012: 75). The uses of public policy approaches or models are summarized by Dye (2013: 15) as follows:

- Simplifying and classifying the political and public policy thinking,
- Identifying problems in a policy area, taking into account important dimensions,
- Focusing on the basic dynamics of political life, helping public policy actors to understand each other,
- To reveal all important or unimportant factors for a better understanding of public policies and to guide public policy studies,
- Developing proposals for public policy and predicting the consequences of these proposals.

#### ***2.3.1. Institutional Approach***

Anderson (2003: 19) deals with the institutional approach through institutions’ legal and formal relations. While analysing public policies, the structure, legal authorities, working procedures, functions and activities of these institutions that determine and implement public policies constitute the most important analysis elements. According to the institutional approach, public institutions bring three features to public policies. These are (Dye, 2013: 17) legitimizing public policies, making them universal and forcibly imposing public policies on society.

#### ***2.3.2 Rational Approach***

The rational approach tries to explain political behavior with economic principles. According to the rational approach, governments should prefer

policies that provide maximum social benefit and avoid others. In other words, cost-benefit analysis should be the main criterion in determining public policies. While making public policy choices, criteria such as the values and preferences of the society and their relative weight, all alternatives, the results of all policy alternatives determined, the rate of benefit for each policy alternative, and the selection of the most effective policy alternative should be considered. In summary, the rational approach requires a systematic decision-making process (Dye, 2013: 19).

### ***2.3.3. System Approach***

The systems approach is a basic approach developed by the political scientist David Easton and has become a source for the models that have come to the fore recently. In this approach, public policy is seen as the political system's response to the demands formed in its political environment. In other words, public policy is considered an output of the political system. The most essential components of the approach are the political system, inputs, outputs and the environment (Çevik & Demirci, 2012: 81). The inputs of the political system consist of demands and support from the environment. The interests of individuals or groups shape demands. As long as individuals or groups accept the outcomes of the political system, they are supported. Inputs are converted into outputs by the political system. The amount of support indicates the level of legitimacy and authority of that political system. With the outputs, the environment and the political system are reshaped. The environment can be described as everything that falls outside the field of public policy. This cyclical process repeats continuously (Anderson, 2003: 15). Instead of explaining events from a single point of view and depending on limited factors, the systems approach highlights the idea that it would be more scientific to examine each event in its context and relation to other events (Altan, 2016: 307).

### ***2.3.4. Group Approach***

According to the group approach, public policies emerge from group struggles. Individuals act in groups to access scarce public resources and try to maximize their interests. Thus, groups act as a bridge between the individual and the government (Anderson, 2003: 16). Dye (2013: 22) stated that in accordance with the group approach, the task of politics is to determine the rules of the game, to balance the interests and to achieve consensus, to develop policies that can provide continuity to the consensus and to implement the determined policies. A public policy in effect at any time is in a state of equilibrium in

the struggle between groups. However, a change in the influence of any group causes a change in public policies.

### ***2.3.5. Policy Networks Approach***

This approach, which defines policy making as “a process in which different actors in interdependence participate”, synthesizes policy-making beyond state or society-centered approaches. Policy networks do not carry out this synthesis based on actors only, they also take into account the relations between actors. Although the first policy network studies focused on macro-scale national policies and provided a general framework, it is possible to analyse policy outcomes by examining the internal dynamics of policy networks (Adam & Kriesi, 2007: 147). Although it is frequently mentioned in the literature that the theoretical foundations of the policy networks approach are blurred (Dowding, 1995), it can perform practical policy analyses thanks to the models and practices it has transferred from other disciplines. When the studies are examined, it is noteworthy that this approach has obvious advantages over other approaches in explaining policy results and changes.

### ***2.3.6. Incremental Approach***

Lindblom developed the incremental approach in response to the rational approach. According to this approach, public policies are realized in the form of continuation of the activities carried out by the past policy actors with additional regulations. Decision-making mechanisms determine the current public policies as the starting point instead of an achievable result (Çevik, 1998: 110). Public policy actors, whose mandate is determined by law, turn to a limited number of alternatives instead of developing new alternatives. Thus, possible conflicts and differences of opinion are minimized, and stability is maintained (Dye, 2013: 22; Köseoğlu, 2015: 250). The incremental approach has some practical advantages over the rational approach. This approach provides policymakers with mobility even when the rational approach is blocked. It reduces analysis costs as it focuses only on realistic and achievable alternatives. Since the approach has a high feedback feature, it allows errors to be corrected. It reduces opposition to public policies as it does not foresee marginal changes.

### ***2.3.7. Elite Approach***

This approach sees the elite as the leading actor in public policy. In this respect, analysing the preferences and values of elites is of great importance in

understanding public policies. The elite's view of the change in public policy is not revolutionary but conservative and moderate. Large-scale policy changes can only be made by the elites themselves to protect these interests, only when the interests of the elites are endangered (Dye, 2013: 25).

### ***2.3.8. Advocacy Coalition Framework***

The first feature of the advocacy coalition is that it defines policy changes in terms of external variables rather than rational data. Political learning, the second important feature of the model, is that the group influences individuals within the framework of these coalitions, and the group's preferences are above their own. The advocacy coalition model, similar to the group approach, is the modern version of the group approach (Demirci, 2013: 151). The advocacy coalition model has significant advantages. Most importantly, it can measure policy changes over time and explain how subsystems have adopted them. The theoretical assumptions on which the model is based are as follows (Jenkins-Smith & Sabatier, 1994; Weible & Nohrstedt, 2013: 126):

- A minimum of ten years is required to understand the policy change process and the role of learning.
- The best way to understand policy change during this time is to focus on the interaction of actors and policy subsystems.
- Public policies or programs can be conceptualized parallel to belief systems rather than rational paradigms. In other words, policies and programs contain implicit theories and assumptions that reflect the beliefs of one or more coalitions.
- The policy subsystem is the primary unit of analysis for understanding policy processes and includes all actors at the level of the policy process. Scientific and technical knowledge is essential to understanding the subsystem dimension. Subsystems categorize actors by grouping them into one or more coalitions.

### ***2.3.9. Multiple Streams Model***

The multiple streams model developed by Kingdon (1984) focuses on agenda setting and alternative policies. Kingdon argues that bringing a policy to the agenda and choosing a solution alternatively can only be possible with the combination of three stream elements. These three streams are *the problems stream*, *the policy stream*, and *the politics stream*. Each stream contains different

actors and groups (Birkland, 2011: 297). The explanatory advantage of this model is the modeling it creates to overcome uncertainties in the public policy-making process. While some public policies are put on the agenda, others cannot form the agenda. This judgment forms the starting point of the multiple streams model (Akdoğan & Köse, 2013: 92).

In the multiple streams model, the problems, policy and politics streams flow independently and dynamically. Policies flow independently of problems, not as solutions to problems. As such, policies wait for appropriate times and conditions to be articulated to problems. Kingdon describes these favorable times as “*policy windows*.” Policy windows are critical times when the three streams converge. Policy windows are open in these critical times. When windows are open, it is an excellent time to create policies. Kingdon explains this process with the example of a “surfer waiting for a wave”. Policymakers must wait like surfers waiting for the right wave (Cited by Akdoğan & Köse, 2013: 97).

### ***2.3.10. Punctuated Equilibrium Model***

It is based on the rational model and the critique of the incremental model to explain the large-scale changes in public policies. In addition to explaining the wide-ranging changes in public policies, it also has the power to explain why public policies have not changed for a long time. The punctuated equilibrium theory, developed by the evolutionary biologist Gould (1972), is based on the thesis that “species move from one equilibrium state, which they maintain for a long time, to another equilibrium state with a sudden change (jump),” was adapted to the field of public policy by Baumgartner & Jones (1993).

## **3. Public Policy Analysis Practice Examples**

Examining various countries’ macro-level policy analysis systems, Dilekçi (2015: 125) determined that there is no generally accepted analysis system and that countries develop policy analysis procedures suitable for their structures. In addition, countries can refer to policy analysis systems specific to international organizations. It is possible to come across many examples of public policy analysis based on different approaches and models in the literature.

An analysis based on the process approach, which is the most used approach, was made by Kayıkçı (2003). In the study titled “A Public Policy Process Analysis: Tobacco Policy in Turkey After 1980”, the opening of the tobacco market to competition was analysed in stages in accordance with the process approach. As a result of the study, conclusions were reached regarding

the actors involved in the process and how the tobacco policy was shaped. Another study based on the process approach was conducted by Çalı (2012). In the study in which public policies on domestic violence are analysed, different policy suggestions have been made by analysing the actors in the light of statistical information on the subject. A similar study was conducted by Kulaç & Çalhan (2013). The policy regarding the scholarships given by the Turkey Ministry of National Education (MEB) and the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) to those who go abroad for graduate education has been analysed in accordance with the process approach.

Akgül & Kaptı's (2015) study titled "Migration and Public Policies: An Analysis on the Syria Crisis", which investigates the migration policies implemented by Turkey after the Syrian crisis and analyses the results of these policies, is a qualified study in terms of being based on field research. The study discussed the situation that emerged after the Syrian crisis with different dimensions. With the adopted PEST Analysis, the impact of the crisis on Turkish public policies was investigated.

One of the most cited analyses in the literature according to the policy networks approach is the article by Marsh & Smith (2000) named "Understanding Policy Networks: Towards a Dialectical Approach". The Dialectic Model was used in the study, which analysed the continuity and change in British agricultural policy since 1930. Thanks to the developed model, Marsh & Smith aimed to explain policy results according to policy networks. The model is based on the thesis that the relationship between policy networks and policy outcomes is not "simple and one-dimensional". Three fundamental dialectical relations are defined in the model. These occur between network structure and actors, network and context, policy outcomes and network. As a result of the analysis, it was concluded that "The Dialectical Model can be used to understand how policy networks affect policy outcomes". In the context of the policy networks approach, two studies that include field research stand out. The first of these was made by Eraydın et al. (2008), who examined the policy networks created in cities. In this study, attention was drawn to the competitiveness and economic performance of the Izmir region's existing networks. The second is the study by Sertesin (2009). The study analysed the network relations established by the settlements trying to integrate with the global system at the scale of the Antalya region, using quantitative research methods.

In his study, Göçoğlu (2018) analysed Turkey's cyber security policies and investigated which public policy approach and model (whether intentionally or

unintentionally) was used or left incompletely while making policy proposals. Thus, the main directions of Turkey's cyber security policies have been revealed. In the research, it was concluded that cyber-security policies were formed within the framework of "Normative Optimum" and "Mixed Scanning" models in line with the Mixed Public Policy Analysis Approach and those critical infrastructures were shaped by focusing on "Incremental Decision Making" models in line with "Interpretive Public Policy Analysis".

Chow (2014) analysed the Hong Kong national education curriculum policy-making process using the multiple streams model. The study discusses the problems on which the education curriculum policy is structured, the policy solutions developed and the political focuses surrounding the policy area. As a result of the research, it was concluded that the multiple streams model is an ideal model to explain the policy change in the field of education policy.

#### **4. Conclusion**

When the public policy and public policy analysis literature is examined, very complex and intertwined concept sets are encountered. Although this is due to the nature of public policy, it makes the field challenging to study. The policy process, which forms the mainstream of public policy analysis, has shifted ground over time and has become an analytical tool for public policy analysis, moving away from the theoretical background of public policy. In addition, the rational approach, the system approach and the institutional approach, the legacy of the Weberian management approach maintain their place in the main table. However, derivative approaches or models developed to fill the gaps left by these four public policy approaches are gaining importance due to their explanatory power and applicability. Adopting mixed approaches and models can significantly contribute to the field, as each approach or model can explain public policy within its ability.

On the other hand, periodic features significantly impact public policy analysis studies. Every period is influenced by the economic, political, sociological and cultural conditions it is in, and this situation also affects the studies of public policy analysis. While the democratic and pluralistic understanding was the primary determinant under the influence of welfare state policies in the 1950s, the management-politics distinction was not clear. The rational understanding gained importance in the 1960s and 1970s due to the economic downswing. By the 1980s, the principles advocated by the new right-wing understanding were decisive in policy analysis and public policy

approaches were severely criticized. In this period, policy analysis was retaken with administration-politics proximity. In addition, institutional approaches inspired by the discipline of sociology have found a place for themselves. In the recent period, the weakening of nation-states, the easy transfer of ideas and thoughts to a global scale, and large-scale changes and transformations such as globalization have directed public policy analysis studies to groups rather than individuals, behavior patterns rather than behaviors, and several truths rather than an only one truth.

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## CHAPTER IX

# CLIMATE POLICIES IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: THE CASE OF TURKIYE

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### 1. Introduction

It is possible to divide the causes of climate change into two dimensions anthropogenic and natural. Natural factors are; ocean currents, solar cycle and sunspot, meteorites, methane emissions from animals, volcanic eruptions and forest fires. And the anthropogenic reasons are carbon emissions from urbanization and industrial activities, deforestation, the other emissions, and increase of the vehicles and chemical fertilizers (Instapedia, 2022). Climate change and its consequences have been on the public agenda more in the last thirty to twenty years although scientific research on climate change, international organizations, and civil society-based movements have increased in the 1980s. Climate change causes consequences such as unseasonably warmed or extremely cold weather, melting of glaciers, rising sea levels, flooding of islands, depletion of water resources, and variable weather events causing forest fires (Rao and Thamizhvanan, 2014). While these conditions are expected to add climate change to the top of the main problems in state policies, nations cannot quickly give up industrial productions that cause climate change. However, there are also government policies against climate change and especially against the causes of climate change are based on human activities. Hansen brought anthropogenic climate change to the public agenda in the USA started an organized movement about this situation in 1988 (Dunlap and McCright, 2015: 300). Former US President Trump, who rejects international cooperation on climate change, also

gives an idea about the critical role of the USA in this issue (Sangomla, 2020). Topçu (2018) mentions that the USA, along with China, the EU and Russia, were the cause of half of the emissions, mainly carbon, which is the main cause of climate change between 1990 and 2011. When this information is taken into account, it is seen that developed countries have significant debts to developing countries in terms of causing climate change.

Today, developed countries seem to be more willing in agreement on the fight against climate change. However, environmental movements that do not trust this attitude continue to struggle more effectively. Environmental activists and non-governmental organizations are challenging UN sustainable development ideas which has some contradictions. They criticize the attitude of the nations, which cooperates with these multinational companies, as greenwashing (Bostancı, 2022). However, UN sustainability and climate change action plans are important in terms of financial strength and public awareness. The formation processes of these institutions will be briefly discussed below.

Generally, the international dimension of the fight against climate change is associated with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the first of which was held in 1988. However, it is possible to take the process further back. “Atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations in Hawaii and Antarctica began to be investigated and the increasing greenhouse gas effect as a result of human activities began to be taken into consideration in the 1950s. And in 1963, the Conservation Foundation, a non-governmental organization, held a meeting concluding that ‘doubling the carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere is estimated to produce a temperature’. It was first formally recognized by the Science Advisory Committee of the President of the United States in 1965 when it stated that climate change could be caused by human activities and have significant consequences. The first World Climate Conference (WCC) in 1979 provided a major international forum devoted exclusively to climate change” (Agrawala, 1998: 606-607). The International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is the main authority in the field of climate change science. The IPCC was recognized in 1990 as a milestone in promoting academic interest in climate change and its development as a scientific field (Tremmel ve Robinson, 2014). United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1992 started to create important contents of this field. The first of which was held in 1995 the annual Conference of the Parties (COP) has taking important decisions about fighting against climate change which binds the countries involved in supporting Kyoto Protocol and the Paris climate agreement (Sancar and Bostancı, 2020).

In 2022 Many countries have pledged to achieve net zero carbon emissions and end deforestation by 2050 to meet the 1.5°C targets in the context of global warming COP 26 which was held in Glasgow (Shivanna, 2022). The 27th session of the Conference of the Parties (COP 27) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) will take place in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt (IISD, 2022). Among in 2015 the UN 2030 sustainable development goals (SDGs) there is a goal for climate action. Global studies on this target have created hope for those left behind, such as climate refugees. As briefly as possible, the international dimensions of the fight against climate change is mentioned in this section. And the process in Türkiye is discussed in this study.

Public administration in Türkiye has been governed by the Presidential Government system since 2018. In this system, the relations between central government institutions and local government institutions have similar characteristics to the parliamentary system. However, it is seen that the central government weight of the system is getting stronger. For example, in this system, the Local Government Policies Board was established under the Presidency. Local government agencies, are divided into two local governments and local government organizations in terms of service. However, municipalities form the basis of the local government system. Municipal elections allow local administrators to be elected from different parties and independently according to their votes. Thus, local governments' policies for environmental and climate change problems differ. So local governments search some creative and innovative solutions according to their local dynamics. Participation of the citizens in these decisions give more creativity to these ideas.

This study aims to discuss climate policies in Turkish public administration system. With this approach, the legislative dimension of climate policies in Türkiye, international dimensions of climate change and its reflections in Türkiye and the strategies of public institutions to combat climate change discussed by document scanning method. However, the debates in the field of climate change and the criticism of government policies in this context have been excluded from the scope of the study as they have a very wide content. So it would be appropriate to characterize the study as an evaluation of the situation of public institutions in Türkiye on climate change. In future studies, the current effects and future predictions of climate change problems in Türkiye can be made. And the approaches of different actors in this area, from public institutions to private sector and non-governmental organizations, can be analysed. After a brief examination of the effect of climate change in Türkiye, climate policies in the

Turkish public administration system are examined under two main headings as central and local governments in this study.

## **2. The Effects of Climate Change in Türkiye**

In Türkiye, the direct effects of climate change are seen on agricultural areas, on urban infrastructure as a result of disasters, on water resources and forest areas as forest fires. The Mediterranean region, which is among the most important agricultural areas of Türkiye is experiencing the problems of temperature increase and decrease in precipitation due to climate change. “In international studies, it is predicted that these problems will affect agricultural areas and food security due to climate change in the Mediterranean region” (Soltekin, et al., 2021). These problems in the Mediterranean region show that Türkiye will also be affected by climate refugees in the future. “It is predicted that temperatures and drought will increase day by day and irregular precipitation will occur in Türkiye” (Turan, 2018). Today, these conditions have begun to occur. There are studies showing that changes in precipitation distribution due to climate change and the resulting disasters will have negative effects on the Turkish financial system (Akyol and Batu Ağırkaya, 2021). Urbanization, irrigation, industrialization and energy projects have negative effects on climate change in Türkiye. However, the details of these subjects were excluded from the scope of the study as they have a very wide content.

As stated in the 2020 Climate Change and Adaptation Report of the Turkish Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, more frequent long-term and severe droughts, heat waves and forest fires are expected to be seen in Southern Europe and Türkiye in the 21st century. And also, with the increase in the number of days with short but heavy rains, significant increases in sudden floods are predicted (Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı Su Yönetimi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2020). In 2020s, especially sudden and heavy rains affected various cities in Türkiye negatively, various damages occurred on roads and houses, and there were people who disappeared and died due to floods. All these conditions created an environmental awareness and developing more studies, projects and strategies for this area to fight against climate change.

The most frequently mentioned situations in the news about climate change have been forest fires and flood disasters in 2020s in Türkiye. As disaster management, these situations are within the responsibility of central and local governments. AFAD: Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

established by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and AKOM: Disaster Coordination Centre, which was established by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in accordance with the relevant laws in 2000, takes responsibility in disaster management and mitigation field (AFAD, 2022; AKOM, 2022). The government has taken various decisions to be implemented after the fire and flood disasters for protecting the citizens. In order to contribute to the improvement of the conditions that adversely affect the general life, a humanitarian aid campaign was initiated in Türkiye (AFAD, 2021).

### **3. Climate Policies of Central Government**

It is possible to associate the fight against climate change in Türkiye with its agriculture, forestry, and environmental policies. Since the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye, some important initiatives have been made especially the protection of natural beauty and agricultural areas. The development of the legislative dimension of climate and environmental policies in the Turkish public administration system dates back to the 1930s. The Public Health Law of 1930 and the Forestry Law of 1937 formed the legal basis of environmental legislation in Türkiye. The Stockholm Conference in 1972 had an international impact on the development of environmental law (Güneş, 2004; Keleş, et al., 2015). In 1973, the Environmental Issues Coordination Board was established in Türkiye. The Environmental Law in Türkiye entered into force in 1983. One of the most important achievements of the Environmental Law is the Environmental Impact Assessment Report. This report contains information on how institutions, organizations and businesses that may cause environmental problems as a result of their activities will prevent environmental pollution in their activities (Çevre Kanunu, 1983). In 1991, the Ministry of Environment and its organizations were established and the legislation area of the environment was developed (Paker, et al., 2013). In 2001, climate change policies in Türkiye came to the fore in the process of harmonization with the European Union. Türkiye established the Climate Change Coordination Board in 2001 and became a party to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in 2004 (Turan and Güler, 2003; Bostancı, 2022).

Activities on combating environmental problems, climate change policies, renewable energy sources, waste recycling projects and sustainable environmental approaches are developed simultaneously with international meetings in Türkiye. However, Türkiye's entry into more binding commitments such as carbon emission reductions and controls in the fight against climate

change, that is, the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement, had been realized as late as in 2021.

In Türkiye, a zero waste project has been initiated in the fight against climate change by public institutions. The zero waste project, which was initiated as a Presidential vision project by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in 2018, has become widespread in most public institutions in our country. Zero waste is a waste management philosophy that includes efficient use of resources, minimizing waste generation, and recycling of waste (Sıfır Atık, 2018).

In this study, while examining the climate policies of the central government, the approaches of the three ministries which are directly related in climate action were compiled from the websites of the institutions by document scanning method. Thus, the approaches of the ministries that produce basic strategies in the field of climate change are evaluated. These ministries were determined as the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources and the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change. At the same time, Regional Development Agencies, which are under the coordination of the Ministry of Industry and Technology, produce projects related to climate change within local development projects and support projects with this approach. With this aspect, the climate policies of the Regional Development Agencies are also included under the main title of the climate policies of the central government.

### ***3.1. Climate Policies in Ministries***

The ministries' support for the zero waste project, especially within their institutional systems, shows that all ministries have an activity on climate change problems. While various ministries have indirect effects on climate change, the three ministries discussed below have the main effective approaches in this area. However, government policies around the world usually create accelerating effects on climate change. From this point of view, it is known that private sector companies supported by governments have activities that also accelerate climate change. But these effects and results are beyond the scope of this study. The aim of the study is to give a general profile information on the legislation and institutional structuring created by public institutions on climate change.

#### ***3.1.1. Climate Policies of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry***

The ministry, which was established in 1924, was structured as separate ministries under the names of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock,

and the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs, with their names changing in various periods. In 1991, the name of the ministry was changed to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. In 2018, its name was changed as the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı, 2022).

The main targets on climate change in the 2019-2023 Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry are determined as;

- Increasing capacity to combat climate change, erosion and desertification,
- To identify and prevent land degradation and erosion,
- To measure the possible effects of climate change on agriculture and to develop suggestions for taking precautions (Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı, 2019).

In terms of institutional structuring, the General Directorate of Water Management, Flood and Drought Department undertakes critical tasks in the climate change adaptation activities of the ministry (Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı, 2020). The General Directorate of Water Management of the Ministry has various activities and reports on climate change. Strategies for adaptation to climate change in water resources in the Adaptation to Climate Change 2020 report are determined as;

- Reducing the loss and water leakage rate,
- Rainwater harvest,
- Recovery of domestic wastewater,
- Reuse of greywater,
- Efficient irrigation techniques (Tarım ve Orman Bakanlığı Su Yönetimi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2020).

The strategies of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in the fields of agriculture, food security and water management are of great importance for a sustainable future.

### ***3.1.2. Climate Policies of the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources***

The Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources was established in 1963. The energy sector, which is an emission-intensive and resource-intensive sector, is one of the sectors that will be most affected by the international climate

agreements. In this regard, Türkiye, within the framework of sustainable development goals, aims to use energy resources efficiently, effectively, and with the least impact on the environment (Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığı, 2022a).

Türkiye is developing various strategies to give due importance to renewable resources in energy production. The Ministry calculates the emissions from electricity and heat production in the National Greenhouse Gas Emission Inventory in the fight against climate change. Turkish National Electricity Network Emission Factor is published by the Ministry in order to be used in the calculation of Greenhouse Gas Emission reductions. Türkiye Electricity Production and Electricity Consumption Point Emission Factors, which enable corporate companies to calculate greenhouse gas emissions originating from electricity consumption, are also published by the Ministry (Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığı, 2022a).

The Pre-Accession Financial Assistance Tool covers the years 2014-2020, within the framework of Türkiye-EU Financial Cooperation, which was created for the realization of the projects aimed at increasing the harmonization with the EU with the Union grants. In this direction, the Energy Sector Leader Institution, together with the Ministry, the Implementation Unit, the Central Finance and Contracts Unit, forms the Annual Operating Structure for the projects to be carried out in the energy sector (Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanlığı, 2022a). Renewable energy and energy efficiency targets are among the priority areas to be supported by EU grants in the energy sector with the Indicative Strategy Document for Türkiye (2014-2020). These targets are listed below.

- Implementation of renewable energy and energy efficiency programs,
- Developing the capacities of energy efficiency consulting companies,
- Measurement, monitoring and reporting of energy saving and greenhouse gas emission data,
- Increasing awareness of energy efficiency in industry, commerce and households.

The most important issues in combating climate change are energy efficiency and reducing greenhouse gas emissions. In this respect, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources plays a critical role, including the development of renewable energy resources.

### ***3.1.3. Climate Policies of the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change***

The Ministry of Public Works, which started its activities in 1848 during the Ottoman Empire, gained its organizational structure in the Republic of Türkiye in 1934. It was renamed the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement in 1972. The Prime Ministry Environment Organization was established in order to determine the basic policies for the protection of the environment, to prepare the relevant plans and projects, and to ensure inter-institutional coordination. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was established in 2011. The 2010-2023 Türkiye Climate Change Strategy report was prepared by the Ministry. Its name was changed to the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change in 2021. With this new institutional structuring, the General Directorate of Combating Desertification and Erosion has been included among the central units of the Ministry. The Climate Change Department was established as an affiliated institution of the Ministry (Çevre Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2022).

The Climate Change Department of the Ministry is responsible for carrying out the necessary studies and raising awareness for adaptation and mitigation to climate change in line with Türkiye's 2053 net zero emission and green development goals. This department has a green climate and green municipality project. As EU grant program, the grant beneficiaries are the Green Thought Association and Bornova Municipality (İklimin, 2022). The international conventions and protocols on which this presidency is based are the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Vienna Convention, the Paris Agreement, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Montreal Protocol. The departments of the Presidency on climate are determined as Climate Change Adaptation and Local Policies Department, Climate Finance and Incentives Department, Climate Negotiations and International Policies Department, Carbon Pricing Department, Greenhouse Gas Reduction Policies Department, Greenhouse Gas Emissions Monitoring Department (İklim Değişikliği Başkanlığı, 2022).

Climate Change Department has some policies as;

- Supporting joint efforts in the field of climate change project,
- Developing institutional capacity on adaptation to climate change training project,
- Strengthening action for adaptation to climate change in Türkiye project: adaptation to climate,

- Composing climate council,
- Climate ambassadors projects (İklim Değişikliği Başkanlığı, 2022). Among these projects, the achievements related to the results of the climate adaptation program are given below.
- Developing better decision tools for climate resilient sustainable development.
- Developing adaptation and climate-resilient planning in urban areas.
- Developing capacities for adaptation action to climate change.
- Developing the functional capacity for climate change adaptation action through the Climate Change Adaptation Grant Program (İklim Uyum, 2020).

Considering the 2010-2023 Türkiye Climate Change Strategy report and environmental legislation, the ministry's activities in the field of environment and climate date back to very old times. However, the introduction of the concept of climate in the content of the ministry and the development of the activities of the Climate Change Presidency show the development of the institutional structuring of the ministry in this area.

### ***3.2. Climate Policies of Regional Development Agencies***

Regional development has always been important in the development of the Republic of Türkiye. The State Planning Organization was established as an institution directly responsible for regional development in 1960. In the process of harmonization with the EU, the 2006 "Law on the Establishment of Development Agencies" was created. The State Planning Organization was abolished and the duties in this field were given to the Ministry of Development in 2011. The Ministry of Industry and Technology was responsible for this area in 2018. Regional Development Agencies have been established within the Ministry (Kalkınma Ajansları, 2022a).

Policy areas of Development Agencies includes the fields of economic, social development, infrastructure, investment environment, cooperation for development. Low carbon economy, environment and energy, which are among the sub-headings of these areas, are the areas that are directly related to climate change (Kalkınma Ajansları, 2022b). The South Marmara Development Agency, which includes Balıkesir and Çanakkale, can be examined as an example under the energy heading. This agency is carrying out studies in Bandırma / Balıkesir to produce hydrogen by utilizing the wind turbines on the coast and to conduct

a pilot study at the neighbourhood scale by mixing the hydrogen into the natural gas pipeline. There are also renewable energy projects that the agency carries out in cooperation with universities (Güney Marmara Kalkınma Ajansı, 2022). The effect of turning to renewable energy sources in the fight against climate change is very important.

There are 26 Development Agencies in Türkiye. In this section, a few projects of one of the agencies on renewable energy are briefly mentioned. There are researches that contain detailed information about the fight against climate change by development agencies (Erbil and Öğüt Erbil, 2019). The relations of development agencies with universities and local governments and joint projects related to climate change can be examined in the future studies. In this section, a discussion has been made on the impact of regional development policies for combating and adapting to climate change.

#### **4. Climate Policies of Local Governments**

In this section, local governments that are elected and subject to the administrative guardianship of the central government will be handled gradually as metropolitan municipalities, provincial municipalities and district municipalities. Local organizational structures and local entrepreneurs, chambers, non-governmental organizations and universities make significant contributions to the climate issue. In addition, since this study aims to examine public institutions through the structure and hierarchy of public administration, the approaches of these local institutions are excluded from the scope.

According to the regulation dated 2020, “Climate Change Department” can be established in metropolitan municipalities and “Climate Change Branch Directorate” can be established in provincial and district municipalities (Kent-LAB, 2021). But this is not become mandatory yet. From an international perspective, the Local Governments for Sustainability-ICLEI and other associations created in the 1990s have an increasing weight in climate negotiations. 14 municipalities, 4 of which are metropolitan, are members of ICLEI in Türkiye. A global coalition was formed by bringing together the Global Convention on Climate and Energy of Mayors, the Compact of Mayors, which became operational in 2014, and the Covenant of Mayors, which became operational in 2008. These associations constitute the important international content of climate change in the field of local governments (Kent-LAB, 2021). The most important policies for municipalities in climate change are to prepare local climate action plans and establish climate departments and directorates. With

the effect of natural disasters such as floods, fires and droughts, municipalities attach more importance to climate and water policies and add climate and water strategies to their strategic plans (Bostancı, 2022).

According to the data of the Ministry of Interior, there are 81 provinces in total, of which 30 are the Metropolitan Municipalities and 51 are the Provincial Municipalities in Türkiye. There are 922 districts, of which 519 are the Metropolitan District Municipalities and 403 are the district municipalities of other provinces. Town municipalities of metropolitan cities have been abolished and the total town municipality is 388. There are a total of 32199 neighbourhoods and 18291 villages in all provinces (İçişleri Bakanlığı, 2022). In this section, depending on these data, studies on metropolitan, provincial and district municipalities will be made, and neighbourhoods, towns and villages are excluded from the scope of the study, taking into account their huge number.

In the field of combating climate change, metropolitan municipalities, provincial and some district municipalities prepare their local climate action plans (Bostancı, 2022). Çiftçi (2021) examined Bursa, Denizli, Istanbul and Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipalities among the metropolitan municipalities that prepared local climate action plans. In this section, a brief overview of the climate projects and policies of municipalities is presented with a few examples from municipalities. With this approach, a random sample was selected by searching the words “climate municipality” in Turkish. And the first new is about a workshop about climate change. And the municipalities participated to this event become broad sample of this study (İklim için Kentler, 2022). With this respect, from these participants İzmir, Bursa and Adana Metropolitan Municipalities were selected as the metropolitan sample. Edirne was chosen as provincial municipality and Kadıköy and Çerkezköy municipalities are selected as district municipalities.

#### ***4.1. Climate Policies of Metropolitan Municipalities and Provincial Municipalities***

Metropolitan Municipalities were established in Türkiye with the law no. 3030 in 1984. The administrative structure, legal status, duties and powers of the Metropolitan Municipalities were regulated with this law. Thus, a dual management structure was established, namely the Metropolitan Municipality and the District Municipality (Tortop, et al., 2006; İçmen, 2009). Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 established in 2004 followed this law. Today, there are 30 metropolitan municipalities in Türkiye with the law numbered 6360 established in 2012.

As Bostancı (2022) stated, metropolitan municipalities in Türkiye have established Departments related to climate change under different names. 9 out of 30 metropolitan municipalities have finished their Local Climate Action Plans. Other metropolitan municipalities are also working on this issue. And also, it has been observed that metropolitan municipalities include issues related to climate change in their strategic plans, which include general policy and project objectives. İzmir, Bursa and Adana Metropolitan Municipalities, which were selected with an approach stated at the beginning of the chapter, were examined in this section with their climate policy approaches by scanning their websites, and the following evaluations were made.

İzmir Metropolitan Municipality has the Department of Climate Change and Zero Waste. Sub-units of this Department are Waste Transfer and Supply Branch Directorate, Climate Change and Clean Energy Branch Directorate, Construction Waste Branch Directorate, Solid Waste Evaluation Facilities Branch Directorate, Zero Waste Planning and Control Branch Directorate (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022a). İzmir Metropolitan Municipality signed the Covenant of Mayors in 2015 and committed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 20% until 2020. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality has prepared the Energy and Climate Action Plan (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022b). As part of the Metropolitan Municipality's fight against the global climate crisis, the Peynircioğlu Ecological Corridor Project was among the top 3 projects in the World Green City Awards 2022, organized by the International Horticultural Producers Association (AIPH). Other award-winning cities were Melbourne from Australia and Mexico City from Mexico (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022c).

Bursa Metropolitan Municipality has prepared the Climate Change Action Plan. There is Zero Waste and Climate Change Branch Directorate under the Environmental Protection and Control Department of Bursa Metropolitan Municipality. The municipality produces projects such as zero waste project in the fight against climate change, climate change and energy efficiency studies, environmental training and environmentally friendly school, green building certificate (Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022).

In Adana Metropolitan Municipality, there is a department under the name of Climate Change and Zero Waste Department in the field of climate. The sub-units of this department are the Zero Waste Branch Directorate and the Climate Change and Clean Energy Branch Directorate. The municipality is preparing Sustainable Energy and Climate Action Plan (Adana Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2022).

The law regulating all municipalities in Türkiye was enacted in 1912. With this law, which was valid until the Municipal Law No. 1580 enacted in 1930, a regulation was introduced for the provincial municipalities consisting of the elected council, the mayor elected by this council, and the municipal organs. The first legal regulation regarding municipalities in the Republican period was the law numbered 1580, dated in 1930. The law in force today is the Municipality Law No. 5393, dated in 2005 (Tortop, et.al., 2006). Edirne Municipality, is selected with an approach stated at the beginning of the chapter, is examined in this section with its climate policy approaches by scanning municipality website, and the following evaluations were made for this municipality.

Edirne Municipality has Climate Change and Zero Waste Directorate. The Environmental Protection and Control Units are under this directorate. As the first provincial municipality to establish the Climate Change Directorate in Türkiye, Edirne Municipality has started to work on the Sustainable Energy and Climate Action Plan with the goal of carbon neutrality (Edirne Belediyesi, 2022).

#### ***4.2. Climate Policies of District Municipalities***

District municipalities in Türkiye are as sub-systems of metropolitan and provincial municipalities. With the law numbered 6360, which entered into force in 2012, the villages of metropolitan municipalities have turned into neighbourhood status. Villages and neighbourhood associations also have various climate policies. But climate policies of villages and neighbourhoods are excluded from the scope of this study in order to examine the subject based on more objective data within the institutional hierarchy of the public administration system and because of their huge number.

District municipalities in Türkiye have various climate policies. In addition to this, there are also district municipalities that do not have an institutional structure for climate policies. Kadıköy and Çerkezköy Municipalities, which was selected with an approach stated at the beginning of this unit, examined through their climate policy approaches by scanning their websites, and the following evaluations were made by this manner.

Kadıköy is one of the the districts of Istanbul. There is a Climate Change and Zero Waste Directorate in Kadıköy Municipality. The municipality has also created a website on climate change issues (Kadıköy Belediyesi, 2022). Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy - GCoM is an institution in which local and regional officials volunteer to implement the goals of combating climate

change, has signed by Kadıköy Municipality in 2012. Kadıköy Municipality continues its projects and activities on the GCoM platform to reduce the district greenhouse gas emissions by 40% until 2030, in line with the new targets of the Paris Climate Agreement. The Municipality prepared the Sustainable Energy and Climate Adaptation Action Plan in 2018. As a result of the 2019 reporting of this action plan for mitigation and adaptation studies, it was awarded the “Climate Achievement Badge” from GCoM to the municipality (İklim Eylemi: Kadıköy Belediyesi, 2019).

Çerkezköy is one of the districts of Tekirdağ. Çerkezköy has a Climate Change and Zero Waste Directorate. Çerkezköy Municipality held informative events on climate change and zero waste in the environment week activities (Çerkezköy Belediyesi, 2022). Çerkezköy Municipality can be considered as a district municipality that has started to develop newly in climate change.

## 5. Conclusion

In this study, the activities and policies of institutions in the field of combating climate change in the Turkish public administration system is examined. In order to provide objective information, the document scanning method is used and the websites of the public institutions are scanned in the context of their information on climate change. The comments of the articles from the literature on this subject are not included in this study. The aim here is to collect information about how institutions reflect themselves on climate change to the public. Thus, the aim is to present an assessment of the current situation, not developing a critical approach. It is known that the results of the decisions taken by public institutions for various reasons such as economic development, political competition, problems related to energy resources cause environmental and climate problems throughout the other countries and even in Türkiye. And similarly, government policies such as mining activities, urbanization and industrialization continue to create significant climate problems around the world. From this point of view, future studies can investigate the extent to which the policies of public institutions cause climate problems. Systematic research and comparisons can be made on the extent to which the activities of public institutions can reduce these problems in developing policies and projects in the fight against climate change. At the same time, the private sector has a similar situation. While private sector activities cause climate problems to a large extent, supportive projects are also developed within these institutions in the fight against climate change. With this aspect, the supervision of the activities of the private sector

that cause environment and climate change is also within the responsibility of the government policies. The inputs of this objective study can also contribute to critical studies in which these approaches are discussed.

As a unique approach in the study, central and local governments in Türkiye are discussed together. As a result of these examinations, it is seen that relations with the EU and negotiation processes are effective in the climate policies of the central government in Türkiye. However, it is seen that local governments and municipalities attach more importance to this area in the context of sustainability and local development, especially with factors such as natural disasters caused by climate change, drought in agricultural areas, infrastructure problems in flood disasters. This study includes very few municipal samples. In addition to this, it has been determined that the studies of the selected municipalities in this unit on climate change are internationally recognized and rewarded. Establishing central, regional and local partnerships in the fight against climate change by countries increases their success in this regard. In the research, green climate and green municipality project as an EU grant project of the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Changes, is an example of cooperation between central and local governments on climate change. The diversity in the climate policies of municipalities contributes to the development of activities in the field of climate change in Türkiye.

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## CHAPTER X

# MIGRATION POLICIES IN TURKIYE AND FRANCE: A REVIEW ON HISTORICAL PROCESS AND CURRENT SITUATION

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### **Abstract**

**T**his study aims to demonstrate the migration policies, the dynamics of implementation, governments' ideological attitudes, and the impact of socio-economic conditions in countries on the policies produced for immigrants in Turkiye and France. A comparative assessment was conducted on migration policies based on the legal legislation, migration history, and institutions of Turkiye and France. Since the 1940s, France has accepted immigrants in line with development-priority programs as a receiving country, but has put the “Selective Immigration Policy” approach on the agenda sharply due to intense immigration pressure and increasing terrorist incidents after 2011. On the other hand, Turkiye has been a sending and transit country since the 1930s. Due to its “Open Door” policy after 2011, it has undergone significant changes in both its legal legislation and institutional structure with the mass migration it faced on the Syrian border. Serious paradigm shifts have been observed in the

migration policies of both countries in recent years. While France has recently manifested severe restrictions for security and economic reasons; Turkiye has faced unplanned mass migration and developed new policies to allow asylum seekers to live in safe areas.

**Keywords:** Turkiye, France, Migration Policy, Immigrants, Asylum Seekers

**JEL Classification:** J61, J68, K37

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Migration mobility is an important phenomenon that has formed the developments in the world in various aspects since human history. Sometimes during periods of war and internal turmoil, sometimes in line with economic goals, and sometimes due to the effects caused by natural disasters, people leave their places voluntarily or necessarily. While there were states whose economies were only dependent on trade in the 18th and 19th centuries, the emergence of “immigration states” was observed in the 20th and 21st centuries.

States have had to meet the security and political risks that come with international mobility while following open policies to the international migration phenomenon with their economic systems and social acceptances to protect their global competitive advantage and economic power balances. Inevitably, states are faced with establishing this delicate balance (Hollifield, 2004).

Although the national policies developed by the states are a determining factor in the acceptance of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers and the phases of integration and integration into the society, the foreign policies carried out in parallel with these policies and the dynamics that occur affect the relations and both economic and security balances among states (CMES, 2012: 8). Immigration policies that cannot be managed on a certain level could be a security threat to nation-states and lead to conflicts between regions (Hollifield, 2004: 887). The changes that come with immigration and the situation of immigrants concern the countries of origin as well as the countries they have settled in and leave permanent marks by shaping the interaction between these countries (URL1).

In this study, the migration history of Turkiye, which has been under the influence of migration flow for many years, and France as a receiving country is examined, the transformations, social, political, and economic breaking points experienced in this process are discussed, and especially the change in the

approaches to migration policies they have developed recently is addressed in the context of legal legislation and institutions.

Turkiye has recently become a receiving and transit country in terms of migration, but it used to be a sending and transit country in the past. Turkiye, which has intended to create a homogeneous society in accordance with nation-state construction since the 1920s-1930s<sup>1</sup>, has prioritized connection to the Turkish lineage and culture in the immigrants it has placed in the country. It has developed a policy of opening its doors to its compatriots<sup>2</sup> who have remained outside its borders and granting them special status. It was not until the 2000s that a comprehensive and holistic approach to immigration policy was introduced. In particular, Turkiye, which faced a mass migration movement in 2011 and after, opened its borders with an “Open Door” policy<sup>3</sup>, considering humanitarian reasons, and has continued to develop its legislation accordingly. Strategies supporting the social cohesion of foreigners were developed with the Adaptation Strategy Document and National Action Plan issued in 2018.

As a receiving country since the mid-19th century, France started policy development for immigrants from the 1940s. Immigration policies in France have been developed in line with the needs of the country. First of all, immigrants who contribute to the economic development, do not threaten the values of the republic and the French identity and have a strong social adaptation were selected. Thus, France followed the approach called “Selective Immigration Policy.” The discourse of “unable to accept all the poor in the world” in France actually reflects its insistence on selective immigration when the immigration policies are viewed at the legal level and reveals the most important approach that determines migration policies in the past, present, and future. After 2011, the refugee movement towards Europe and its definition as “migration crisis (refugee crisis)” and security problem by European countries have been effective in making the immigration policy of France more rigid.

Throughout the historical process, many countries have signed international conventions prioritizing human rights on refugees and displaced persons. However, in the face of mass migrations that occur suddenly as a

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1 Some historians suggest that this process occurred with the declaration of Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 which aimed at the creation of a modern, centralized nation state during the Ottoman Empire (Zurcher, 2019: 482).

2 When the Republic of Turkiye was established, it had compatriots who were outside its new borders. Various policies have been developed on their inclusion in the country.

3 After 2015, the policy has changed to “Security Policy”

result of internal conflicts or various crises, each country activates its internal dynamics and adopts different approaches. They enact new regulations in their domestic law and review their immigration policies. This study is an attempt to highlight this matter by selecting Türkiye and France as samples. Türkiye is the most preferred country by refugees due to the border with neighboring Syria. France, on the other hand, has become a less preferred country in terms of Syrian refugee hosting rate and remained below the average of European countries (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2020; Çakır, 2018) It is thought that this is due to the migration policies developed by both countries. Thus, France and Türkiye are exemplary preferred. Changes in migration legislation and policies made by both countries in the face of mass migration movement that took place after 2011 Syrian Crisis were examined in particular. The results were analyzed presented in a table. They show that Türkiye has previously pursued an “open door” policy and has recently entered a controlled phase. On the other hand, France strictly followed the “Selective Immigration Policy” approach. As a result, it has been observed that both countries adopt different approaches in the face of the sudden migration crisis and act in line with their national interests and past trends by regulating their domestic law.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Due to the increasing weight of human mobility in the world, migration policies have also started to be important on the basis of countries. The policies implemented by Türkiye and France, which have experienced migration for many years, even within the framework of different dynamics, towards immigrants have not been discussed comparatively. The policies carried out by both countries within their borders have been discussed by various researchers, and under what conditions and in which direction the migration policies have evolved (İçduygu and Yüksek, 2012; Schain, 2008). Mass migration movements continued during and after the foundation of the Republic, and Türkiye received both regular and irregular immigration movements. İçduygu et al. (2014), Goularas and Sunata (2015) and Güder (2016) analyzed five stages from 1923 to 2011 to express for the migration periods of Türkiye. While Türkiye evaluated its policies towards immigrants in the context of cultural and ethnic affinity in the early republican period, it has recently revised it due to the crises, wars and conflicts experienced especially in nearby geographies. Especially with the 2011 Syrian Crisis, it followed an open door policy. Recently, it has been trying to go

to the controlled migration process against irregular migration mobility (Örselli and Babahanoğlu, 2016).

When the immigration policies of France are examined, Rosenberg (2006) says that especially between years 1914-1918, during the First World War, the mobility of foreigners in France was followed seriously due to security concerns. Because of this situation, needs arose in the sectors based on the labor force and as a result various institutions were established in France to meet this need. Bertossi (2008) mentions the 1938 year and around. In these years due to the political and economic conditions of the period, the idea of producing a consistent immigration policy was not realized. After World War II, labor migration occurred. It has received immigrants from former French colonial countries. However, in the following period, immigration from different countries took place. Due to the economic crises and political disagreements in the world, it has taken a restrictive way in immigration.

Hargreaves (2007) express on the 1960s that France's migration policies gained momentum with the introduction of Europe and economic growth. During this period, agreements were signed to encourage workers' mobility to France from former French colonies and other continents and immigrants who entered the country granted legal status. Silverman (2003) and Wenden (2011) found that no special law on immigration was created until the 1980s and the issue of immigration was an instrument to politics and continued in this direction from those years to the present day. Odmalm (2005) says about that period when the "zero migration" attempts began. Today, France uses the selective migration method (Silverman, 2003; Hollifield, 2010).

### **3. SHORT HISTORY OF MIGRATION OF COUNTRIES**

#### **3.1. *Turkiye***

Turkiye has faced significant migration flows in history due to its geographical, strategic, cultural, and political position. Turkiye's growing economic power is an element of attraction for migration movements while continuing political instability in its geographical region is seen as another element that encourages migration towards Turkiye. It is also a fact that while Turkiye has been mainly a "transit country" in terms of migration movements until recently, it is increasingly seen as a "receiving country" with its growing economic strength and stability, and in this context, migration to the country continues to increase (URL2).

Turkiye initially experienced the migration of compatriots who were left in the Ottoman Empire geography after the establishment of the Republic. Mass migration movements continued during and after the foundation of the Republic, and since these years, it has become a country that receives both regular and irregular immigration. Since the 1950s, “labor emigration” has occurred especially to North-West European countries. When different sources are analyzed, it is seen that the following stages are expressed for the migration periods of Turkiye (CMES, 2012), (İçduygu et al., 2014), (Goularas and Sunata, 2015) and (Güder, 2016):

- a) Nation-State Founding Period (1923-1950)
- b) Labor Migration to Europe (1950-1980)
- c) The Period of Global Trends (Post-1980)
- d) Becoming a Transit Country period (Post-1990)
- e) The Period of the Syrian Crisis (Post-2011)

In the initial years of the new Republic, the migration of Turks and Muslim foreign nationals occurred to Turkiye, but in this case, were limited to a certain period. This situation, which can be expressed as the first wave migration flow, took place, especially after the population exchange between Turkiye and Greece.

Migration policies in the period from 1923-1950 and extending to the 1960s are seen as efforts aimed at establishing a sense of nation-state, national identity, and belonging during the founding years of Turkiye. Because of this, immigration policies were developed in the form of resettlement of immigrants with Turkish lineage and culture within the framework of the understanding of creating a national identity and belonging.

International agreements signed by Turkiye also influenced the creation of migration policies. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 and the European Convention On Human Rights in 1950 were signed. Turkiye’s entry into NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1951 made the country a frontline country during the Cold War. During this period, policies with an inward-looking security axis were implemented, the borders of which were “closed to the outside.” This narrowed the field of a highly strategic element of development that has many social, economic, and political dimensions, such as migration.

The Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was signed in 1951. Turkiye adopted the Geneva Convention and then the New York Protocol

Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1967 in the context of “asylum applications of European origin” with geographical limitation reservations. The signing of the Geneva Convention with reservations is considered a different turning point. During this period, migration policies were largely shaped around the geographical restriction laid down in the Geneva Convention (Tekelioğlu et al., 2015). Those from outside European countries are considered ‘asylum seekers,’ not ‘refugees,’ even if they have the qualifications necessary for ‘refugee’ status under the general provisions of the convention. Accordingly, Turkiye grants asylum to those who come from Europe to remain in Turkiye, while those who come from outside “Europe” can go to third countries (URL3).

By the 1980s, due to wars and globalization in neighboring countries, Turkiye became a transit country in terms of international migration and began to encounter mass and irregular migration movements (Işıkçı, 2017). Since the beginning of the 1990s, it was also influenced by waves of migration from many countries, such as Iraq, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia (İçduygu and Yüksek, 2012). However, effective migration management was not followed until these years. Table 1 includes periods of mass migration to Turkiye and the number of migrants/asylum seekers.

**Table 1:** Periods of Mass Migration to Turkiye

Year	Migration movement	Number
1922-1938	Greece	384 thousand
1923-1945	Balkans	800 thousand
1933-1945	Germany	800 thousand
1988	Iraq	51.542
1989	Bulgaria	345 thousand
1991	Iraq after the Gulf War	467.489
1992-1998	Bosnia	20 thousand
1999	Kosovo	17.746
2001	Macedonia	10.500
April 2011-December 2020	Syria	3.638.420

**Source:** Aktel and Kaygısız, 2018 and DGMM, 2020.

Another of the most important elements that deeply affected Turkiye’s migration policies has been Turkiye’s accession process to the European Union (EU). In

particular, Türkiye's migration policies have come under the influence of EU migration policies with the start of the accession negotiations, and all regulations in this area were shaped in line with the EU *acquis*.

Especially since the 2000s, Türkiye has faced illegal immigrants from various countries who aim to pass into European countries. The position of transit country has strengthened during these years. Since Türkiye limited the definition of refugees in the Geneva Convention to "those who claim asylum due to events in Europe before January 1, 1951", many immigrants were excluded from this definition, and on the other hand, they could not be sent to the country of origin.

A major breaking point that led Türkiye to reconsider its migration policies was the civil war in Syria in 2011. Türkiye experienced an intense mass migration movement as a result of international migration policies and alignment with EU *acquis* and the implementation of an Open Door policy. With the civil war, refugees from Syria, who reached thousands and then millions, led to the need for new and effective policies to be raised (Tekelioğlu et al., 2015). It should be stated that after 2015, Türkiye has followed Security Policy, which has been developed as a result of the idea that the threat develops within as well as outside the borders, the number of the refugees exceeding the expected threshold, social and political reactions and concrete attacks on security (Bayır and Aksu, 2020).

The Law on Foreigners and International Protection No. 6458, adopted in 2013, granted "temporary protection status" to migrants seeking asylum in Türkiye. Thus, due to the geographical restriction in the Geneva Convention, refugees who remain illegal immigrants could receive basic public services. Türkiye's migration legislation will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. Table 2 contains statistics on immigration in Türkiye.

**Table 2:** Statistics on Immigration in Türkiye

Numbers Related to Immigration	1995	2010	2020
Number of Foreigners	6.762.956	27.024.609	869.735
Residence Permit	84.727	176.944	869.735
International Protection Application	2.024	8.190	56.417
Irregular Migration	11.362	32.667	115.684

**Source:** [www.mevzuat.tbmm.gov.tr](http://www.mevzuat.tbmm.gov.tr), DGMM (2020).

### 3.2. France

The 19th century was a period of a serious demographic crisis in France (Sacquin, 2002). In this sense, immigration became free, and control of the foreign population was put aside, or even a policy was not followed in this direction. France, a country that received immigration after the mid-19th century, established legal norms on migration management dating back to the mid-20th century (Hollifield, 2010). Approaching France's immigration policies from a historical perspective, it seems that until 1945, a reactive attitude towards immigrants and foreigners in the country was displayed, and after 1945, serious policies began to be produced. In these years, the immigrant population of France gained weight from those from Eastern European countries. Table 3 shows periods of mass migration to France by year.

**Table 3:** Periods of Mass Migration to France

Year	Migration movement	Number (Thousand)
1911	Spanish	105
	German	120
	British	40
	Russian	35
	Maghreb	30
1945	Italian	500
	Spanish	290
	Algerian	210
1968	Spanish	620
	Italian	590
	Algerian	470
	Portuguese	300
	Polish	130
	Moroccan	90
	Belgian	67
	Tunisian	60
Yugoslavian	50	
1974	Algerian	711
	Moroccan	260
	Tunisian	140
	Yugoslavian	80
	Turkish	50

**Source:** Histoire de l'immigration en France: La contribution des immigrés au développement économique et aux guerres françaises de 1850 à aujourd'hui, Collectif des lutins, [http://www.preavis.org/formation-mr/Lutins/brochure\\_immigration\\_1-0.a5.pdf](http://www.preavis.org/formation-mr/Lutins/brochure_immigration_1-0.a5.pdf), janvier 2004.

During the First World War, the mobility of foreigners in France was followed seriously due to security concerns, and detailed records were kept (Rosenberg, 2006). Because of the war that took place during the years 1914-1918, needs arose in the sectors based on the labor force. Various institutions were established in France to meet this need: Agricultural Workforce Organization (le Service de la main-d'oeuvre agricole - SMOA), Foreign Labor Organization (le Service de la main-d'oeuvre étrangère - SMOE), and Colonial Workers' Organization. (le service des travailleurs étrangers) can be given as an example of such organizations.

During this period, agreements were also signed with the French colonies and various European countries to bring foreign workers to France. Institutions started to function after the war, and activities were carried out solely for the control and coordination of foreign workers. Various private initiatives also played a role in the recruitment of foreign workers who arrived in France to work in these years. In this context, the "General Migration Society (Société générale d'immigration - SGI)" was established by the employers. This initiative contributed to France becoming Europe's first immigration country in 1924 (Schain, 2008). Since this period, the number of immigrants increased in France. The ratio of the immigrant population to the general population is shown in Table 4.

**Table 4:** Immigrant Population in France and Its Ratio to Total Population

Year	Immigrant Population (Million)	Ratio to Total Population
1921	1.429	%3,7
1931	2.729	%6,6
1946	1.986	%5
1954	2.293	%5,4
1962	2.861	%6,2
1968	3.281	%6,6
1975	3.887	%7,4
1990	4.166	%7,4
1999	4.387	%7,3
2010	5.514	%8,5
2019	6.707	%10

**Source:** INSEE <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3633212>

The crises in the 1930s triggered the development of France's immigration policy. Many laws restricting foreigners emerged during these years as a result of practices such as banning the professing of certain occupations, illegal pressures, and not renewing residence permits. The Undersecretariat for Immigration (Sous-Secrétariat d'Etat à l'Immigration) was established in 1938. This institution, which was assigned to work on immigration, could not achieve its purpose due to the political and economic conditions of the period. In these years, the idea of producing a consistent immigration policy was not realized. Policies in this direction were formed in the following years (Bertossi, 2008).

As a result of the labor force migration experienced after the Second World War, with the increase in the diversity of immigrants in the country, the policies regarding migration management gained importance. Statistics on asylum applications, irregular migrants, and residence permits are given in Table 5.

**Table 5:** Statistics on Immigration in France

	1990	2010	2018
Application for Asylum	56.053	52.762	162.640
Irregular Immigration	70.000	228.036	313.293
Residence Permit	121.522	194.157	258.929

**Source:** Ministère de l'Intérieur français, <https://www.immigration.interieur.gouv.fr/fr/Immigration>

The 2000s coincided with the period when France developed policies on immigration. Various circular letters, council and commission reports were published. Migration policies formed based on integration had an assimilationist feature during this period. The necessity of adhering to the values and norms of the Republic was emphasized. The approach that the cultural characteristics of immigrants constitute an obstacle to integration has led to the perception of immigrants as a threat to French identity (Lochak, 2006).

In 2002, discussions on immigration policies in France gained momentum. France switched to "selective immigration" policies instead of "imposed immigration" policies formed by family reunification and acceptance of asylum seekers. Including quotas for family reunification and selection of immigrants according to their geographical and ethnic origin are among the practices that set an example for these policies. In this period, immigration was attempted to be controlled with public support caused by exaggerated statistical data on irregular immigrants.

Efforts were made to evolve immigration policies into an “selective immigration” application made up of specially skilled individuals in line with the economic needs of the state (Kaya, 2016).

## 4. REGULATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION POLICIES

### 4.1. *Turkiye*

#### 4.1.1. *Pre-2013 Period*

Until 2013, migration legislation in *Turkiye* appeared to be disorganized. Migration policies covering 1923-1960 are efforts aimed at establishing a sense of nation-state, national identity, and belonging during the founding years of *Turkiye*. Therefore, within the framework of the understanding of creating a national identity and belonging, a number of legal regulations reflected in immigration policies in the form of resettling immigrants with Turkish lineage and culture in the country were implemented during this period. In 1932, “The Law on the Art and Services Allocated to Turkish Citizens in *Turkiye*” No. 2007 was enacted. With this law, it was stipulated that some professions were performed only by Turkish citizens (Örselli and Babahanoğlu, 2016).

Another law legislated during this period is the Settlement Law No. 2510, which is considered the first policy document in *Turkiye* that includes a general regulation on immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees. The law regulates migration movements to *Turkiye*, asylum requests, and resettlement. By this law, *Turkiye* is divided into three main zones in terms of the settlement:

Type One Zones: Places where the concentration of populations of Turkish culture is desired.

Type Two Zones: Places set aside for the relocation and settlement of populations whose representation into Turkish culture is desired.

Type Three Zones: Places that will be uninhabited and where settlement and residence will be prohibited due to spatial, sanitary, cultural, political, military, and security reasons.

This law prioritized the resettlement of immigrants with Turkish ancestry lineage and culture within the framework of the understanding of creating a national identity and belonging. Besides, only the right to emigrate to *Turkiye*

was to be given under the provisions based on the article “the Turkish nomads descended from built-up areas or individuals and tribes and Turkish culture to anyone connected to the built-up” (Law No. 2510, 1934: Article 3).

When the legal process of migration management in Turkiye is examined, Passport Law No. 5682 enacted in 1950 and Law No. 5683 on the Residence and Travel of Foreigners v are considered important. The Passport Law No. 5682 regulates business and transactions related to foreigners who are excluded from international protection status. Law No. 5683 regulates the residence and travel of foreigners in Turkiye. However, it was found that these laws responded to the needs of the relevant period but were not comprehensive enough to solve the problems that arised after it.

Other regulations introduced in the migration legislation between 1950 and 2000 are as follows:

- a) Law No 403 on Turkish Citizenship Law dated 1964 was adopted.
- b) In 1980, Law No. 2257 Regarding the Approval of the European Convention on the Legal Status of the Immigrant Worker was adopted.
- c) In 1983, Law No. 2922 on Foreign Students Studying in Turkiye was adopted.
- d) Refugee Regulation was adopted in 1994.
- e) The Regulations on the International Transportation, Transport of People and Goods dated 1994 and
- f) The Law Concerning the Fight Against Global Criminal Organizations dated 1999 were adopted.

The legislation listed above include the regulations that were needed under the conditions of the relevant day they were issued and the applications were limited to the area they covered. A comprehensive and holistic implementation was not carried out until the 2000s. After 2000, developments in the international arena and foreign policy forced Turkiye to make more comprehensive and effective arrangements with respect to international protection. Thus, there is a serious acceleration in the studies carried out in the post-2002 period.

In 2003, within the scope of the work to be done regarding immigration and asylum during the EU accession process, the “Law on Foreign Direct Investment” numbered 4875, Strategy Document on the Protection of External Borders, Asylum Strategy Document, and Immigration Strategy Document were prepared. In 2005, Turkiye’s National Action Plan for the adoption of

the European Union *acquis* in the field of asylum and migration was prepared. In 2006, the “Implementation Instruction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,” which was accepted as the second basic regulation of the domestic law in the field of asylum and immigration after the 1994 Regulation, was enacted.

#### ***4.1.2. Law No. 6458: Purpose, Justification and Definitions***

In 2011, after the civil war began in Syria, Türkiye had intense mass migration from this region. The regulations made that year and after were intended to clarify the legal rights and legal status of asylum seekers. Syrians have been granted “temporary protection status” created after similar crises in different geographies of the world, based on the 1994 Regulation of the Ministry of Interior since April 2012. This includes the principles stipulated by minimum international standards such as Open Door policy, non-forced return, no individual status determination, accommodation in camps, and provision of other basic services (Öner İhlamur, 2014).

Due to the growing crisis and the increasing immigration from Syria, Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection entered into force on 11/04/2013. On the grounds of this law, it is emphasized that Passport Law No. 5682, adopted in 1950, and Law No. 5683 on the Residence and Travels of Foreigners in Türkiye are insufficient in the face of current problems and developments. It is stated that there is no basic regulation at the level of law with regards to international protection and that the practices are carried out in accordance with administrative regulations. Additionally, the absence of a public institution specializing in immigration was also cited as a justification. It is stated that migration management should be carried out effectively considering examples in the world, and therefore a competent institutional structure is needed. The justification of the law also emphasizes the European Union negotiation process. Accordingly, until Türkiye’s full membership in the EU is realized, the international protection system must be parallel to the *acquis* and its practices.

The objective of the Law is expressed as “The purpose of this Law is to determine the procedures and principles with regard to the foreigners’ entry into, stay in and exit from Türkiye and with regard to the scope and implementation of protection to be provided to persons who apply for protection in Türkiye” (Law No. 6458, 2013). The law covers major definitions such as asylum seeker, refugee, conditional refugee, temporary protection, stateless and foreigners, entry and deportation provisions to Türkiye, visa procedures and

residence provisions, admission and housing centers and repatriation centers, and international protection. Besides, the Law includes adaptation, integration, migration policies, and the implementation of these policies, the structures of the Directorate General of Migration Management, and the Migration Policies Board (Law No. 6458, 2013).

The law also regulates adaptation, which is an integral component of migration management. Thus, the issue of adaptation was introduced to the legislation for the first time. The law also fills an important gap in this aspect. Entries to the country are not only managed, but also the provision of education, work, social assistance, and health opportunities to those who have international protection status is regulated. A flexible structure is estimated that will enable and facilitate the coliving of foreigners and society in a conscious and organized way. With the practices to be carried out in this direction, it is aimed to implement the migration system in line with international standards and the EU acquis, to reduce bureaucratic procedures in regular migration while combating irregular migration, and to establish an effective and manageable migration system in accordance with the legal, administrative, and physical infrastructure ([www.mevzuat.tbmm.gov.tr](http://www.mevzuat.tbmm.gov.tr)).

It is especially stated in the 91st article of the Law that “temporary protection” will be provided for the asylum seekers who come to the country collectively. Thus, the legal status of the increasing number of Syrian refugees was revealed more clearly, and the basis for the policies to be followed for them was established. It issued on the basis of this provision of the Law on the Temporary Protection Directive issued in 2014 formed the basis for the regulation of temporary protection status in Turkiye.

Two new status definitions were made for migrants in the form of ‘conditional refugee’ and ‘subsidiary protection,’ and rights were granted. Accordingly, migrants from outside Europe are granted ‘conditional refugee’ status and allowed to reside in Turkiye until they settle in another country. Those whose status fails to comply with these two statuses will remain in the country with a “subsidiary protection status.” Subsidiary protection status is granted to foreign or stateless persons who will face a serious threat to themselves due to indiscriminate acts of violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict, who cannot benefit from the protection of their country of residence or who do not want to benefit due to the said threat (Law No. 6458, 2013: Article 63). This status is a new definition that is introduced with the law.

### ***4.1.3. Institutions Related to Migration***

It seems that the immigration policies followed before 2013 are quite disorganized, given the current legislation, and their basic functions remain limited in time and space. During this period, the activities related to migration management were undertaken by institutions whose main service area was different. These institutions can be listed as Department of Foreigners affiliated to the General Directorate of Security, Governorates, and affiliated organizations.

The establishment of the Migration Studies Group in 2002 is suggested as a remarkable initiative in this period. Established for the implementation of policies consistent with the EU, the Migration Studies Group is also recognized as the first structuring in an institutional context as a public policy actor in the field of migration in Türkiye. The Migration Studies Group was composed of the Turkish General Staff, the Undersecretariat of Customs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the General Directorate of Security, The Gendarmerie General Command, and the Coast Guard Command.

Law No. 6458 aims to implement migration management in a certain order. The most important are the innovations introduced in regulation and corporate structuring, which are the application areas of policies. In addition to making existing institutions an effective actor in migration management, new institutions were also established.

#### ***4.1.3.a. General of Migration Management (DGMM)***

The Directorate General of Migration Management was established under Law No. 6458, under the Ministry of Interior. With the transition to the Presidential System of Government in 2018, the Directorate was rearranged with the Presidential Decree No. 4.

The most important task of the Directorate is to carry out work on developing legislation and administrative capacity in the field of migration and monitor and coordinate the implementation of policies and strategies determined by the President. Besides, executing operations related to temporary protection, victims of human trafficking and protection of stateless persons and the studies on adaptation-related business and ensuring coordination between agencies to combat irregular migration, assist in the programming and projecting of the activities of public institutions and organizations in the field of migration, and support the implementation of such work and projects in accordance with international standards are among the other tasks to the Directorate (P.D. No. 4,

Article 158). In carrying out these tasks, the Directorate can establish the central organization as well as the provincial and foreign organizations.

#### ***4.1.3.b. Migration Board***

The Migration Board, which was established under the name of the Immigration Policies Board in Law No. 6458, continued its activities until 2018. With the transition to the Presidential System of Government, it was abolished with Decree No. 703, but it was restructured with the Presidential Decree No. 17 under the name of the “Migration Board.” Accordingly, the Migration Board is responsible for determining migration strategies, monitoring their coordination and implementation, and it consists of representatives of ministries and institutions, and organizations to be determined by the Ministry of Interior under the chairmanship of the Minister of Interior (P.D. No. 17, Article 522).

The Board took decisions on issues such as the creation of the Migration Strategy Document, the adoption of the Adaptation Strategy Document and the National Action Plan, and the regulation of the issues within the scope of its duty regarding residence permits (DGMM, 2018).

#### ***4.1.3.c. Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (DEMP)***

As mentioned above, the General Directorate of Migration Management and the Migration Policies Board affiliated to this directorate were held responsible for conducting migration management at the central level by Law No. 6458. DEMP was also appointed to assist them. DEMP was held responsible for the management of tent cities and container cities and the shelter, heating, clothing, food, and health supplies of the refugees (Demirhan and Aslan, 2015: 52). In 2018, Temporary Refugee Centers were transferred to the Ministry of Interior General Directorate of Immigration Management by the decision of the Council of Ministers (Official Gazette, 2018)

#### ***4.1.3.d. Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (TARC)***

The Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities was established in 2010, based on the Presidential Decree. No. 4, having a public legal personality, with a special budget, and under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (URL4).

The aim of the Presidency is to work on Turkish citizens living abroad and to find solutions to their problems, carry out activities to develop social, cultural, and economic relations with compatriots and relative communities, ensure the

coordination between relevant institutions for the successful conclusion of the educational processes of foreign students in Türkiye (P.D. No.4, 2018, Article 732).

Presidency maintains institutional relations with the citizens of the Republic of Türkiye living in different regions and countries of the world and with the communities of relatives and compatriots with common history and cultural heritage (URL4).

#### ***4.1.3.e. Presidential Policy Councils***

It is also necessary to mention the Presidential Policy Councils. With the Presidential Decree on the Presidential Organization published in the Official Gazette on July 10, 2018, the Presidential System of Government Policy Councils were designed (URL5).

The policy councils involved in migration management and studies are seen as the Security and Foreign Policy Council, the Social Policies Council, and the Local Governments Council, respectively. The Security and Foreign Policy Council is assigned to determine and monitor the application of the immigration policies and strategies of Türkiye, monitor the immigration applications and make recommendations, evaluate the new regulations planned in the field of migration, follow and report regional and international developments in the field of immigration policy and law. Among the duties of the Social Policies Council is to develop policy recommendations on the solution of migration and immigrant problems, while the Local Governments Council is tasked with developing policy recommendations on migration and settlement issues (URL6).

As councils study in this field, ministries, institutions and organizations, representatives of non-governmental organizations and sectors, experts in their fields, and other interested parties will submit a report to the President of the Republic. In general, it is seen that all three councils have migration and migration management studies and are assigned to develop policies.

#### ***4.1.4. Adaptation Strategy Document and National Action Plan (2018-2023)***

2018 is considered as the start of the integration work associated with immigrants in Türkiye. The prolongation of returns due to forced mass migration and the preference of “guests” to live in cities across the country rather than temporary refugee centers or camps brought up the issue of social cohesion.

The Adaptation Strategy Document and National Action Plan were prepared under the coordination of the Directorate General of Migration Management. It

is stated that the plan was designed by collecting the opinions of relevant public institutions, local governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, and foreigners living in Turkiye to form the basis of an effective cohesion policy (DGMM, 2018). The plan was created to map out the activities for adaptation and to determine the priorities.

In the plan, it is stated that Turkiye has been approaching people from different cultures and civilizations with tolerance for centuries with an emphasis on the property of being a society of compassion. The plan regulates all migrant affairs in such a way as to establish social cohesion on the basis of the human rights approach and maintains social cohesion in line with human-oriented, transparent, and rights-based migration management (DGMM, 2018). Experts, senior public officials, provincial organizations, local governments, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, as well as immigrant communities, took part in the preparation of the plan.

## **4.2. France**

### **4.2.1. Pre-2011 Period**

As a result of the young population died in both world wars and the low level of birth rates, and the economic reasons of the country, France seems to have been flexible in its migration policies for a period. A dynamic population structure was needed first in order for the country to recover economically. De Gaulle's speech in 1945 is remarkable in this sense: "... in the next few years, we must incorporate elements of good emigration into French society with a certain method and prudence." (URL7)

With the admission of immigrants to the country, the National Immigration Office (Office national d'immigration – ONI) was established with the decree issued in 1945 (Ordonnance N°45-2658 1945). This decree issued for the residence and entry of foreigners is considered as a necessary and innovative initiative in the reconstruction of France. In the decree, it is seen that an egalitarian approach is followed in the theoretical sense in the immigration policies of France, and there are no racist expressions. The decree includes documents that foreigners who can work as workers in France should have and various applications for migration management (Silverman, 2003).

For the French Government, the National Immigration Office (NIO) played an important role in its decisions regarding foreign workers (Wenden, 2011). With a decision taken in 1946, the National Immigration Office (NIO) was turned into a public administration institution. Recruitment of foreign workers

under the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and health examinations of foreigners under the Ministry of Population and Public Health were carried out by the National Migration Office.

NIO became an important institution in the restructuring of France under state control (Hollifield, 2010). For employers in France, migrant workers were preferred more often than French workers because of their easier relocation, being eligible to work flexibly, having work experience, and working with lower wages (Silverman, 2003).

The 1960s were the years when France's migration policies gained momentum with the introduction of Europe and economic growth. Agreements were signed to encourage workers' mobility to France from former French colonies and other continents, especially in Europe. During this period, immigrants who entered the country legally and lived unregistered were granted legal status and given a residence or work permit if they found a job (Hargreaves, 2007). From 1945 to 1975, six million immigrants entered NIO's records. During these years, the proportion of those who came to France with irregular migration and were subsequently registered reached up to 90% (Hollifield, 2010). In those years, it seems that there was diversity in the practices of immigration policies. Persons with less than six months of residence permits and who mainly arrived as seasonal workers in agriculture were considered "temporary" status, while those who worked mainly in the construction, steel, and forestry sector were regarded as "permanent" immigrants.

French immigration policy in the early 1970s tended to support the integration of foreigners and the equality of their rights with the French. However, the oil crisis negatively affected the French economy, and as of 1974, mobility for labor migration was suspended, but social services for immigrants were increased. The activities of missions abroad were decreased; some even ended. New objectives were also set during this period. The first of these goals is to ensure the integration of foreigners in France and to ensure that they are informed about it. Moreover, family reunification became an important issue in France, first discussed by a decree of 1976. Workers who came to France leaving their families behind, thinking they were permanent, made attempts to bring their families to the country. Although recruitment of workers was halted in France during these years, migration mobility continued due to family reunifications. Policies aimed at stopping immigration were pursued. The assistance of 10,000 francs was provided for foreigners to return to their country with their families (Silverman, 2003). At that time, this practice was much discussed and was repealed in 1981.

No special law on immigration was created until the 1980s, and that practices were conducted in accordance with decrees and orders of managers (Wenden, 2011). In these years, it turned out that the issue of immigration was sitting on political ground. Immigration was an instrument to politics and continued in this direction from those years to the present day (Silverman, 2003). These years also appeared to be the period when the “zero migration” attempts began (Odmalm, 2005).

The National Immigration Office (NIO) was renamed The International Immigration Office (Office des migrations internationales – IIM) in 1988. Although this change was seen as a new approach, the duty area of the office did not change much, and activities were carried out to recruit foreign workers and control the flow of migration. With the free movement in Europe, the control of immigration flow from European countries came to an end, and it continued for those coming from other countries. Since the end of the 1980s, the National Employment Agency (Agence nationale pour l’emploi - ANPE) provided support to encourage French citizens who cannot find a job in France to work abroad.

After the 1990s, the level of meeting the needs of France, housing opportunities, and language skills were evaluated as a result of individual interviews with each immigrant with the determination of the health status of the migrants’ work areas related to social cohesion in France. Despite all efforts, cohesion policies remained disorganized and narrow-scoped in those periods. In the report published on the integration of immigrants, it was emphasized that cohesion policies affect only 10% of immigrants coming to France (Haut Conseil à l’intégration 2010). Accompanied by intense discussions, it was proposed that the “individual adaptation agreement,” which was generalized in 2005, should be implemented within the scope of the Integration and Acceptance Agreement (Contrat d’Accueil et d’Intégration - CAI). During his speech in Troyes in 2002, Chirac emphasized that immigrants should be directed to citizenship and language education for their integration (Déclaration de M. Jacques Chirac, 2002).

Asylum seekers were also included in immigration policies in the early 2000s. The follow-up of asylum seekers was started by the IIM. In 2005, the National Agency for the Admission of Foreigners and Immigrants (ANAÉM) was established. In 2007, the Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Development Based on Solidarity (Ministère de l’Immigration, de l’Intégration, de l’Identité nationale et du Développement solidaire - MIIINDS),

was founded and the General Review of Public Policies (Revision générale des politiques publiques - RGPP) program was launched.

#### **4.2.2. Central Approach in Migration Policies and Decree No. 728 (2013)**

Immigration policies in 2010 and beyond are shaped based on reducing the number of immigrants and controlling the borders. Attitudes such as the difficulty of admission and residence permits, the skepticism of mixed marriages, complicating the citizenship requirements, and the increasing difficulty of family reunification show that France perceives immigration as both a security problem and, in a sense, the cause of economic crises (Burban, 2009).

During those years, efforts were made to give a decentralized direction to immigration and integration policies. Integration policies and migration control strategies were adopted within the Ministry (Safi, 2014: 3). The decree issued in 2013 on amending the central government organization of the Ministry of the Interior also supported this approach. Article 8 of the decree mentions the duties assigned to the General Directorate for Foreigners. Accordingly, the following were included in the scope of the Directorate's duties:

- a) Welcoming foreigners and acceptance of citizenship and asylum procedures,
- b) Combating irregular migration,
- c) Foreigners' job and residence status and entry into the country,
- d) Preparation of rules for the acquisition and deprivation of French citizenship,
- e) Regulations regarding deportation, administrative detention, illegal work,
- f) Draft agreements on migrant flows,
- g) Development and negotiation of European migration standards,
- h) Issues related to the Asylum Office, asylum law, and beneficiaries of international protection

Additionally, important duties were assigned to the Central Directorate of the Border Police in combating irregular immigration. The Directorate is responsible for the control of cross-border mobility and people crossing national borders. This contributes to the border security of the European Union Member States. It is also the duty of the directorate to collect and analyze statistics on migration flows and the prevention and suppression of irregular migration.

Article 23, which refers to the internal turmoil that occurred in Syria in 2011, is as follows: “The Directorate of International Cooperation is responsible for implementing technical cooperation in immigration, asylum, and integration issues within the framework of harmonized management agreements for migrant flows, if necessary.” Thus, it is stated that millions of people were displaced due to the internal turmoil in Syria in 2011 and that Europe developed national and international public policies against the potential were thought to be affected by this migration mobility (Décret no 2013-728, 2013).

#### ***4.2.3. Law No. 778 on Managed Immigration, an Effective Right of Asylum, and Successful Integration (2018)***

The “Law on Managed Immigration, an Effective Right of Asylum, and Successful Integration,” commonly known as Asylum and Immigration Law, entered into force on September 10, 2018. The most important justification of the law is that it was enacted as a response of, especially France and Europe, more generally, experiencing unprecedented immigration pressure on a unique scale.

Another process that accelerated the drafting of the law was the strained situation as a result of a significant increase in asylum requests in all countries, and specifically, cities such as Paris, Alpes-Maritimes, and Calais were exposed to the flow of migrants. The talks on draft law provide insight into immigration policy approaches. In parliamentary talks, statements such as “urgent action must be taken on the influx of asylum seekers facing France; otherwise, hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers will enter the country every year, and therefore the need to build an average-sized city every year to welcome refugees” are significant to note (Rescan, 2018). This approach raises clear statistics of international migration and policies that need to be developed for them.

The government appears to be using the law primarily as a matter of domestic politics. In this context, it becomes impossible to develop a public policy in which permanent and definitive solutions can be implemented. The disproportionate acceleration of immigration movements has led to the law being prepared in a very strong security priority, restrictive, and pressure-oriented direction of the immigration movement. The primary objectives that the law aims to achieve are as follows (URL8):

- a) The asylum procedure is intended to be accelerated.
- b) Procedures for ensuring the right of residence of beneficiaries of international protection and foreigners in legal status were simplified.

The law effectively improves the system of residence permits that those who benefit from secondary protection and stateless persons can claim. Reform and progress in this area are positively received.

- c) Strengthening the fight against irregular migration is prioritized (Article L552-7, 2020).
- d) The support of immigrants, whose positive contribution to France's economic development, linguistic, and cultural impact is emphasized again based on past policies.

In many ways, the law has failed to achieve its objectives. Although the law states that issues such as entry of foreigners, granting a residence permit, and requesting asylum are applied in accordance with the provisions of international conventions (Loi 2018-778, 2018), the criticism suggested is that policies are becoming increasingly strict for the rights of foreigners. Curbing immigration has been criticized not only by human rights advocacy NGOs but also by the French Council of State. It was emphasized that the law is missing a few basic points, and it would be more useful to make a conclusion by comparing statistics about France with other European countries (Conseil d'Etat, 2018).

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

It is seen that Türkiye began to develop migration policies in the 1930s. In these years, the country prioritized the proximity to the Turkish lineage and culture in the immigrants they placed in the country to create a homogeneous society in accordance with the construction of a nation-state. Türkiye tried to implement its migration policies primarily through legislation, and recent globalization and developments in neighboring countries played an important role in monitoring the country's migration policies through institutions. Periods such as the 1951 Geneva Convention and the EU accession negotiations were instrumental in driving migration policies. As a result of the mass migration to the country due to the internal turmoil in Syria that began in 2011, it approached the issue with the dimension of human rights and tolerance and opened its borders by observing human rights, following an "Open Door" policy. After this year, the country also regulated its legal legislation accordingly. Türkiye's Adaptation Strategy Document and Action Plan for foreigners within its borders, issued in 2018, is an indication of the search for social cohesion for foreigners within the country, which as of today is approaching four million.

France, on the other hand, has systematically developed immigration policies since the 1940s. Since the middle of the 19th century, immigration policies in France have progressed in the form of labor agreements, economic needs, and the selection of skilled immigrants. From the very beginning, France has tried to carry out its migration policies through institutions. The process, which started with the establishment of the National Immigration Office in 1945, started with a wide organization both in the center and at the local level and then continued with the enactment of legal and administrative regulations. The basis of the policies that have been tried to be put forward from the past to the present is to preserve the sovereignty drawn by the nation-state borders and to approach immigrants as a factor that will contribute to the economic development of the country. France regards immigration as a tool for economic development. Immigrants who contribute to the economic progress of the country, do not threaten the French identity, and who are compatible with the society were preferred. As of 2011, the mass migration movement was described as a refugee crisis and security threat, and the terrorist events of 2015 made the immigration policies implemented by France tighter. With the law that entered into force in 2018, France is trying to follow a systematic path with “Selective Immigration Policies,” with practices such as the acceptance of immigrants according to sectoral needs and restrictions on health expenditures, and accelerated the efforts to this end. In Table 6, the migration policies of both countries are included in their key features.

**Table 6:** Key Features of Turkiye and France for Migration Policy

<b>–Migration Policy</b>	<b>Turkiye</b>	<b>France</b>
Initial Years	1930	1940
Country Feature (Previous Period)	Sending and Transit Country	Receiving (Target) Country
Country Feature (Last Period)	Transit and Receiving (Target) Country	Receiving (Target) Country
The Basic Origin of Policies	Laws	Institutions
Policy Approach	Open Door and Security (after 2015)	Selective Policies
Basic Immigration Law	Foreigners and International Protection Law (2013)	Law on Managed Immigration, an Effective Right of Asylum, and Successful Integration (2018)
Main Policy Executive Organization	General Directorate of Security. Department of Foreigners General Directorate of Migration Management (2013)	National Immigration Office (1945) Department of Foreigners (2013)
Immigration Policies Major Turning Points	1920s-1930s Nation-State Building 1951 Geneva Convention 2005 EU Acquis Harmonization and Open Door Policy 2011 Syrian Crisis 2013 Foreigners and International Protection Law The 2018 Year of Integration	1945 Labor Migration Period 1977 Return Incentives 2002 Selective Immigration Policies 2011 Syrian Crisis 2015 Terror Events 2018 Law on Managed Immigration, an Effective Right of Asylum, and Successful Integration

Compared to the migration policies of both countries, it is seen that the notion of the nation-state is at the center of focus. Although countries have softened their policies towards immigrants at different times, they have not given up on the requirements of the nation-state. At times when social and economic conditions become unfavorable and security risks arise, immigration policies go

in a restrictive direction, stricter controls are implemented at border crossings, and quotas for migrants are reduced. Practices like France's selective migration policy and Turkiye's open-door policy followed by a controlled phase and building of walls on its borders can be interpreted as reflecting this situation. On the other hand, although Turkiye has been affected by migration movements for many years due to its geography, it has not made serious arrangements in its corporate structure. Until recent years, the process has been managed within the framework of laws, regulations and legislation. However, France has preferred to manage the process through institutions from the very beginning and has implemented institutional arrangements. The migration movements faced by France were usually planned and demanded, while the mobility suffered by Turkiye was often suddenly developed and mass due to the instability and internal turmoil of the countries around it. Therefore, the fact that both countries differ in this aspect of the migration experience has affected their institutional structures and legislative arrangements.

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## CHAPTER XI

# EVALUATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TERMS OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM: THE CASE OF HARRAN CULTURAL HOUSE

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### 1. Introduction

**A**s one of the fastest growing sectors in the world, tourism, which plays an important role in sustainable development, requires a planned and balanced management to benefit from natural, cultural and human resources at the desired level (Güzel & Köksal, 2019: 392). The continuous growth of the tourism sector causes the environmental and cultural assets within the scope of the tourism product to be adversely affected over time. The transfer of cultural values to future generations without deterioration and the sustainable management of these assets will ensure maximum benefit from the social, cultural and economic benefits of tourism (Özdoğan, 2020: 44). The uncontrolled development of tourism may lead to the deterioration of natural and cultural heritage and decrease the sustainability potential of tourism (Coccosis, 2009: 47).

Natural and cultural heritage is an important part of sustainable tourism. It is very important to protect and sustain the tangible and intangible values that

make up the structure of cultural heritage through sustainable tourism (Dilek, 2016: 49). The relationship between cultural heritage and sustainable tourism can be explained in three points. First, the loss of cultural heritage assets removes the opportunity for future tourists to see historical values and traditions wherever they have been. Second, the sustainable use of cultural heritage increases the efficiency of the tourism sector. Finally, the alienation of cultural heritage by destroying, re-developing, over-using or over-commercialization causes the violation of social justice principles (Du Cros, Bauer, Lo & Rui, 2005: 172).

With the change in the understanding of tourism in the global sense, people start to see the traces of the past cultures, to engage in cultural contacts, to be interested in their lifestyles, belief systems, handicrafts and entertainment activities (Emekli, 2006: 54-55). Today, cultural heritage or cultural resources bring geography and culture together as one of the basic elements of tourism (Doğaner, 2001: 11). Harran district of Şanlıurfa province, which is one of the exemplary places of this meeting, is one of the destinations with high touristic potential with its historical and cultural riches (Birinci, Kaymaz & Camcı, 2017: 104). The most interesting element among the tourism values in the region are the domed houses made of earth. The structures, which were declared as a protected area in 1979 and taken under protection, are among the rare examples that carry the domed house tradition to the present day (Akbiyık, 2014: 88-89). Some of these houses were purchased, restored in 1999, and opened to tourism under the name “Harran Culture House”. The authentic cultural house, enriched with local elements reflecting the socio-cultural diversity of the region, has been turned into a destination visited by tourists (Birinci et al., 2017: 105).

In the light of the relevant literature, the aim of this study is to evaluate the Harran Culture House, which is an example of cultural heritage, in terms of sustainable tourism. In this context, the tourist guides who tour in the region will be subjected to SWOT analysis and the findings will be evaluated.

## **2. Conceptual Framework**

### ***2.1. Cultural Heritage***

Various definitions is made about the concept of culture (Şahin & Özdemir, 2018: 279). Culture is a tool that a society uses in creating and spreading all the material and spiritual elements that are offered to future generations in various historical development periods (TDK, 2018). Culture is expressed as a whole consisting of the combination of mental and emotional, material and

spiritual characteristics that characterize society or a social group as distinctive (UNESCO, 1982; 41). The transfer of culture between generations enables it to be called ‘heritage’ (Çakır, 2010: 34). The concept of heritage is defined as ‘what a generation leaves to the next generation’ (TDK, 2018). Heritage is seen as a part of the cultural tradition of societies because it carries the historical values of the past to the future (Nuryanti, 1996: 249).

By coming together, the concepts of culture and heritage are often associated with tourism (Sarıbaşı & Öter, 2019: 40). Considering the relationship between tourism and culture, it is vital to protect and develop natural and cultural resources for the continuity of tourism (Uslu & Kiper, 2006: 306). The preservation, restoration and regular maintenance of historical and cultural values enable the sustainable planning of tourism activities in the destination. Conservation of tourism resources is exceedingly important for the long-term development of tourism (Coccosis, 2008: 10).

The concept of cultural heritage, on the other hand, is a set of values that focus on the common past of a society, strengthen the sense of solidarity and unity of the society, ensure the continuity of the experiences and traditions that people have accumulated over the ages, and shape the future (Öksüz Kuşçuoğlu & Taş, 2017: 60). As a shorter definition, cultural heritage is everything that society has experienced and produced from past to present (Akcaoglu, 2017: 6).

The importance of cultural heritage comes from the value given by the society. Cultural heritage values shed light on human history and draw attention to human creativity. Thus, it arouses interest and is used (Ar, 2015: 12). Along with the natural and man-made tangible assets within the scope of cultural heritage, human communities have cultures and traditions that they have inherited from past generations and transferred to future ones (Çakır, 2016: 9). Cultural heritage covers physical elements such as an architectural structure or historical remains, as well as customs, traditions, oral culture and lifestyle elements. With these examples, cultural heritage consists of two structures, tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Erkal, 2010: 1). Tangible cultural heritage assets are those that are permanent and permanent and can be contacted. Immovable assets such as monuments, building groups, historical sites, and movable assets such as tombs, archaeological finds, antiquities, inscriptions, documents, archives, etc. are instances of these. Intangible cultural heritage assets are a saying, language, dialect, lyric, note, folk music, oral tradition, music, dance, performing arts, theatre, musical composition, martial art, lifestyle, festivals, etc. that reflect the cultural identity and authenticity of societies (Özdoğan, 2020: 45-46).

Effective management of cultural heritage values enables people to connect with their past, present and future (Tören et al., 2012: 70). In this context, a strong relationship is established between cultural heritage and tourism (Özdoğan, 2020: 47). The lack of attention to cultural heritage also negatively affects tourism both regionally and nationally. In this regard, especially the local people should protect their cultural heritage values (Jamieson, 2000: 10). Accordingly, tourism encourages the local people to protect their own values and to develop and protect these values. In addition, tourism provides the local people's identity to stand out and cultural diversity and originality to be preserved (Uslu & Kiper, 2006: 306-307). While cultural heritage values increase the demand for tourism in the region, new resources are emerging for tourism and cultural heritage and employment is provided (Alberti & Giusti, 2012).

With its rich historical texture and nature, Turkey contains many touristic products, is seen as an attractive center of attraction with its cultural assets, and hosts various cultural values. These lands, which hosted many civilizations in the past, have a rich cultural heritage (Yıldırım, Gün & Hamamcı, 2017: 46). Evaluating the cultural heritage of a tourism destination, together with the economic return, provides and also helps the development of the region (Er & Bardakoğlu, 2016: 98). It is extremely important to learn and know these values through cultural heritage tourism, and to protect and sustain this opportunity through sustainable tourism (Dilek, 2016: 49-50).

## **2.2. Sustainable Tourism**

Sustainability is a collaborative/participatory process that ensures the balanced use of all social, natural, cultural and human resources of the society and creates a social perspective on the basis of respect (Gladwin et al., 1995: 877). Sustainability as a concept has the themes of economic development, social development and environmental protection and is generally related to economic development (Kuşat, 2012: 228).

The essence of sustainable development is the conservation and development of resources. The continuity, protection and use of resources, especially the ability of renewable resources to support development without exceeding the limits of renewing themselves form the basis of a development philosophy that protects the environment. The development of the sustainable tourism approach, which emerged in parallel with the concept of sustainable development, starts with the spread of mass tourism in the second half of the 20th century, the increase in environmental movements around the world and

the destruction of mass tourists at the places they visit (Özkök & Gümüş, 2009: 53). Sustainable tourism, as a concept that has been used frequently since the beginning of the 1990s, is surrounded by a tourism approach that recognizes the importance of the local community and aims to maximize the economic benefits of tourism (Duran, 2011: 302).

Tourism is seen as one of the fastest growing industries worldwide. Playing an important role on the basis of sustainable development in various countries, it needs to be managed in a planned and balanced way in order to benefit local communities, natural and cultural resources (Guzel & Köksal, 2019: 392). Because tourism depends on the quality of touristic attractions, it has a structure that is sensitive to the deterioration of the destination (Coccosis, 2008: 9). Minimizing the negative effects of tourism and maximizing its positive effects is a universal pursuit. In this context, it is recommended to protect and develop tourism assets to be transferred to future generations, therefore, to ensure sustainability (Uslu & Kiper, 2006: 305). On the condition the resources that make up the tourism sector cannot be adequately protected or developed, it becomes difficult for it to compete with other destinations and maintain its current position. With the increasing consumption of limited world resources, environmental problems arise. Controlled and conscious use of existing resources is very important in terms of delivering these resources to future generations (Karapınar & Barakazi, 2017: 7).

Sustainability is a part of tourism that includes natural and cultural heritage and is carried out with a sustainable approach. There is a need for a tourism system that operates on the basis of sustainable policies in order to protect the cultural heritage and transfer it to future generations. In fact, the concepts of ‘heritage’ and ‘sustainability’ is based on this understanding (Dilek, 2016: 49-51). It is stated below that cultural heritage can be protected with a sustainable policy to be implemented. Correspondingly, it is emphasized that especially tourists, tourism businesses in the region, local people, non-governmental organizations and local governments have significant duties in the implementation phase (Bizzarro & Nijkamp 1996; cited in Loulanski & Loulanski, 2011: 843).

- Concrete hardware (infrastructure, protection technology, information, and telecommunication technology)
- Soft hardware (laws, plans, information systems)
- Ecological equipment (environmental protection measures)
- Vertical hardware (economic and financial instruments)
- Organizational hardware (stakeholders, coordination, etc.)

One of the main problems of sustainable tourism is that the managers involved in the management of cultural heritage assets have limited knowledge of tourist behavior and the strategic management of these behaviors (Watson & McCracken, 2002: 372). This deficiency is more noticeable with the increase in visitor expectations and commercial concerns. As a matter of fact, it is essential to increase the relevant management skills and to look at the issue more holistically in order to ensure sustainable tourism (Landorf, 2009: 57-58).

Studies on sustainability so far have mostly emphasized the issues of managing nature by protecting it. In this context, the right steps should be taken by tourism establishments in order to protect nature and natural elements and transfer them to future generations. These are to directly adapt to nature conservation plans and projects prepared and implemented under the title of sustainable environmental management, to explore ecological tourism types and to introduce them to visitors, to prefer natural products within the business and to implement systems that allow the measurement of success levels of environmental management practices. These steps are also to protect nature and sustainable environment and to comply with legal regulations such as relevant laws (Akbaş, 2020: 128).

### **2.3. *Harran Culture House***

The Harran district of Şanlıurfa, which is on the UNESCO World Temporary Heritage List, is located on a plain that contains 230 immovable cultural assets and was taken under protection in 1979. There has been life in the region since 6000 BC. Harran has been directly affected by various events in the region throughout the ages and has always maintained its importance in the field of trade and agriculture. However, since the sky and astrological events can be observed well in the region, it is known that the local people worshiped the Sun and the Moon for centuries and a belief system developed in this direction (Üçok, 2007: 290). It is stated that the name Harran in the Sumerian language means ‘travel’ or ‘caravan’ (Yazıcı, 2014: 4).

It is known that Harran has hosted many civilizations due to its location on important trade routes in the Mesopotamian peninsula (Özdeniz et al., 1998: 478). This situation has been effective in the formation of a rich cultural accumulation in Harran. The region, which hosts various beliefs, has been one of the centers where the first Islamic university was established and where important Islamic scholars were trained (Birinci et al., 2017: 101).

The striking building units in the region are the Harran houses, which are cone-shaped conical structures. These houses, also known as hive houses,

are the product of thousands of years of tradition. Square or rectangular spaces built with thick stone walls are covered by domes reaching 5 meters in height from the floor. This type of structure both solves the chimney problem of the houses and ensures that they receive very good sunlight. These houses, which are suitable for the climate of the region, are cool in summer and warm in winter (Demirdurak, 2013: 444; Üçok, 2007: 291).

Numerous studies have been carried out in order to prevent the destruction of traditional houses in Harran over time. In this context, one of the traditional Harran houses in the district center was restored by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1999 and opened to tourism under the name of 'cultural center'. In addition, 4 more houses were purchased and restored (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, ud).

Harran Culture House is an important initiative in terms of protection, use and survival, while increasing the attraction of the region in terms of tourism and helping to promote the local culture. The authentic cultural house, which is one of the first places visited by the tourists coming to the region, has been rearranged for touristic purposes and has become a separate destination for visitors by being equipped with traditional items that reflect the socio-cultural diversity and have been used by the people since the past. The center includes 22 rooms. While some rooms are used for resting purposes, some are reserved for displaying various ethnographic items. Visitors who come here can wear local clothes, taste the delicacies of the local cuisine, and buy local products and souvenirs. Cafeteria service is also provided by serving hot and cold drinks in the seating areas arranged in the courtyard in accordance with the texture of the space (Birinci et al., 2017: 105-106).

### **3. Objectives and Methods of the Research**

In this study, it is aimed to evaluate Harran Culture House, which has become a destination that keeps the traditions and cultures of the people in Harran alive, introduces them and transfers them to future generations, which is an important place in terms of faith and cultural tourism, within the scope of sustainable tourism as a cultural heritage value. In this context, it is also aimed to make suggestions by determining the positive and negative aspects of the cultural house. With the determinations to be made, it is foreseen to improve the tourism in the region and to get the most benefit from the region by verifying the aspects that can be developed, the deficiencies and the threats it deals with.

In the research, interview/interview method, one of the qualitative data collection methods, is used as a data collection tool. In the interview method, open-ended questions are asked to the participant within a certain subject and

information about his thoughts or observations on the subject is saved (Kozak, 2017: 89). Interviewing is one of the most widely used methods of qualitative research and is of great importance in market research (Mey & Mruck, 2007: 249). Interviews are a difficult but effective way to learn about the inner worlds of research participants. Even if the same language is spoken, words can have completely different cultural meanings. Therefore, qualified data can be obtained with a well-planned interview (Qu & Dumay, 2011: 239).

In order to evaluate Harran Culture House in terms of sustainable tourism, interviews are held with 11 tourist guides who visited the center on tours organized to the Southeastern Anatolia Region. Within the scope of the interview, the tour guides are asked about the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities of Harran Culture House in regards of sustainable tourism. The interviews are applied in writing and by telephone on 22-28 December 2020, and telephone conversations are also recorded. The obtained data were compiled and SWOT analysis is applied. With its common definition, SWOT analysis is to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats that an organization has. This analysis identifies the organization's resources, capabilities, core competencies and competitive advantages. On the other hand, market opportunities and threats are determined by considering them on a sectoral basis. The purpose of the SWOT analysis is to determine the useful strategy to be followed by using the information that the organization has about its internal and external environments (Bonnici & Galea, 2015: 1).

#### **4. Findings**

Cultural heritage is a significant factor in generating tourist demand, whether it is in the form of buildings, ruins or attractions, or the cultural environment of historical cities and towns. In the context of cultural heritage, tourism provides the necessary income source for the protection of heritage assets, but it can also threaten the existence of these values (Throsby, 2009: 13-14). For this reason, cultural heritage is an important issue that should be addressed within the scope of sustainable tourism (Karapınar & Barakazı, 2017: 13).

Harran Culture House has become crucial in terms of culture and heritage tourism as one of the important residences that carry the traces of culture, history and life of the past to the present (Birinci et al., 2017: 93). In order to protect this value, it is necessary to reveal the strengths of Harran Culture House, to benefit from these aspects, to develop them by taking into account the weaknesses, to identify and evaluate the opportunities, and to take precautions by identifying

the threats. The SWOT analysis created in this context is given in Table 1. The numbers in the table indicate the frequency of using the expressions.

**Table 1.** Harran Culture House SWOT Analysis

<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Weaknesses</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– The region has a deep-rooted history and culture (3)</li> <li>– Good preservation and regular restoration of the building (3)</li> <li>– It attracts attention since it is the place where the first Islamic university was founded in history. (4)</li> <li>– Hospitality of the people of the region and their contribution to tourism (3)</li> <li>– Conical houses are unique in the country with their structural and functional features (3)</li> <li>– Being the first business to realize the establishment of a ‘cultural center’ in Harran (2)</li> <li>– Involvement of all family members in business activities (2)</li> <li>– Recognition of the operating family by the local people and tourism stakeholders in the past (1)</li> <li>– Effective use of social media (1)</li> <li>– No more than one rival establishment (1)</li> <li>– Easy access (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Insufficient number of staff and toilets (6)</li> <li>– Inadequate environmental regulations (4)</li> <li>– Limited parking space (3)</li> <li>– Non-professional staff (3)</li> <li>– Slow progress of archaeological studies (3)</li> <li>– Selling non-original products that can be found in many places (2)</li> <li>– Insufficient advertising and promotion (2)</li> <li>– Inadequate promotion and tour of the venue due to group acceptance during the busy season, inadequate visitor management (2)</li> <li>– Not using visual and auditory materials (local music, old photos) (2)</li> <li>– Insufficient support from central and local governments (2)</li> <li>– Inadequate hygiene of the enterprise (1)</li> </ul>
<b>Opportunities</b>	<b>Threats</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Continuation of archaeological studies and restorations that will affect the popularity of the visit and can be used to promote it (4)</li> <li>– Sustainable tourism resource potential (3)</li> <li>– Opportunity to have conversations with the local people and get to know them closely (3)</li> <li>– Business owners taking the opinions and suggestions of tourist guides into account (1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Being very close to the Syrian border, where military operations are carried out (5)</li> <li>– Exceeding carrying capacity during peak season (4)</li> <li>– Great emphasis on commercial concerns (4)</li> <li>– The district receives more immigration (2)</li> <li>– Failure of the business to develop itself due to low competition environment (2)</li> <li>– Having some negative prejudices about the Southeast region (1)</li> </ul>

One of the strengths of the Harran Culture House is the demand for visitors because of the important history of the Harran district. In addition, the participation of the people of the region in tourism and the ownership of the cultural heritage of the region are seen as an outstanding factor. International Regulation on Cultural Tourism published by ICOMOS (1999) has a principle stating that “local people should be encouraged to protect and care for the heritage in order to preserve the cultural heritage”. As a result of the participation of the local people, it is possible to increase the quality of life, to minimize the negative socio-cultural effects of tourism and to have a sustainable tourism movement (Kaygalak Çelebi, 2016: 55). However, it is seen as an important advantage that the conical/domed houses that comprise Harran Culture House have no other examples in the country. According to Ismagilova et al. (2015: 156), this place is a unique historical and cultural asset in a region, one of the precursors affecting the success of tourism development in the region.

Among the weaknesses of Harran Culture House, 6 tourist guides stated that the number of staff and toilets is insufficient. In addition, it is stated that the environmental regulations are weak and the parking area is insufficient. Attention should be paid to the protection of the environment, which is an important resource in touristic activities, and its development should be highlighted (Mercan, 2015: 7). In addition, it is stated that Harran Culture House does not receive sufficient support from central and local governments. Conclusion (2020: 22) states that the support of all stakeholders is necessary in the development of sustainable tourism. Another weak point is that the visitors have to visit the place quickly and cannot get enough information due to the fact that groups come to Harran Culture House in a busy season without a specific order. Therefore, it is stated that visitor management is inadequate. With an effective visitor management, tourism resource can be protected and the quality of visitor experience can be increased (Şanlıöz Özgen, 2016: 210).

When Harran Culture House is evaluated in terms of opportunities, it is stated that the ongoing archaeological studies and restorations in the district are important in concern with increasing the popularity of the region in the future. It is also stated that the historical and cultural assets of the region have an important potential in terms of sustainable tourism. In addition, it is emphasized that the opportunity to get to know the local people better by having conversations with the family, who is the owner and operator of the house, during the visit to Harran Culture House is interesting for the visitors. In addition, the suggestions made by the tourist guides coming to the region

for the development and improvement of the Cultural Center are seen as an opportunity to increase the service quality.

One of the threats faced by Harran Culture House is that the district is very close to the Syrian border. Tourist guides who touch on this issue state that during the military operations on the border, compulsory cancellations/changes are made in the tour programs to the region and this situation damages the touristic image of the region. Another threat is that the business exceeds its carrying capacity during the peak season. For the continuity of sustainable tourism, attention should be paid not to exceed the carrying capacity. As a result of excessive mass visits, natural resources and infrastructure are damaged (Algan & Bayraktar, 2018: 545). Apart from this, another threat, expressed with a different approach, is the lack of competition in the tourism market, including Harran Culture House. It is stated that since there is only one competitor business serving with similar functions in the district, the enterprise has not developed itself because it does not need to provide competitive advantage. Lack of competition is also seen as a threat in terms of increasing tourism quality and visitor satisfaction in the region.

## **5. Conclusion and Recommendations**

In this study, examining the evaluation of cultural heritage within the scope of sustainable tourism, it is aimed to determine the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of Harran Culture House in the Harran district of Şanlıurfa in terms of sustainable tourism. In this direction, a SWOT analysis of the Harran Culture House is made by interviewing the tourist guides visiting the region.

As a result of the analysis, it is seen that the strengths and weaknesses of Harran Culture House are equal in number. The strengths are that the region attracts attention due to its long historical and cultural history, the structural authenticity and well-preservation of the Cultural Center, the active participation of the local people in tourism, the business owners having a tourism background as the owners of the house, the promotion of the Cultural Center, especially the good use of social media, the absence of a competitor business in the region, and the easy access to the region.

Considering the weaknesses of Harran Culture House, the first issue that should be given priority is to increase the number of personnel and toilets in the enterprise. The quality of the personnel should be increased along with the quantity, and the service quality should be improved by giving tourism training to the personnel employed with the support of the district Public Education

Center. In addition, with the support of the local government, it is necessary and to expand the parking lots and to regulate the physical conditions of both the district and the neighborhood of the business. In order to extend the time spent in the region and increase the touristic popularity, it is essential to intensify the ongoing archaeological excavations and to arrange these areas in a way that is suitable for touristic visits, and to receive support from the central government in this regard. The regulations must carefully be held to increase the variety of souvenirs and products sold in Harran Culture House, and to focus on selling only products specific to the district. However, business promotion should not be limited to social media only, and wider advertising efforts should be made. Satisfaction is negatively affected due to the density of visitors coming to the region during the season and visitors cannot spend enough time. In order to prevent this, it is foreseen that visitor control can be provided by a reservation system application of the Cultural Center. Playing local music during the visit to the Culture House and enriching the visuals of the place with old photographs are among the methods that can be applied to increase the quality of the visitor experience.

The main threats to Harran Culture House are the fact that the district is close to the Syrian border and the tourism in the region is negatively affected due to military operations. Another threat is to prioritize commercial concerns in business policy. In order to ensure the continuity and awareness of the cultural heritage, practices should be made to better introduce and explain to the visitors. Thus, it can be ensured that visitors have a more understandable experience by making cine-vision shows about how the daily home life of the local people goes and what functions the rooms are used for. Among the interviews with the tourist guides, the absence of more than one competitor to the Cultural Center is expressed as a strong aspect of the business, while it is also stated that the business does not improve its services because there are no competitors, and this is a negative situation. As a matter of fact, it is recommended that the company make improvements in terms of quality in the services it offers. Another threat is the socio-cultural prejudices towards the Southeast region. Although there has been an increase in mass tourism in the region in recent years, national advertisements can be made by travel agencies in the district and region in order to completely eliminate the existing prejudices, promotional videos of the attractive history, culture and gastronomy values of the region can be shot and shared in various channels.

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## CHAPTER XII

# RETHINKING GOVERNANCE: GOVERNANCE FOR STATE, PRIVATE SECTOR AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

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### **Introduction**

**G**overnance is one of the most up-to-date and popular approaches in the field of organizational sciences. Within the discipline of public administration, discussions on governance often come to the fore. Due to the nature of the discipline, public organizations are at the center of governance discussions. In this context, discussions are mostly conducted from the perspective of public organizations. Undoubtedly, governance can be discussed as a process in which public organizations take an active role and construct, but due to the multi-actor structure of governance, non-governmental and private sector organizations as other components of this structure should be included in these discussions. This study will mainly focus on the meaning and holistic applicability for different parties and actors within the holistic structure of governance. In addition, the place of the governance process in public policy making and its contributions to the public policy process, which points to the coexistence of different actors, will be examined in the context of concluding the first discussion. In this framework, the public policymaking process will be examined in three stages on the axis of planning, implementation and evaluation, and the applicability of governance and possible contributions to the process will be discussed for each of these stages.

## 1. Governance: Together for All

The increasing importance of the citizen in the public administration can undoubtedly be read as a result of cultural, political and economic reconstruction. For example, the change created by neoliberalism in the state-market relationship has paved the way for new actors to be included in state-related processes. Modern public administration accepts citizens as “clients” whose needs must be answered and “partners” with whom to cooperate effectively. The role and function of the state was also transformed under this condition. State become a collection of interorganizational networks which made up of governmental and societal actors (Rhodes, 1996). In this context, the nature of governance as a roof of the interorganizational networks, is about coexistence of citizens and rulers (Vigoda, 2002). The reference to citizens here refers to societal actors, citizen involvement and also involvement of the private sector and civil society stakeholders.

Governance stands out as a solution for the public, private and civil society sectors in the planning, decision-making and implementation processes by all stakeholders working to ensure the welfare and well-being of people and citizens. Governance is a hot topic today to understand whether countries are well-governed. Having an established democracy and good governance have become an important criterion for a country’s reputation and reputation on the international stage (Süslü, Coşkun, and Pank, 2018). In this part of the study, governance as a solution and strategy will be discussed and explained with its inherent multi-actor and multi-sector structure. Governance is the ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services. The main characteristic of the governance is about performance of agents in carrying out the wishes of principals, and not about the goals that principals set (Fukuyama, 2013). Duit and Galaz (2008) argues that the umbrella term of “governance” is the transformation from command-and-control management performed by Weberian bureaucrats within centralized national bureaucracies to a plethora of different schemes of self-government, public–private partnerships, collaborative efforts, policy entrepreneurs, and participatory initiatives. In addition to these, Kooiman (2003) and Pierre and Peters (2005) emphasized the ability of governance to cope with uncertainty and change. The above definitions point to two powerful features of governance. First of all, the multi-actor structure of governance and involving citizen participation is the participatory side of governance. Secondly, the ability of governance as an organizational strategy to create change and deal with complex issues is a contemporary organizational administration side.

As discussed above, contemporary problems and the solution of these problems have redefined the relations between the state and social actors as a result of the reconstruction created by the current socio-political and economic climate. The changing form of the relations between the social actors and state points to new networks and the power of these networks to determine change. Governance refers to employing interorganizational networks with the government to ensure the welfare and well-being of society. This is precisely where the strength of the popularity of governance in contemporary organizational sciences comes from. Solving contemporary problems and ensuring social welfare & well-being is could be possible with a “multi-actor, participatory” approach. However, it is possible to cope with complex issues with governance, which points to the unity of the state with social actors.

Governance, by its very nature, cannot be a matter of state and public policy alone. The government’s execution of public policy in collaboration with social actors can only be at the most visible part of governance. In this context, although it is true that governance refers to the cooperation of social actors, including the private sector and civil society, it is inevitably required to be understood by view of all social actors. The governance of other social actors, as well as the governance of the rulers, is important in practice and theory. For example, governance for companies or governance for non-governmental organizations is as important as the governance of the state and rulers. In this study, governance will not be handled only with a state-centered perspective, but will be examined as a phenomenon in which social actors take sides. Social actors here are defined to include government, decision makers, private sector and civil society stakeholders. In short, this study examines governance with an interorganizational approach and this approach also includes the governance of non-state actors.

## **2. Whose Governance?**

In the discussion held in the previous section of this study, the meaning of governance was examined. In this section, in order to explain the governance with emphasis on multi-actor structure, the meaning of governance separately and holistically for the parts of the triple backbone (public, private and civil society structure of the social actors) that constitutes governance will be discussed. The purpose of this section is primarily to frame governance in an interorganizational approach to Governmental Organizations, Civil Society Organizations and Private Sector Organizations. The meaning of governance

will then be discussed separately for each of the main components of this triple backbone structure.

According to United Nations, Participation, Rule of Law, Transparency, Responsiveness, Consensus Oriented, Equity and Inclusiveness, Effectiveness and Efficiency, and Accountability are main principles of the governance. Similarly, Ruhhanen, Scott, Ritchie, and Tkaczynski (2010) describe the three most prominent concepts associated with governance as accountability, transparency and participation in their articles in which they evaluate the governance-centered studies in the fields of political science and business. All of the principles pointed out in these definitions refer to decentralized power and multi-agency. For the realization of governance and the implementation of these principles, the involvement of more than one actor in the relevant process, these may represent the government, civil society or the private sector, is actually a necessity. However, the involvement of more than one actor in the process alone may not be enough. The actors involved in the process should also apply the principles of governance within the organization for an ideal governance. The actual implementation of governance within the organization and interorganizational can ensure that the process is carried out with governance. As it can be understood from here, the implementation of governance from the very beginning can only be possible with the governance of the organizations themselves and then the implementation of governance with an interorganizational approach.

Another important point regarding the governance principles is that governance goes beyond the command-and-control management approach. Governance is only possible if the power relations of the actors & stakeholders involved are within a lower power distance. To explain power distance in this context, organizations are called organizations in which low or high power distance is dominant in relation to the degree of centralization of power in the organization. In organizations with low power distance, actors avoid meeting power inequalities as normal, and may not have a questioning and critical approach to managerial practices and have less say in decision-making processes (Çiçek Sağlam et al., 2018; Çolak et al., 2022; Yorulmaz et al., 2018). As power distance directly affects the realization of governance within organizations, the existence of low power distance in the relationship between organizations is necessary for the realization of governance. Thus, the ideal implementation of these principles depends on the realization of the relationship between the actors among equals. At the very least, it is necessary to ensure equal participation in the process.

### ***2.1. The Governance of Governmental Organizations and Stakeholders***

As of the end of the 20th century, in many parts of the world, especially in the west, the process of sharing the governing power of the state with other actors along with the issue of citizen participation and bringing forward principles such as openness, transparency and accountability in order to save the giants from the scandals considered burdensome of the welfare state is understood together with governance. Governance of the public sector closely concerned with the cost and quality of public services with the effect of the service delivered and the policies implemented on the society (Aldemir and Şen, 2018). In this context, governance also means the transformation of the entire public policy process for state organizations. It means not only the inclusion of other actors in the administration process, but also the transformation of the administration process in terms of function and quality. Behind the scenes of this transformation, there are many reasons such as the transformation of the market-state relationship, social opposition, and the search for public administration reform. Ultimately, however, this transformation is a result of the state's search for legitimacy.

According to Ansell and Gash (2008), governance brings together multiple stakeholders for consensus-oriented decision making. They define collaborative governance as “a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets”. “Initiation by public agencies or institutions, participation of nonstate actors, direct engagement in decision making not consulting, being formal, being consensus-centered and the focus of collaboration for public policy or public management” are six important criteria of the definition. In parallel with these propositions, significant changes, such as technology developing, actually necessitate a holistic policy-making process based on cooperation, not just for conflict resolution. Collaborative policymaking is not just a method can solve problems when there is a conflict, it is a way to establish new networks among actors (Innes and Booher, 2003). In fact, this collaborative holistic public policy process brought about by the quest for legitimacy is explained by governance, while it expresses the state taken by the administration of public issues with its own methods and standards. The redefinition of power relations in a multipolar way, in a legally determined manner, is the clearest example of the quest for legitimacy. In this context, the governance of governmental organizations and stakeholders can be defined as “the formal involvement of non-state actors in the administration

of public matters on a consensus-building basis”. This can happen at different stages of the issue, such as planning, implementation, or closure, or at all stages. The important point here is the transformation of power relations in public matters to include non-state actors.

The governance of governmental organizations and stakeholders actually implies the construction of public organizations in accordance with governance, the conduct of the relations between public and non-state actors in accordance with governance, and ultimately the promotion of the construction of non-state actors’ organizations in accordance with governance. In other words, the implementation of governance principles by public actors is a prerequisite for realization of the governance. However, it is necessary for these actors to regulate their relations with non-state actors in accordance with governance. Also, it is necessary to operate some processes such as distribution of knowledge, strengthening civil society, and actually establishing the legal basis for the participation of non-state actors. Finally, it is necessary for non-state actors to make their organizational systems suitable for governance.

### ***3.2. The Governance of Civil Society Organizations and Stakeholders***

The participation of civil society as a service provider in the social conflict resolution process, together with the duty of voicing demands, actually makes civil society a party at every stage of any issue. Contemporary ideas surrounding ‘civil society’ and ‘good governance’ form the key theoretical components for the project of ‘improving’ constituencies which are characterized by instability and human rights abuses (Frewer, 2013). State and civil society partnerships are argued to improve provision of basic social services to the poor: the state is viewed as providing scale, with NGOs ensuring good governance (Bano, 2019). In this context, civil society is the main actor of a wide process that provides direct services to citizens, supports the creation of its rules with its expert knowledge, or takes a direct role in determining the problems and needs, not just expressing the social opposition or the demand of the public. Considered within this framework, the governance of civil society organizations and stakeholders occupies an important place for the relations of civil society with the market actors, the relations of civil society with state organizations and, together with all these, for the construction of a holistic governance. The construction of the governance of civil society organizations and stakeholders primarily depends on the governance of non-governmental organizations. The relationship of grassroots organizations with the groups they represent and their

members, organizational models should be built in accordance with governance principles and processes.

In addition, the relationship of civil society with the state and the market should be established in accordance with governance. It is important not only for producing short term consensus, but also long term benefits for whole society. In fact, when governance is viewed from the perspective of civil society, first of all, the conformity of civil society to governance within its own organization can be explained as the construction of its relationship with the state and the market in accordance with governance. In these relationships, embedded partnerships or / collaboration, realization of governance, is good way to improve delivery of social services on a long-term basis because just transfer of skills or knowledge does not in itself lead to long-term change in government operating practices (Bano, 2019). It is similar in the relation between private sector actors and NGOs. Over the past few years, alliances between business firms and NGOs have become an increasingly important tool for both firms and NGOs (Rivera-Santos and Rufi'n, 2010).

The meaning of the governance of civil society organizations and stakeholders can be explained in two important ways, together with the discussion conducted above. First, the civil society organization itself must be open, transparent, accountable, and most importantly, in a way that prioritizes participation, in line with governance. Non-governmental organizations should be organized to represent their grassroots and open to their direct participation. Also, participation of civil society in relevant processes can only be possible if they have sufficient expertise and service capacity. Their capacity to serve in their fields of work and their expertise are the prerequisites for their participation in the relevant processes. Secondly, the forms of engagement with government organizations and private sector organizations should be carried out in accordance with governance. Here, as the party of this relationship, the way civil society establishes the relationship is important, as well as the state's making this relationship possible and the private sector's establishment of the ground for this relationship is necessary for the realization of governance.

### ***3.3. The Governance of Private Sector Organizations and Stakeholders***

By the second half of the 20th century, state-market relations turned in favor of the market. Private sector actors now perform more services than ever before and are involved in social processes. In the 1990s, a consensus started to emerge that the state, the market, and civil society, which had come forward as a third

sector, are complementary (Birner and Wittmer, 2006). In other words, the need for active engagement of the private sector has become accepted policy orthodoxy (Syrett and Bertotti, 2012). The increasing role and influence of the market in every sense has also changed the internal and external dynamics of private sector organizations. As for-profit organizations, their management only as organizations based on efficiency and effectiveness is not enough to meet the requirements of the contemporary age. As important social service providers, their responsibilities towards society have increased, however, they have had to reorganize their relations with the state in terms of the roles and functions they have taken over from the state. Also, they had to reorganize their relations with individuals and civil society in the context of their increasing responsibilities not only to the state but also to society. While the way of regulating these relations can be considered as profit-oriented in some cases, in some cases, it takes place in the form of responding to the public conscience, especially in the western world.

The governance of private sector organizations and stakeholders can be explained in two important ways, together with the discussion conducted above. First of all, private sector actors try to establish a management structure within the framework of principles such as openness and transparency for commercial or social reasons. This structure points to governance in many ways. In some cases, private sector organizations that try to ensure the accountability of their companies in the context of their traded shares, in other cases, they need governance to provide legitimacy to their customers. However, it is worth remembering that politics, economic plights and organizational structures are vitally important in contingently shaping business involvement in the context of organizing governance (Cook, 2009). Secondly, private sector organizations have become the inevitable partners of the processes that are actually carried out in their relations with both the civil society and the public organizations. In this context, the effective maintenance of the existing relationship depends on the organizations of the parties to act in accordance with the governance and to build the relationship between them in this direction.

#### **4. How to Practice Governance as a public policy process? The Contributions of the Governance to the Public Policy Process**

As stated in the previous part of the study, governance is implemented in different processes and practices. In this part of the study, a proposal on how governance can be practiced will be the subject. As discussed earlier, governance

is a multilateral strategy. In this study, the state, private sector and civil society organizations were considered as the three main actors & sides of governance. In this section, the possible practices of governance for all these parties will be discussed. Although the implementation of governance for all these parties is different, the practices of the governance are based on fundamental principles and methods are common. In fact, this situation is an important facilitator in order to overcome the confusion that arises in governance discussions.

A public policy process will be taken as an example while discussing how to practice governance. The public policy process basically consists of the stages of planning, implementation and conclusion. Governance principles and methods are used separately and holistically for each of these stages. According to Harold Laswell's model of policy making in the International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, the stages of the policy making cycle are "agenda setting, policy formation, decision making, policy implementation, and policy evaluation". To look in more detail, the process of public policy's stages are "identification, information gathering, consideration and decision-making, implementation, evaluation and termination or renewal" (Sullivan, and et al., 2015). In this study, governance will be examined as "The Power to Understand and Anticipate" for the stages of "identification, information gathering, consideration and decision-making". Implementation stage will be examined as "The Power to Work Together" and evaluation and termination or renewal stages will be examined as "The Power to Monitor and Evaluate".

#### ***4.1. The Power to Understand and Anticipate***

In general, public policy aims to raise a legitimate societal problem and/or need, to put forward the solution options and the most appropriate choice (policy or program) and to solve this problem or to meet the need of public actors or other public actors under their control or supervision. It includes the planned decisions and actions of actors (Gül, 2015). Public policy can be explained as a discipline that uses scientific knowledge to solve social problems and seeks to find the "best" solution (Erat, 2014). Identification, information gathering, consideration and decision-making can be listed as some of the stages before a public policy is implemented (Sullivan, and et al., 2015). Before the policy implementation process begins, the stages such as understanding the needs of the parties of this public policy, defining the elements of the logical framework for the policy, bringing the policy to the agenda for its implementation can actually be defined as the components of the realization process of the public policy before the

implementation. The most important issue here is to reveal the need for effective and effective public policy and to carry out the necessary planning for the most efficient implementation. However, based on the fact that public policy has been carried out in a historical continuity, alignment with both previous and possible future public policies should be sought. Undoubtedly, the continuity here requires understanding the need and problem, as well as putting forward an anticipation about the future. This anticipation is a need for the strategic administration element of the public policy process. This need basically points to the importance of carrying out the works of the administration in a systematic and planned manner (Coşkun and Pank Yıldırım, 2018).

The definitions of public policy in the literature is that the definition is generally made through administrators. However, governance, participatory management, partnership, and the reduction of the distinction between the ruler and the ruled reveal that the public policy process should not be explained only with the reference of bureaucracy, which is elected or their working device. At every stage of public policy, different stakeholders such as civil society, private sector and voluntary organizations should be involved in addition to the elected ones (Karkın and Özgür, 2012; Dilaveroğlu, 2017). Together with governance, it is important for the efficiency and effectiveness of the public process, as well as its legitimacy, that all processes before the implementation of public policy are carried out together with all actors not only the state actors. In this framework, before a public policy is implemented, it is important for the administration and other actors to participate in the process in two respects. First, public policy begins with a holistic and solution-oriented process. Effective administration of this process is the ideal principle of public policy. For an effective administration, it is inevitably necessary to understand the situation and the problem and to plan the relevant process correctly. In this context, the involvement of non-actors in the process along with the possibilities of the administration in order to understand the problem, the need and the current situation is important in terms of creating a wider opportunity. Secondly, especially since the 1980s, non-state actors directly contribute to the implementation of a public policy, in fact, it is necessary to benefit from the power of all stakeholders of this process to understand and reveal the current situation even before the process begins. In short, for public policy process, governance is the “power to understand and anticipate” for effective public policy administration.

Within the framework of this study, “anticipatory governance” as a governance practice will be briefly discussed in this section in order to embody

the use of governance related to the process before the implementation of public policy. Anticipatory governance is a concept that is growing in prominence in the social sciences and interdisciplinary sustainability sciences to examine futures work. Anticipatory governance is “the governance of uncertain futures in the present” and it is conception of the future, implications for the present, and ultimate aims. Strategic planning, reducing risks, building capacity, and navigating uncertainty are some beneficiary outcomes of the anticipatory governance (Muiderman, 2022; Vervoort and Gupta, 2018; Muiderman et al., 2020). Anticipatory governance as a tool is advantageous and convenient for the public policy process to be well planned in the context of historical continuity before implementation. It not only helps to understand the current situation, needs and problems of public policy, but also contributes to the design of the policy to include projections for the future. As can be seen in this anticipatory governance example, the multi-actor and governance-embedded administration of the public policy process can significantly contribute to the efficiency and effectiveness of the process. This opportunity of governance is the power to understand and anticipate before the policy implementation.

#### ***4.2. The Power to Work Together***

The impact of governance on public policy cannot be denied, especially in the context of “increasing demands for participatory and deliberative public policy making” (Köseoğlu, 2013). Governance can be understood as a structure through which public, public, private sector and non-profit actors interact to create and implement public policies (Seyrekbasan, 2022). Governance is a concept that makes it possible to understand “the change” and especially the change of decision-making processes. One of the areas of change that has emerged with governance practices is the field of public policy. Since the understanding and practices of governance significantly affect the functioning of the political and bureaucratic structure, it has also had a strong impact on public policy. In public administration, public policy is formed on every issue and at every level that needs to be decided. Governance has encouraged and even forced actors to participate in the public policy making process. Each actor group has started to make an intense effort to influence public policy in their favor in competition (Sarıtürk, 2022).

Governance and public policy have been discussed in relation to the previous discussions, especially in the context of the opportunities that governance creates in the public policy process. In the light of these discussions, it can be said that governance creates some opportunities for public policy processes not only before

the implementation of public policy, but also during implementation. During the implementation of the public policy process, the beneficiaries of the policy, and those who directly implement the policy are the main actors of this process. Suppose this policy is a process of performing a public service. In this case, those who benefit from this service and those who perform the service are actually the main actors. All these actors can be involved in a public policy process driven by governance. Particularly during the process, it is important to ensure the participation of all actors in the context of risk management and the effectiveness of the process at least. Considering that many public policy implementers were not the state organizations after the 1980s, but the state was just the regulator, the importance of the existence of all actors in the implementation process can be better understood. The participation of civil society in the process, as representatives of the beneficiaries or as the direct beneficiaries of the service, and the participation of private sector organizations as actors performing the service are necessary for the effectiveness of the process. For example, providing feedback or contributing directly to the process while making public policy, creates both financial and administrative opportunities for the process. Again, the acceptance of private sector organizations that directly perform public service not only as subcontractors but also as an actor in the process is an important opportunity for the successful management of the processes related to the fulfillment of this service. In short, governance, which paves the way for the natural actors of the process to participate in the process, can be defined as “The Power to Work Together” during the implementation of public policy.

#### ***4.3. The Power to Monitor and Evaluate: Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability, And Learning (MEAL)***

Monitoring, evaluation, accountability, and learning (MEAL) could be defined as to be accountable to our stakeholders through information sharing and developing a complaints or feedback mechanism which can help to guide implementation. To track progress, make adjustments, discover unplanned effects, and judge the impact, MEAL is important (Walden, 2013). In this context, MEAL is extremely important in terms of the effectiveness of the process together with public accountability in a public policy process. A public policy process has many components, including “monitoring, evaluation, accountability, and learning”. The effective performance of this process in a holistic manner is highly related to the existence of an effective MEAL system. The holistic monitoring of the public policy process and its evaluation within the framework of the determined indicators are extremely necessary for the accountability of the process. This

requirement is of particular importance for the legitimacy and effectiveness of the process. Along with these, stages such as learning in the process, learning before and after the process inherently have the potential to make an important contribution, especially in a multi-actor public policy process. Although not conceptually the same, the current practices of internal and external audit processes of government organizations actually overlap with the MEAL system mentioned above, but what is wanted to be examined here is a holistic MEAL system in which all stakeholders of a public policy process are involved together. In this context, there are different examples at the application level, but in these studies, an in-depth evaluation of the MEAL system will not be made, only the monitoring & evaluation process and governance as a part of the public policy process will be examined together to show the contributions of governance to public policymaking.

It is essential for an effective MEAL system to be able to measure the impact on the beneficiaries and situation at the end of the program and project process. In this context, a number of indicators are determined for both the processes & executives of this program, project and project, as well as the beneficiaries & results, and these indicators are monitored. In this context, a monitoring process in which the beneficiaries and practitioners of a public policy are involved is important in itself in terms of the effectiveness and accountability of that policy. When considered together with governance, the possibility of running the MEAL system together with all stakeholders from the very beginning undoubtedly presents a great opportunity for the effectiveness of the system. So much so that the effectiveness and accountability of a public policy is directly related to open and effective participation in that process, and it is possible to measure and understand this effectiveness with the open and active participation of all actors. In this context, ensuring the participation of stakeholders and actors in a public policy process, whether it is handled as a MEAL or as monitoring & evaluation, is a requirement to measure the outcome and impact of that process. In addition, ensuring the participation of citizens and beneficiaries in the process, as an opportunity offered by governance, is an opportunity that makes the monitoring of the process more effective.

## **5. Conclusion**

This study focuses on the meaning and applicability of governance for public, private sector and civil society organizations, starting from the idea that

governance should be discussed with a holistic view for all parties. In the study, the applicability of governance and its possible contributions to planning / implementation / evaluation, governance in a public policy process are examined. This study basically aimed to theoretically disseminate the multilateral perspective of governance inherent in governance discussions. In this direction, as a result of the study, it can be stated that governance can be applied holistically for public, private sector and civil society organizations. In order for this to be possible, the necessity of applying governance both within and between institutions has been put forward. For example, it was emphasized that non-governmental organizations should be organized in accordance with the governance within the institution to build inter-organizational governance. Another important result of the study is the applicability and possible contributions of governance to a public policymaking process. Undoubtedly, governance offers important opportunities in the context of legitimacy and accountability for an effective public policymaking process. However, the specific contributions of governance to the planning / implementation / evaluation processes are given with examples in the last part of the study.

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## CHAPTER XIII

# E-GOVERNANCE AND E-STATE RELATIONALITY AND FUNCTIONALITY

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### **1. Introduction**

A process of digital transformation has been brought about as a result of transition to information society and the developments in communication technologies. This process not only had an impact on the daily lives of individuals but at the same time redefined their interactions with the state on the basis of the information society. The ever-increasing use of the internet within the information technologies has also created fundamental changes in the understanding of public administration. Novel administration structures of offering services have come to the fore at this point. The efficiency of public services has been aimed to increase by means of e-governance and e-state practices which are thought to be a novel administrative approach among these structures.

E-governance is a citizen-based administrative approach which is based on the interactions between public organizations and stakeholders. The aim in this administrative approach is to achieve savings in the costs of public services by using electronic tools in both the offering of government services to the public and the regulation of public services. Also, it aims to create an effective and productive administrative style in accordance with the interests and wishes of citizens. To this end, e-governance practices make it possible to benefit from technology more, and services are offered in electronic media in a more qualified, faster and continuous way. Thus, direct, easy and costless access of citizens to the information and services offered by the state is enabled by means of these

tools. What is more, a transparent, democratic and participatory understanding of administration prevails in public organizations. Therefore, state and citizen interactions gain strength in the processes of determining, implementation and supervision of public policies.

Governance is the multi-dimensional process of decision-making and the implementation of these decisions among the state, civil society and organizations. The main tool of governance in the digital media is e-governance structure. E-state is the site where state and public administration activities are conducted in the digital media. It aims to re-design public organizations and increase public satisfaction. Also, it aims to create a structure of the state which is based on a network at the center of which lies the internet. E-state practices increase the speed and efficiency of the services the state is responsible for providing and also the costs of these services decrease significantly. This, in turn, leads to a transition from an understanding of providing services through bureaucratic niceties and redtape to an understanding that emphasizes quality and productivity.

As a result of conducting in electronic media every kind of activities regarding the use of information and communication technologies in public administration, citizens can access public services and applications directly and faster. Thus, arbitrary practices in administration is avoided and active participation of citizens in processes of decision-making and implementation of those decisions is enabled. E-governance increases the efficiency and productivity by carrying the capabilities of the concept of governance onto the plane of the internet and the network. The notion of e-state provides a remarkable infrastructure to this process. In this respect, e-governance contributes significantly to electronic transformation in terms of technical dimension of e-state and by rendering governance faster and more interactive.

In short, e-state, which is a tool of governance, then becomes a factor of transition to e-governance. The aim of this study is to assess the relations between the e-governance approach that found a place in the field of public administration as a result of digital transformation and the concept of e-state.

## **2. Governance**

The word “governance” in many works in the literature in English have the same meaning as the word “government” which means “administration” or “government” but can be used in different contexts. For this reason, government and governance are not the same thing. Government is a form of central

governing in a top to bottom hierarchy. Governance, on the other hand, is an approach that envisages cooperation and communication and governing as a whole (Uzun, 2019: 35). Since it emphasizes participation, the fact that civil society organizations and the private sector should take their place in all the processes of government from decision-making to supervision lies at the heart of the concept (Özer, 2006: 62-63). That is; governance is a form government that prioritizes mutual interaction in the relations between the state and the society (Eryılmaz, 2018: 62).

The concept of governance as we know it today was first used in the report that was published by the World Bank in 1989. Governance in the report titled “Sub Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth (Sahra Altı Afrika: Krizden Sürdürülebilir Büyümeye)” is defined as “the use of political power (Doğan vd., 2012: 87). The report does not provide a clear definition of the concept of governance. However, the principles of good governance are listed in it. These are efficient public service, independence of the judiciary and impartiality, a modern judiciary system, efficient supervision of the use of public funds and a mechanism of accountability, supervisor independent of the judiciary, a public administration that respects state of law and human rights, free press and pluralistic organizational structure (Şaylan, 1998: 142).

Governance defined as follows in the White Book published by European Commission: “It is a form of government in which political authority is exercised across Europe and good governance principles such as participation, accountability, transparency, compatibility and efficiency are integrated into the principles of locality and proportionality” (Keleş, 2010: 64). The dictionary of public administration published by TODAİE defines governance as “the structure or the order created by the results achieved by the joint efforts of all the actors in a social and political system (Bozkurt, vd., 1998: 274). This definition emphasizes the interactive aspect of governance and defines governance as a concept that foregrounds participation. This suggests that governance aspires to create a pluralistic society which is supported by participatory policies (Akyıldız, 2004: 448).

The notion of governance is an advanced phase of the new public administration idea. Accordingly, governance requires the implementation of both flexible organization models and business-oriented administrative processes in public administration. Also, it provides a plane of legitimacy for the participation of different actors by making it possible for the citizens to take part in democratic decision-making processes in every possible areas (Doğan

& Ustakara, 2013: 2). Governance, which is thought to be an advanced phase of participatory democracy, is defined as “mutual government”, “interactive government” and “co-government” (Şahin, vd., 2004: 255). Thus, it contributes significantly to the development of the civil society.

Governance includes public organizations, the private sector and civil society organizations and represents the relations and interactions among them. That is, responsibility of governing the society tips over from the state in favour of the civil society (Eryılmaz, 2018: 62). Governance does not limit public administration only to the activities of the state or the government but forms a multi-actor and multi-partner administrative structure in which the private sector and civil society organizations participate in the process of governing and which shares administration and prioritizes participation (Karaçor & Oltulu, 2011: 404). Governance, which is social model that allows the participation of many actors in determining the objectives and rules (Börzel & Risse, 2010: 114) grants agency to these actors in governing the country together in the activities the government has to conduct.

Governance is an approach that prioritizes cooperation among the public, the private sector and civil society organizations alongside with such principles as implementation of the rules governments impose, increasing the quality and capacity of services (Mann, 1984: 185-213), transparency, efficiency, accountability and participation (Eryılmaz, 2018: 63). Easy access to information brings more transparency, which, in turn, enables a more extensive participation, which finally leads to a more efficient decision-making process. With increasing participation more efficient decisions are made and this contributes to a more comprehensive information exchange that is required for the legitimacy of these decisions. Legitimacy allows for an efficient practice and ultimately supports a more extensive participation (Karabacak, 2003: 72; Uysal & Atmaca, 2018: 414).

Main objectives of good governance are realizing the government of citizens by putting them in the center by the state, adoption of international standards in the management of the state and providing a structure in which the society trusts institutions (Şahin, 2018: 247). Therefore, the principles of good governance are “multi-part democracy, respect for human rights, rule of law, a transparent and accountable administration, a productive and efficient administration, a developed culture of democracy, decentralization and a strong civil society” (Eryılmaz, 2018: 63). Negativities of governance are meant to be resolved through principles of good governance. Functional cooperation

prevails among the public, the private sector and civil society organizations in good governance. As a result of the well-functioning of this cooperation, many problems that arise in public administration that are relevant to the society will be resolved. Furthermore, productivity, efficiency, transparency in services, responsibility against the public by serving the public interest, rule of law and democratic principles in administration will gain importance (Aydın, 2018: 215).

After the developments in the electronic revolution after 1990s and especially 2000s, debates arose on the transition to electronic medium in the governance model in public administration. The notion of e-governance is one of the aspects of the e-transition in public management. It is considered to be an advanced model of the e-state and represents a network-based transition among different actors in society.

### **3. Concept of E-Governance as the Digital Dimension of Governance**

Governance aims to provide public services in a productive and efficient way by enabling the cooperation and interaction of social, economic and political actors. As a result of the developments in information and communication technologies and the transformation these technologies brought about in the forms of public administration, e-governance came to the fore and has gained importance (Sayımer & Küçüksaraç, 2019: 260). E-governance is the concept that puts forward the mechanisms which will enable both the changing structure and the role of the state and and this transformation, and the new rules (Bayramoğlu, 2005: 266). Therefore, e-governance came into being as the result of the reformist understanding in public administration. It is the reformed form of the new public management, one of the modern theories of public administration, and the notion of governance and it can be ragrded as the last chain in the theories of government in the 21st century. E-governance is defined as participatory, democratic and synergy-based network governance in which information technologies are used more extensively. It is the electronic dimension of governance and it is a democratic governance model which includes different actors in the society in decision-making process (Parlak & Doğan, 2019: 7-8). In this model, as participation in decision-making process increases the quality and applicability of the services offered increase proportionally.

E-governance aims to achive maximum benefit from the information and communication technologies on the stages of the application and execution of the activities realized in the relevant areas (Şahin, 2018: 248). Also, it increases

the relationships between public organizations and the stakeholders by means of the newly-developing communication technologies. In this way, it is a model of governance designed for the age of information (Yıldırım, 2010: 40), and it aims to improve the efficiency and quality of forming and offering of public policies at all stages (Gordon, 2012: 5). That is, e-governance represents the digital dimension of governance.

With e-governance, it is aimed to make the principles of governance such as participation, productivity and transparency, which are adopted at every area of public administration, make more functional by integrating the technological capabilities offered by the digital age into public administration, to make democracy more applicable and render human rights and the rule of law prevalent (Atmaca & Karaçay, 2020: 261). It includes different actors in the society in the decision-making processes in order to achieve these objectives (Pankaj, 2004: 21-26; Parlak & Doğan, 2019: 10). E-governance adopts an administration that puts society in the center instead of one that puts the state in the center by following information-based developments happening worldwide.

Information and communication technologies are at the center of the idea of e-governance. For this reason, it is a governance system based on e-state practices (Özer, 2017: 467-469). Therefore, instead of public organizations' merely creating websites and posting announcements online, it allows the transfer of information and the communication between organizations from a physical medium to the virtual medium by using information and communication technologies more actively (Şahin, 2018: 249). Thus, easy access by the public, the private sector and the staff to the services is realized in an efficient, transparent and accountable ways (Yereli vd., 2015: 133).

Citizens can have direct access to information and services through e-governance. In this structure, in addition to citizens' benefiting from information and communication technologies, e-governance unifies service functions and processes the state offers its citizens and creates a systematic work culture. Also, citizens are not regarded as customers who are served in public affairs, but as partners who contribute to the production processes of public goods and services (Sayımer & Küçüksaraç, 2019: 260). Thus, e-governance in which resources, authority and task sharing is supported by information and communication technologies that includes the society-integrated-state, civil society organizations and the private sector (Yereli, vd., 2015: 133-134). E-governance is an efficient administration style that allows citizens access public services, reduces costs considerably by encouraging the use of digital

tools in regulating services, determining taxes and fees and offering tenders (Demirel, 2010: 71). To sum up, e-governance aims to allow a better governance and create a stronger understanding of democracy (Yereli vd., 2015: 135).

E-governance aims to improve the public services by restructuring the structure and processes of administration, increase the interaction between the state actors and non-state actors, include citizens in decision-making processes by means of negotiation and consulting mediums and thus, create an efficient, accountable and transparent state structure (Uzun, 2019: 40). In order to realize these objectives, the strategies determined by e-governance are implemented by such applications as e-state (Carrizales vd., 2011: 936). Thus, those who make use of e-governance services achieve a more efficient work with less cost through the new communication technologies. Citizens can have access to all state departments regardless of time and space, demand services and be involved in forming public policies by assessing the services offered (Saraçbaşı, 2010: 27). Thus, e-governance has many benefits such as citizens' easy and fast access to the services offered, a transparent administration in which they can voice their opinions for the benefit of all and have an opportunity to be included in decision-making processes (Sayımer & Küçüksaraç, 2019: 261).

#### **4. E-State as the Site of the practice of Governance**

One of the important applications born out of the need to make use of information technologies during public administration especially in offering public services is the e-state. Today, many public services are offered to citizens through e-state in electronic media.

In traditional state, citizens and the state had to come together physically in order for the public services to be offered. The state demanded citizens to write petitions, fill in forms and prepare some documents. Therefore, it was a necessity to keep files (Pamukoğlu & Ocağ, 2007: 59). The fact that the use of the internet increased immensely in time and e-commerce thrived in the private sector made it a necessity for the public administrations to conduct public services digitally (Şahin, 2007: 162). Therefore, since the system adopted by the traditional state could not cope with the developments, restructuring in public administration has begun. Consequently, governments in the world started to implement e-state projects which aimed to electronic information and services (Torres vd, 2005: 217-218). That is, efforts were spent to reduce the costs of useless traditional services and inefficient practices and thereby present the public organizations a chance to change by using information technologies (Bakry, 2004: 341).

E-state is a model of the state that arose due to the developments in information technologies and that aim to complement the traditional state (Şahin & Örselli, 2003: 346). In short, the main objective of the transition from the traditional state to the e-state is to improve the living standards of their citizens (Şahin & Örselli, 2003: 349).

Information technologies, which have become the main tool in supporting the efforts of modernization and restructuring in public administration, play an important role in the digitalization of the state (Şahin, 2008: 53). The objective of information technologies that are an important tool in the digitalization of the state is to create a structure of the state that increases the capacity in the use of information, achieves fast decision-making and meets the demands fast (Henden & Henden, 2005: 53). Consequently, e-state that is strengthened by means of information technologies in public administration plays an important role in the integration of public administration with the information society (Şahin, 2007: 162).

E-state is the presentation of the services to the public, the private sector and all public organizations in an efficient, fast, transparent way and with less cost by using digital information and communication technologies. It also aims to minimize problems that might arise in the relations with the state, citizens, private sector organization and others. Because, e-transition emphasizes the constant renewal of the state by itself by attaching importance to such concepts as organizational learning, innovation and entrepreneurship and this leads (Şahin, 2008: 45-46).

There has not been consensus on the definition of the e-state. OECD defines it as the use of information technologies and especially the internet to achieve a better administration (OECD, 2003: 1). In another definition, it aims to increase performance and productivity by using information and communication networks in exchanges of information, services and goods among public organizations, citizens and commercial organizations (Aydın, 2018: 177) and is a model of public administration that is applied in consolidating the link between public organizations and citizens (Parlak & Sobacı, 2005: 25). E-state is a modern enterprise that equips all aspects of public administration with electronic capabilities. Thus, it is an approach that brings citizens and public organizations with the most developed technological tools on the same platform and conducts all work on the internet (Durna & Özel, 2008: 4). Thus, e-state takes a new form in which public administration offers services in an efficient, productive and more flexible way.

Based on the definitions given above, e-state is the electrification of the state. In doing this, information and communication technologies are used extensively. The main objective is to create a structure of the state that has an increased capacity of processing information, makes decisions fast and meets demands fast.

E-state enables the presentation of public services to the public online by using the internet and other electronic tools with a password (West, 2004: 16). With this application, citizens need not go to government departments to get services, on the contrary, the government comes to citizens (Yılmaz, 2019: 510). Thus, the responsibilities of the state towards citizens and vice versa are fulfilled mutually with e-state application. The state can conduct all its economic, bureaucratic and legal procedures by means of electronic networks. Also, citizens can fulfill their responsibilities in a safe environment and can benefit from services regardless of time and space (Efendioğlu & Sezgin, 2007: 220). Especially, the websites of public organizations increase their capability of offering services to citizens online. Because, citizens would like to be relieved of the necessity to conduct their business with public organizations in traditional work hours but they are free to do them anytime they want (Durna & Özel, 2008: 7). In short, the offering of public services online increases productivity and quality for both public administration and citizens (Çakır vd., 2018: 122).

With e-state in which public services are conducted through digital tools (Yanık, 2002: 155), and by making use of information and communication technologies optimally, the structure and functions of organizations change and e-state privileges the new administrative understanding and contributes significantly in terms of creating productivity, responsibility and quality.

E-state is a system that allows public services to be offered faster, cheaper and more transparently with taking the demands of citizens and by using the technologies in e-state applications, encourages participation and aims to integrate administrative understanding to organizational and social structure (Yıldırım & Öner, 2004: 50), reduce the redtape and loss of time by increasing interaction between organizations (Sarıtış, 2010: 72; DPT, 2007: 10; Basu, 2004: 112), increase efficiency, productivity and transparency and improve information (Mutula & Mostert, 2010: 39), enables citizens to take part in administration more actively (Şahin, vd., 2004: 256). Therefore, both the speed with which individuals conduct their business and the act of rendering citizens active in administrative order intensifies. This results in citizen satisfaction

(Doğan & Ustakara, 2013: 2). Quality of the state and public administration increases and an efficient public administration is established.

The objectives to be achieved with e-state applications are as follows (Köseçik & Karkın, 2004: 112):

- Turning the state into a more transparent structure,
- Rendering the affairs of citizens with the state faster and continuous regardless of time and space,
- Rendering public services more efficient and productive,
- Creating a unity of information through the communication network that is established in the exchange of information among public organizations and thereby preventing all kinds of misuse,
- Rendering public services more extensive and accessible,
- Focusing on citizens in the process of the production and administration of services and maintaining participation,
- Rendering the running of state organizations more productive.

In today's world, e-state applications must not try only to meet the citizens' demands to reach information. In addition, the presentation of public services must be done and citizens' need to access all the information regarding themselves must be facilitated (İnce, 2001: 23-24).

E-state allows for the interaction among the private sector, civil society organizations and the state in addition to increasing the efficiency and productivity of public organizations and offering an extensive network and internet-based services. It also contributes to preventing bribes and corruption in public organizations, establishing an accountable, transparent and democratic participation. In addition, it facilitates the access to information in creation and presentation of public services (Kaypak, 2010: 260). Thus, a more transparent and participatory understanding of administration is established by transferring participatory democracy into a digital medium in order to remove the weaknesses of representational democracy (Yıldırım & Öner, 2004: 50).

In conclusion, e-state contributes significantly in terms of its adoption of transparency, its weakening bureaucracy, creating standards of working styles, offering faster and in a qualified way and reducing costs (Sansarcı, 2013: 22). Integration of the state and citizens depending on the functionality of e-state will be realized and thus, an understanding of the state which aims to provide better standards of living for citizens will be established.

## 5. Relationship Between E-Governance and E-State

E-state implements e-governance applications and leads the way in creating a decentralized, accountable, participatory and digitalized public administration and policies towards this end are put into practice (Uçkan, 2003: 153). E-governance posits that e-state should be adopted by the state and other actors in the society and relationships should be established through the internet. Therefore, the actors who practices e-state turn governance mechanism into digital information database over the internet. The result is called e-governance (Doğan & Ustakara, 2013: 8).

E-governance is also identified with the improvement and restructuring of the applications and processes of the state regarding administration, and facilitation of the presentation of information. Relationships in e-governance between stakeholders through the internet increase in time and public opinion is formed online about state administration and thus demands are conveyed easily. E-state is governance model that redefines the relationships among the state, citizens, the private sector, civil society organizations and all the other actors with technological capabilities, emphasizes the participation of all actors in administration and uses local network to this end (Demirel, 2010: 69-70). This means that non-state actors may have a role in determining the policies regarding the administration of the state and influence decision-making processes. Thus, the participation of citizens and other stakeholders over the internet network is maintained and they are rendered active in determining and offering public services (Doğan & Ustakara, 2013: 6). Therefore, it is associated with the principles of governance such as participation, transparency, accountability, efficiency and productivity, strategic planning.

E-governance, which is based on e-state policies, speeds up the procedures regarding citizens, civil society organizations and private sector organizations in public administration by using digital technology tools such as mobile phones, network type structures (Tejasvee vd., 2010: 298). Also, it aims to offer satisfactory public services throughout the country and achieve top level citizen satisfaction (Doğan & Ustakara, 2013: 7).

E-governance “is concept that was put forward to enable the realization of basic political aims of political power, which is also one of the objectives of public governance”. E-state approach whose performance is enhanced with digital applications equipped with information society and information techniques has become whole with governance principles. Thus, an efficient public administration that maintains participation, transparency and accountability is aimed to be established (Demirel, 2010: 66).

While e-state can be a tool of serving citizens, e-governance can include citizens in political decision-making processes actively (Orihuela & Obi, 2007: 29). E-governance maintains participation by activating all the actors in the society in the process of forming political and administrative policies in a multi-actor and dynamic balance by means of digital technologies. Thus, “flexibility, fast decision-making, accountability, transparency, the right to obtain information, a culture of information society based on political participation and democracy” is realized in public administration (Doğan & Ustakara, 2013: 8). Within this framework, e-governance is not a completely technical issue and puts emphasis on more democracy in governance (Toprak, 2013: 85; Karkın & Özgür, 2012: 92). Democratic process, open administration and transparent decision-making are the main indicators of e-governance (Almunawar vd., 2012: 622).

The developments in e-governance started debates regarding the changes in public services. As a response to these debates, “e-state” structure was put forward so that public services could be run more efficiently (Uçkan, 2003: 43-45). E-state is not only the use of information technologies in the presentation of services. It is also the system that enables the optimal use of human resources, work management processes and the potentials of citizens (Balcı, 2003: 267). E-state stipulates the enhancement of the modernisation and digitalization of public organizations through digital technology, determining social needs and the capability of producing solutions (Özer, 2017: 471). When viewed in the framework of governance, e-state is seen to be a productive, efficient and fast formation (Uçkan, 2003: 57-58). E-state is especially associated with the main functions of governance such as transparency, accountability and efficiency (Uçkan, 2003: 57-58). In addition, it plays an important role in maintaining governance well by making participation feasible (Şahin, 2018: 250). Thanks to this, citizens can reach most of public services in electronic medium in a safe, fast and comfortable way.

E-governance facilitates reaching information and includes citizens in the processes of administration with applications such as e-state, and becomes a tool of rendering the state more accountable, transparent and efficient and consequently boosting trust in the state and reducing corruption with applications such as e-democracy (Uzun, 2019: 37-40).

E-governance is a concept that includes all the networks regarding the use of digital technologies. E-state is a discipline that is concerned with the online execution of the services offered to citizens and it is a narrower than e-governance (Talihun & Sharma, 2015: 56). When two concepts are compared, it is seen

that e-state was developed to offer all the services to all in the digital medium while e-governance enables the accessibility of such activities as management, transparency and verity of democratic processes in digital medium (Bovaird, 2005: 44). E-state is associated with the usage of digital technologies in order to support the efforts of public administrations. E-governance is associated with the usage of digital technologies in order to guide, support and encourage citizens to achieve objectives (Gordon, 2012: 5). Lastly, e-state aims to digitalize office works by using public services, information and technological capabilities. E-governance includes political elements such as e-participation, e-democracy and e-vote (Fang, 2002: 5).

To conclude, although e-governance and e-state signify different things, they are not completely separate. E-state falls under the umbrella of e-governance and they mutually support each other. Any e-state application is enough to start e-governance. Similarly, e-governance applications that are renewed and updated enable the emergence of new e-state applications.

## **6. Conclusion**

The changes and innovations that the digital age has brought about has carried the relationship between citizens and the state to a different plane. Public administration system must implement the developments in the information technologies in all the processes in a way to obtain the maximum benefits. In offering public services, e-state application follows a trajectory towards e-governance in the process in which citizens perceive this and enter the process of interaction. That is, an understanding that prioritizes mutual interaction by making use of information and communication technologies has begun to prevail.

E-governance is the new model in the understanding of public administration that has emerged as the result of transition to information society and the developments in communication technologies. The objective of e-governance, which is thought to be an advanced phase of governance, is to ensure the running of the process in a faster, transparent, accountable, properly and qualified way by carrying the capabilities of governance onto network-based portals. Also, its objective is to enable the presentation of services in an efficient and productive way by maintaining the cooperation and interaction between the public and the stakeholders. It also harbours such elements as e-state and forms an interactive structure by including stakeholders into decision-making process over the network.

Advances made in technologies enabled states to run procedures related to public administration over the internet. Thus, e-state system was created in the public administration and more and more services have been added to the system. Monitoring of the services by citizens was transferred onto electronic medium and it was ensured that citizens conducted their businesses over the e-state easily. Thus, bureaucratic obstacles are overcome and redtape is reduced, and businesses are conducted in a very short time. Also, efficiency and productivity is achieved in public services with transparency and accountability, and citizen satisfaction is enhanced.

E-governance has a structure that is based on the policies e-state and governance adopted in making decisions regarding public policies and implementing and also, it has a dynamic, interactive, multi-dimensional and participatory structure that is based on participation (Çakır vd., 2018: 133). That is, it goes beyond the e-state and not only informed the other actors but also made them active and responsible for offering public services. Thus, citizen satisfaction is aimed to increase by increasing the satisfaction of the actors in public policies (Doğan & Ustakara, 2013: 8-9).

The principles of good governance such as participation, transparency, accountability, efficiency, participation, responsibility and fairness strategic planning, which are considered to be necessary in establishing an understanding of democratic administration require e-state systems and e-governance. E-state systems form a public administration model that harbours efficiency, transparency, participation and accountability from among the above-mentioned principles (Şahin, 2018: 254). Especially, e-state has an important function in creating transparency in public administration for e-governance.

With the increasing technological developments and digitalization, opportunities present themselves on a global scale and creating a balance between these opportunities and problems is only possible with a structure of good governance. In this process, e-state and e-governance applications increase the efficiency and productivity of public services and form a structure of administration that is based on participation, accountable, transparent, dynamic and interactive.

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## CHAPTER XIV

# THE NEW PUBLIC GOVERNANCE: IS IT A PARADIGMATIC WAY TO OVERCOME THE WICKED PROBLEMS?<sup>1</sup>

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### 1. Introduction

Communities expect public administrations to be more effective and to be a catalyst that integrates all stakeholders into the system in tackling the wicked problems faced in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which differs in many respects from its predecessors. Indeed, there are many wicked problems such as global climate change, international migration, social care, poverty, drug abuse etc. Unfortunately, these are not based on simple solutions. For this reason, the need for a model that will focus on these problems and seek solutions in the field of public administration has emerged.

Two main paradigms have dominated the field of public administration until today: The Classical Public Administration (CPA) and the New Public Management (NPM). The CPA whose theoretical foundations were created by Woodrow Wilson (the politics/administration dichotomy), Frederick W. Taylor (the scientific management principles) and Max Weber (the theory of bureaucracy); existed as a valid paradigm until the 1980s with its assumptions such as strict rules, hierarchy emphasis, technocratic professionalism and isolation of the private sector. However, important changes in the public administration as in

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is derived from this author's doctoral dissertation. [Çolak, Çağrı (2020), "Kamu Yönetiminde Üçüncü Bir Paradigma İddiası: Yeni Kamu Yönetişimi Teorisi ve Uygulamaları", Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Trabzon]

every field had occurred in 1970s, when many crises broke out both economically and socially. In this context, many public administration theorists argued that the CPA, which is based on political science, can no longer solve certain problems and they can be solved with a managerial perspective in the light of the economy's assumptions (Hood, 1991; Rhodes, 1991; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992; Carroll et al., 1985). Therefore, many governments focused on the neoliberal policies such as liberalization, free market, competition and privatization of public services, etc. These policies soon mediated the emergence of a second paradigm called the "NPM". However, after twenty years of successful experience, the NPM and the neoliberal policies were found to be inadequate in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The main proof is the inability to meet needs of the complex society and to be successful in terms of efficiency (Drechsler, 2009; Çolak, 2019a). The determinations of Hood, who made the greatest contribution to the theoretical development of the model, are the most obvious proof of the situation. Hood & Dixon (2015: 266) stated that the volume of public services has been reduced by about one third over a thirty-year period, but the cost increase has not been prevented.

In this chapter, the New Public Governance (NPG) model, which claims a third paradigm in the field of the public administration, is discussed in terms of its potential to find solutions to the wicked problems. In this framework, firstly, the NPG is explained as a post-NPM model. Then, in the second part, it is examined whether the NPG is a new paradigm or not. Finally, based on the expectations and the implementation issues, the evaluations have been made on the potential of the NPG to solve the wicked problems.

## 2. The NPG as a post-NPM Model

Since the mid-1990s, the increasing waves of criticism against the NPM have turned into alternative paradigm searches after the millennium. These models, which have many common features and differ from each other only in terms of their basic emphasis, are called a "post-NPM" models (Lodge & Gill, 2011; Christensen, 2012; Christensen & Lægreid, 2011). The fact that the NPM agenda and trends do not address the public administration and service of the 2000s forms the basis of these models. In this respect, it is useful to mention that main trends in the public administration agenda recently. Greve (2010: 11) summarizes these trends as follows:

- *From economic efficiency challenges to a concern with broader societal challenges (including issues of sustainability) that no-one organization can solve by itself;*

- *From managerialism and narrow results to a focus on public value management that include a focus on long-term outcomes;*
- *From market-based governance to a focus on networks in the new public governance;*
- *From citizens as consumers to citizens as co-producers, co-innovators and co-creators;*
- *From IT supporting efficiency to IT as part of a digital-era governance profile, including web 2.0. social media;*
- *From accountability for results (outputs) to a broader understanding of transparency and accountability in networks and a focus on longer-term results (outcomes).*

The post-NPM models are styles of action that tries to reintegrate fragmented state by focusing on the administration as a whole and combining parts through horizontal and vertical coordination in the post-NPM period (Halligan, 2010: 235). In this context, the models in question are due to increase in negative feedback on the NPM and the weakening of political control. Even in the countries (the United Kingdom, the Australia, and the New Zealand) that can be considered as the homeland of the NPM, the confidence in the management approach has been shaken. Perri (2005: 54) interprets decrease in trust in neoliberalism as a sign that a period after the NPM has entered.

The development of technology and parallel changes in the 2000s required the public administration to be handled with a new approach. The inadequacy of the NPM in terms of transformation in the state and the society is main factor in the emergence of the situation. Although the NPM was seen as a beneficial approach for developed and developing countries after 1980, the developments that emerged after the millennium led to the erosion of the NPM's dominant position in the public sector. Undoubtedly, the most prominent of these developments is the 2008 Global Economic Crisis. The financial crisis, whose impact has been felt worldwide, has led to the questioning of the NPM and its neoliberal hegemony. Thus, the NPM, which prioritizes market values and mechanisms, has lost its sustainability.

The NPG emerged precisely in this period as a new approach for the versatile and complex structural arrangement needs that arise in the field of the public administration. Stephen P. Osborne is considered as pioneer of the approach with his article "New Public Governance" published in the Public Management Review in 2006. In this article, Osborne (2006: 377) emphasized need for a more comprehensive and holistic public management theory beyond the distinction

between administration and management. In this context, he argued that there are two main paradigms in the history of the public administration and today's paradigm is the NPG.

Unlike the previous two paradigms, the NPG is an understanding that places governance and citizens at the center of its focus (Robinson, 2015: 9). Even the approach "the main focus is not government" is enough to distinguish it from other paradigms. The NPG emphasizes neither bureaucracy like the CPA, nor private-sector contract mechanisms such as the NPM. So, it is neither statist nor market-based. It clearly differs from previous paradigms in the context of suggesting an active citizen model and emphasizing an actor network that embraces all segments of the society and various participation mechanisms. In general, the NPG is defined as "a counter-action against the negative effects of the implementation of business and the private sector strategies and tools in the public sector" (Sobacı & Köseoğlu, 2015: 235). It is an approach that emerges as a result of previous two paradigms' failure to overcome the complexities of the global society and highlights the networked collaboration and coordination structures in the fight against these complexities (Koppenjan & Koliba, 2013: 2).

Osborne (2006: 378) sorted the main factors that make the NPG different from the CPA and the NPM. According to him, in terms of theoretical roots, the CPA is based on political science and public policy and the NPM on public choice theory. However, in the theoretical origin of the NPG, unlike both, network theory is included. Secondly, the state understandings of these paradigms are different. The policy making and implementation in the CPA are integrated vertically and a unitary system is adopted in this regard. In the NPM model, the policy making and implementation are separated; also, a segregated and fragmented structure comes to the fore. In contrast, the NPG points to a pluralist state in which interdependent actors are involved in the provision of public services. The third difference is that although the CPA and the NPM focus on the policy system and the intra-organizational management respectively, focus of the NPG is the inter-organizational governance, that is, the inter-organizational relations and the processes. The fourth is that the NPM emphasizes service processes and outcomes unlike others. The fifth different element between the three paradigms is the actors that stand out in the relationship with the external partners. Politicians and administrators in the CPA paradigm and independent entrepreneurs competing in the NPM paradigm manage their relations with external partners. However, it is believed in the paradigm of the NPG that the

relationship must be managed by interdependent actors in a plural governance mechanism that is not only composed of political or economic actors. Another important factor that distinguishes it from other paradigms is the governance mechanism. The mechanism in the CPA is hierarchy and the NPM's is market conditions. As for the NPG model, it is the inter-organizational networks. Finally, the value base of all three paradigms is significantly different from each other. Whereas the value base of the CPA is depended on the public sector ethos, competitive market values relying business and economy comes to the fore in the NPM. Unlike both, the value base in the NPG is depended on a neo-corporatist theory.

The NPG is based on the assumption that the pluralistic governance mechanism consisting of government, the private sector, the non-profit organizations (NPOs) and social groups will yield more successful results in solving the complex public problems of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is observed that by the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the public administration, the phenomenon of segregation and competition between the sectors began to decrease and the collaboration between the public, private and third sectors started to increase (Curtin et al., 2010: 939). Within the framework of this collaboration, resource sharing and policy decisions are provided as a result of negotiation processes between interdependent actors sharing values and relationships (Liddle, 2018: 969). In other words, the prediction that the public service can be developed through collaboration, negotiation and active participation of the relevant stakeholders is at the center of the NPG paradigm (Sobacı & Köseoğlu, 2015: 236). The core values of the NPG are as follows, respectively in social, political, managerial and economical terms (Çolak, 2019b: 45-8): "Co-production and participation", "pluralist state and interdependence", "interorganizational networks" and "collaboration and partnerships".

Co-production and participation, which is the social value of the NPG, expresses an understanding that service providers and users contribute to the public service process together (Bovaird, 2007: 847). In this process, government, private sector, voluntary organizations and citizens are in negotiations on which strategies to achieve the maximum public value. As a result of the negotiation, public service takes place through a network of public, private and third sector organizations in an environment where public policy is produced together. From this point of view, it is seen that the co-production and participation approach emphasizes the third sector participation in the public service delivery as the social value of the NPG. On the other hand, this

mediates the promotion of the greater citizen participation (Pestoff, 2012: 376). Thus, citizens go beyond being not only the consumers of the public service but also become the producers. In this way, the passive citizen model in the public policy process is replaced by a more active and participatory citizen model. In addition, governments' attitudes also play an important role in promoting co-production and participation. In this context, the development of information technologies by the 21<sup>st</sup> century makes it compulsory for governments to re-evaluate the needs, opportunities and forms of the co-production. The social media is a very effective tool in fulfilling obligation because it can play important functions in establishing new connections between government and citizens. Therefore, governments should be willing to design the new forms of the co-production that address citizens' goals through the social media to increase citizen participation (Meijer, 2012: 206).

The political value of the public administration paradigm in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is pluralist state and interdependence. The situation arises from the increase in the variety of actors involved in the policy process (Pestoff & Brandsen, 2010: 223). The representation of individuals with group memberships and thus access to the policy process constitutes the background of pluralist thinking in the public administration. So, in order to talk about a pluralistic structure in the public administration, governments should first encourage the emergence and activities of certain organizations within the scope of the civil society (Grigsby, 2009: 172). The main function of the pluralist state manifests itself in the presence of this encouragement. As a matter of the fact, Carlisle (2005: 1003) argues that in a complex and modern society where individual participation in the decision-making process is impossible, the state understanding that the best serves the democratic ideal is the pluralist state. Within the framework of the understanding, government does not make savings alone about resources required for public policy and acts in partnership with plural and interdependent institutions (Newman, 2004: 71). Moreover, in the pluralist state, the competition is replaced by interdependence. In this respect, the interdependence indicates that the actors in the network have to act together in terms of resources, knowledge and equipment; otherwise, the policy process cannot be completed effectively. Taking into account all of these, the NPG attributes an important role to the politically pluralist state and the existence of interdependencies among network actors in the transformation of the existing public administration approach. (Osborne, 2010a: 7).

Which actors will be involved in the policy processes has an important role in the transformation of the public administration approach? As long as the

actors of the policy processes are not diversified, the applicability of principles such as co-production, participation, pluralist state and interdependence become impossible. To put it more explicitly, the functioning of these values depends on the presence of a range of actors -interorganizational networks-, covering all segments and sectors of society in the policy process. As a matter of the fact, the NPG, as an approach aiming to restructure the role of the public sector, challenges traditional views that consider government alone or as a leading actor and draws attention to increase of the powers of the other sectors in service delivery and decision making. In this context, inter-organizational networks, which are the managerial value of the NPG, not only affect government policies, but also undertake government activities in many respects (Stoker, 1998: 23). In connection with this, the increase of joined-up government initiatives and the development of new forms of collaboration and coordination between various sectors show that the positions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century governments have been updated as “coordinator of the policy process” (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012: 199). In summary, inter-organizational networks aiming at achieving the goals that the public or private sector cannot overcome alone are at the center of the public service understanding of the NPG. They are flexible, efficient and innovative hybrids that enable the collective solution of problems that network actors cannot overcome individually (Weber & Khademian, 2008: 334).

In line with social, political and managerial values, the economic value of the NPG is collaboration and partnerships. By the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the transformation in the needs of societies made it compulsory to meet these needs by establishing various forms of collaboration and partnership between the public sector, private sector, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), voluntary organizations and community-based organizations. This is because the private sector-centered and competitive-oriented process and the privatization of the public services, which marked the YKI period, were insufficient to meet needs and expectations of the society in the new century. McQuaid (2010: 127) states that if the competing factors in the NPM cooperate in the new period and the strategies to encourage partnerships between them are pursued, more efficient results will emerge at national and supranational levels. Already in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it has witnessed partnerships in the many public services in the context of energy, transportation, health, environment, agriculture, tourism and technology in many developing countries. In fact, it is seen that privatizations, which are economic value of the NPM, have been replaced by public-private partnerships (PPPs) with the

transition to the NPG. The PPPs mediate public spending reduction, private sector profits and a better standard of living for citizens (Koven & Strother, 2005: 224). In this respect, they are formulated as a new method by mediating more advanced and sophisticated use of private sector expertise (Greve & Hodge, 2010: 153). Thus, the public sector not only shares risks with the private sector institutions at the cost of new services that will meet the needs of the society, but also can obtain financial gains that it cannot provide through privatization by resorting to private sector information.

### **3. Is the NPG a New Paradigm?**

The NPG makes an important contribution to the public policy implementation and the public service provision. The question of whether it can be considered as a new paradigm has a place in the public administration literature. Osborne (2010a: 7), by the 21<sup>st</sup> century, evaluates the change in the implementation of the public policy and the public service delivery as a separate regime in the field of the public administration, not as an element within the CPA and the NPM regimes. In other words, the NPG stands out as an alternative discourse on its own, not as a product of a holistic approach that has a complementary relationship with the CPA and the NPM. Undoubtedly, the basis of it is to compare the NPG with previous paradigms and to reveal key differences between them.

The comparison show that the NPG differs from the CPA and the NPM paradigms in many ways. In this respect, it symbolizes a break from the previous paradigms. However, it is debatable by many theorists whether this break is sufficient to define it as a new paradigm. For example; Sørensen & Torfing (2015: 164) state that the NPG will not replace the bureaucratic forms of government and will coexist with the remains of the previous public administration paradigms. This leads to the formation of hybrid forms of management, which have unpredictable and ambiguous effects on innovative capacity of the public sector. More specifically, the NPG points to a new reform agenda in which the principles and values of the NPM and the anti-NPM are blended. On the other hand, Koppenjan & Koliba (2013: 2) claim that it is not clear what the NPG transformation means in terms of implementation, and describes it as an umbrella concept that expresses various management innovations with little in common. They are also undecided on emerging forms of management will replace existing regulations. Instead, they believe that hybrid management styles will emerge, a

mixture of the CPA and the NPM regulations. Torfing & Triantafyllou (2016: 3), in a similar manner, define the NPG as “the new kid on the block”. The reason for this definition is the possibility that existing paradigms continue to play an important role in the public sector. As a matter of fact, the previous paradigms, in some cases, contain elements that can help compensate some of the internal problems in the NPG-related governance practices. Therefore, it is anticipated that there will not be a total transition to the NPG, but on the contrary, the CPA and the NPM will continue to dominate in some areas. In this respect, the NPG is seen as a new paradigmatic management layer that is added to the existing situations (Torfing & Triantafyllou, 2016: 4).

The opinion about the fact that the NPG has not yet established a consistent and different paradigm is not limited to these. Robinson (2015: 9) states the fact that the NPG has different reference frameworks does not yet mean that it constitutes a consistent paradigm. In fact, the many strengths inherent in the NPG model in terms of examining and implementing public administration derive its resources from the CPA and the NPM. In addition, Liddle (2018: 982) states that there is no real evidence that the NPG is a comprehensive paradigm, because there is limited evidence to show that it can be clearly applied in the European countries on a local or national scale. Although there are reform moves that can be attributed to the NPG among different administrative cultures, legal systems and traditions in the Europe, the wholesale adoption of any of these reform models has proved to be problematic. Each European country has adopted different governance models and strategies to change state structures and processes. Osborne (2010b: 425) agrees with it, stating that the NPG is not an approach formulated as “the best way” for public policy implementation and public service delivery. Osborne (2010a: 2) claims the following regarding the NPG in the introduction part of his book, which is considered a cornerstone in the literature:

*It must be emphasized that this book is not meant to propose “the NPG” as a new paradigm of public services delivery. It is neither that normative nor that prescriptive. The question mark in the title is deliberate. Rather, this book is a critical examination of the concept of “public governance”. Offering a range of perspectives, the book questions whether or not public governance is a new paradigm for the delivery of public services in the twenty-first century, and offers a range of critical perspectives upon it – both in theory and in practice.*

In the conclusion part of the book, Osborne (2010b: 415) posed seven questions that must be answered in order to understand and evaluate the effects of the NPG in terms of public policy implementation and public service delivery:

- *What should be our basic unit of analysis in exploring public policy implementation and public services delivery - and what are the implications of this for theory and practice? (the fundamentals question)*
- *What organizational architecture is best-suited to delivering public services in the plural state? (the architectural question)*
- *How do we ensure sustainable public service systems – and what does sustainability mean? (the sustainability question)*
- *What values underpin public policy implementation and services delivery in such systems? (the values question)*
- *What key skills are required for relational performance? (the relational skills question)*
- *What is the nature of accountability in fragmented plural and pluralist systems? (the accountability question)*
- *How do you evaluate sustainability, accountability and relational performance within open natural public service delivery systems? (the evaluation question)*

The NPG develops based on the answers to these new and difficult questions. However, unlike the previous paradigms, these answers are not exhaustive or precise. The reason is that the NPG, by drawing lessons from the NPM, does not show itself as “the best method or action that can be applied anywhere”. So, it is not a universal recipe to solve every problem (Sobacı & Köseoğlu, 2015: 246). In this context, the NPM is moving away from old questions that do not reflect the reality of public services in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The new questions above do not completely reject the need to continue researching some of the old questions, but also lay the groundwork for addressing the public administration in a new context. The new context in question leads to a stronger view that it is a new paradigm. Likewise, in addition to the improvement of the public service provision, the NPG is striving to reveal the public administration challenges in a plural and complex world, which is a critical element not found in previous paradigms. As a matter of fact, Osborne (2010b: 413) suggests the following claims in the conclusion part of the same book, which will contrast with the sentences in the introduction part:

*It is argued here that these chapters have demonstrated that public governance is indeed a significant paradigm for contemporary public services delivery, embracing policy-making and a range of interorganizational and network-based modes for public services delivery. It is also argued here that the NPG, by its very nature, requires a broader engagement with the environment of public policy and public services than has perhaps been the case in the past. This, in turn, requires greater attention to the issues of sustainability – not only in terms of public policies, public service organizations and public services themselves, but also in terms of the impact of these elements upon broader issues of societal and environmental sustainability.*

As a result, the public administration has undergone a dramatic change worldwide in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Globalization and plural service delivery are the main driving forces behind these changes. The policy problems are now more complex, wicked and global rather than simple, linear and national. However, the previous paradigms are relatively static and do not fully cover the importance of broader changes. The public sector reforms in the developing countries are influenced by policy experiences and organizational practices from the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). These reforms also reflect the adaptation of the previous paradigms to the present (Liddle, 2018a: 985). This adaptation is a sign that the NPG model is not shown as a normative policy alternative to the CPA and the NPM or “the best way to govern the public” in the public policy and the public service delivery. It mediates presenting the NPG as a conceptual model rather than a new paradigm. However, it differs markedly from the previous paradigms in the context of its strong emphasis on the common influence between governments, businesses, groups and individuals. It also evaluates the potential of all managerial actors as well as the government and highlights groups further in the systematic collaboration mechanism within the network community. Thus, it changes the theoretical principles, diversity, methods, views, content and mechanism of the paradigms. From this point of view, it is becoming a new paradigm that is getting stronger and stronger.

#### **4. Can the NPG Overcome the Wicked Problems?**

In the CPA period, which is accepted as the first paradigm in the field of the public administration, the public institutions seem to be law-oriented. In this

framework, their primary duty is to ensure that citizens comply with the rules of law. By the transition to the NPM, the law-oriented statist approach has been replaced by service-oriented market values. This transformation undoubtedly affected duties of public institutions. Thus, providing effectiveness and efficiency in the public services has become primary function of the public institutions. Nevertheless, by the 21<sup>st</sup> century, awareness has emerged that many contemporary public policy issues are complex and inexorable. Governments face various problems in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as in every period. As a matter of fact, the paradigm shift in the public administration arises from inadequacy of the existing paradigm in the face of the problems. Now the connections between the problems are increasing and deepening. That is, the relationships expand and become more complex with the emergence of more connections. In fact, the complexity is not seen as an abnormal phenomenon in terms of the problems of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. So, public institutions need some updates in terms of theory and practice in the face of normalized phenomenon. In other words, in today's changing social environment, it becomes imperative to successfully design public policies, strategies, mechanisms, legal, financial and information-based institutions and other resources to address the complexity of modern dimensions (Ropret et al., 2018: 130). If this is ignored, the problems can be addressed by inappropriate analysis methods, tools and strategies. However, the changing nature of the problems requires the abandonment of reductionist, technocratic, linear paradigms (Magis et al., 2015: 240-1). The problems encountered in the 21<sup>st</sup> century show that solutions that work in one situation cannot be a guarantee solution to the same problem in the future. Thereby, the problems faced by the governments are called "the wicked problems". Brown et al. (2010: 4), the definition of wicked problems is as follows: "complex problems that cannot be clearly defined because every decision cause other problem". Besides they stated that they tried to be "the best method to follow" rather than "right or wrong" or "good or bad" in the solutions of these problems. It is also impossible to formulate the best approach to tackle such problems where there is no root cause of difficulty. On the other hand, if it is claimed that the main cause of the wicked problems is a lack of scientific knowledge, this claim is a solution by itself. So, the solution is to do more scientific research to reduce uncertainty and convince the skeptical. If the main causes of the problem cannot be reached as a result of these processes, it is necessary to create inclusive participation processes that can lead to a viable consensus (Alford & Head, 2017: 410). From this point of view, it is seen that participation, which is one of the leading

values of the NPG, is an important tool in the context of overcoming the wicked problems.

The wicked problems involve complex, incomprehensible, open-ended, unpredictable and ever-increasing a process. In addition to well-known challenges such as global climate change (GCC), international migration, drug use, child protection, natural disaster, anti-poverty and the safety of nanotechnology, the governments have to deal with their complex side effects (Alford & Head, 2017: 398; Uzun, 2020: 665). For example; the GCC has a social dimension as well as environmental. It covers multiple disciplines, knowledge base and value system that are highly interconnected. In other words, the GCC directly affects a range of government functions, from zoning regulations to natural disaster defenses, from agricultural policy to public health, from border controls to emergency services, from energy policy to transport policy, and from the insurance industry to international diplomacy (Pollitt, 2016: 78). The inadequacy of governments in this regard can lead to floods, drought, storms, heat waves and new diseases and disruptions associated with agricultural production. On the other hand, the GCC also creates concern in terms of water resources planning and management, and many theorists carry out studies on this concern (Suleiman & Khakee, 2017: 322). Pollitt (2015: 185) emphasizes that both theoretical and practical aspects of the public administration are strongly needed to combat the GCC and many related the wicked problems. Yet, the number of units that include these two dimensions and investigates other global mega risks associated with climate change is limited. Pollitt (2015: 185) lists the units that can be evaluated in this context as follows: the Cabot Institute in the University of Bristol, the Climate Change and Sustainable Futures team at Exeter University, the Stockholm Resilience Centre, and the Wicked Problems, Contested Administrations (WIPCAD) research group at the University of Potsdam. Increasing such units is extremely important as they can have a problem-oriented and interdisciplinary potential, which is essential for controlling climate change without further damage to daily life.

It now appears that in the field of the public administration, not only conceptual (theoretical) difficulties but also practical challenges of overcoming the wicked problems and complex uncertainties are addressed. For example; in its report published in 2007, the Australian Public Service Commission (APSC) claimed that the government's overall goal was to "achieve continuous behavioral change through collaboration as a response to social complexity". Also in the report, the techniques that can be used

to deal with the wicked problems are outlined as follows. (APSC, 2007: 35-6):

- *Holistic, not partial or linear thinking – thinking that captures the big picture and the interrelationship of policy problems. The need for this kind of thinking is a result of “social complexity” whereby problems are seen from multiple perspectives.*
- *Innovative and flexible approaches – the need for a systematic approach to social innovation by replicating the kind of practices employed by private sector research. Focus on creating a “learning organization”.*
- *The ability to work across agency boundaries – as wicked problems do not conform to the constraints of organizations there is a need to work across agency boundaries.*
- *Increasing understanding and stimulating a debate on the application of the accountability framework – existing accountability frameworks may constrain attempts to resolve wicked problems.*
- *Effectively engaging stakeholders and citizens in understanding the problem and in identifying possible solutions – there is a need to understand the full dimensions of each situation through engaging with relevant stakeholders. Behavioral changes, the report suggests, are more likely if there is a full understanding of the issues by stakeholders.*
- *Additional core skills – develop skills in communication, big picture thinking and influencing skills and the ability to work cooperatively.*
- *A better understanding of behavioral change by policymakers – although the traditional ways by which governments change citizens’ behavior will still be important (e.g., legislation, regulation, penalties, taxes and subsidies), such practices may need to be supplemented with other behavior-changing tools that better engage people in cooperative behavioral change.*
- *A comprehensive focus and/or strategy – as wicked problems have multiple causes; they require sustained effort and resources.*
- *Tolerating uncertainty and accepting the need for a long-term focus – solutions to wicked problems are provisional and uncertain, and this fact needs to be accepted by public managers and Ministers. There are no quick fixes and solutions may need further policy change or adjustment.*

Overcoming the wicked problems is difficult not only because of their own complexity, but also the public sector management mechanisms tend to

complicate efforts to address such problems. This is because the increasing complexity of contemporary societies not only creates new problems, but also makes governance difficult. Especially emergence of the new technologies and the spread to a wide audience in a short time change the challenges that governments and other stakeholders have to cope with.

The problem areas that are focused on in the case studies related to the NPG in the literature are grouped in Table 1. When articles and books published between 2010 and 2020 were scanned by the systematic literature review method, 169 studies were reached and 70 of them were found to be case studies. The distribution in the Table 1 contains remarkable data in terms of whether the NPG is focused on wicked problems or not.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 1:** The Distribution of the NPG Practices in Academic Studies Published between 2010-2020

<i>Wicked Problems</i>			<i>Tame Problems</i>		
<i>Subject</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Rate</i>
Social care	18	%25,7	General public services	13	%18,6
Health care	8	%11,4	Local services	11	%15,7
Poverty reduction	5	%7,1	Education	4	%5,7
Social integration	4	%5,7	Environment policy	3	%4,3
Drug abuse	2	%2,9			
Employment policy	2	%2,9			
TOTAL	39	%55,7	TOTAL	31	%44,3

In the Table 1, there are ten issues or problem areas examined in the NPG practices. Six of them (social care, health care, poverty reduction, social integration, drug abuse, and employment policy) are in the wicked problem category and four of them (general public services, local services, education, and environment policy) are in the tame problem category. This classification is based on the studies of Head (2008: 107), APSC (2007: 1), Grint (2008: 12), Lægreid and Rykkja (2015: 478) and Peters (2017: 392). Ironically, it seems that the focus is not on issues such as global climate change and international migration. However, these are the first problems that come to mind as a wicked

<sup>3</sup> These data are taken from the author's doctoral dissertation.

problem. Even they are considered to be super wicked problems (Peters, 2017: 388; Levin et al., 2012: 1153; Lazarus, 2019: 123).

The explanatory information regarding the problem areas is below:

- *Social care*: It usually includes topics related to the day-to-day care of the elderly and preschool children. In addition, the services for adults in need of care, the arrangements for the disabled and the food services for primary school children are also included in this category. The social care is a problem area caused by the transformation in the demographic structure. As the elderly population increases and the population growth rate decreases, it becomes difficult for the elderly to continue their lives by their own means. Therefore, a unique range of services is created for the group in question, and the principles and methods of the NPG are needed in the provision of these services.
- *General public services*: Many public services are included in this category, from infrastructure to disaster policies, from social procurement to housing finance, from water services to transportation facilities. The studies on the relations of public institutions, which are pioneers in provision of public services, with other stakeholders are also included in that group.
- *Local services*: In this category, there are researches investigating local security, local development, fire and rescue services, increasing social welfare, strengthening social capital, developing production laboratories for local development, smart city applications and financing models of local services.
- *Health care*: Undoubtedly, public health has always been one of the main areas of responsibility of the public administration. However, with the 21<sup>st</sup> century, strategies for ensuring public health have become inadequate and related problems have become wicked. Now, in order to solve these problems, it is necessary to establish some industry partnerships based on co-production and to develop patient-centered strategies, unlike the previous ones, in order to improve health service delivery and technology. As a matter of fact, these innovations coincide with the principles and methods of the NPG.
- *Poverty reduction*: It is a category that is the wicked problem, itself. In the studies that deal with the struggle against poverty in the context of the NPG, issues related to creation of alternative exchange systems to the market,

ensuring citizen participation, and the roles that religious communities can take in addition to the public or private sector have been addressed.

- *Social integration*: Just like poverty, community integration is the wicked problem. Although it is rooted in immigration, it also mediates many other problems. In studies, the new mechanisms are generally discussed to prevent the participation problems of minorities, reduce crime rates, ensure security, integrate immigrants into society, reduce social exclusion and increase livability.
- *Education*: In this category, there are researches on the problem areas of the complex systems of higher education institutions, especially on the consideration of scholarship programs within the framework of co-production mentality. Although these have wicked aspects, they are among the ongoing simple problem areas of the public administration.
- *Environment policy*: In fact, although environmental policy is related to the wicked problems in many ways, it is seen that these are not examined in the relevant studies, but rather the basic values (collaboration and partnership) that should be dominant in the management of ecological areas. As such, it can be stated that the category in question does not reflect the wicked problems.
- *Drug abuse*: In studies, which is the wicked problem in itself, it is generally discussed that anti-NPM mechanisms should be used. In the studies reached in this context, activating those with a history of addiction in the struggle process, establishing empathy and trust, and moving away from business values as a value-oriented issue have come to the fore.
- *Employment policy*: Unemployment has been a problem for many years. With the 21<sup>st</sup> century, wicked aspects have been added to this problem. In the studies reached, it is emphasized that employment is created because of coming together of various sectors.

## 5. Conclusion

The responsibility of governments is to mediate the development of individuals and communities, both socially and economically. However, the major economic constraints that have existed since 2008 make this difficult. It inevitably forces governments to look for new models. In other words, the combination of the 21<sup>st</sup> century's wicked problems with the 2008 Global Economic Crisis leads to the new paradigm in the public administration to include a model based on

co-production, participation, pluralism, interdependence, collaboration and partnership.

In short, the ways to deal with the wicked problems are in line with the core values of the NPG paradigm. So, the principles and methods of the NPG are a trusted syllabus to overcome the wicked problems. In this respect, expectations regarding the NPG practices include solutions for not only the daily problems of the public administration, but also global and complex wicked problems in the world, unlike the NPM.

The data obtained as a result of the systematic literature review shows that the researchers of the public administration are still focused on the tame problems rather than the wicked problems. In this context, the rate of 44,3% is a substantial level. In addition, it is thought-provoking that among these studies, there is no study on super-wicked issues such as the GCC or international migration. Whereas, now is the time to turn to the researches where current wicked issues such as the GCC and the international migration are addressed within the framework of the NPG.

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## CHAPTER XV

# THE INTERACTION OF THE “NEW PUBLIC SERVICE” AND “NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT” APPROACHES

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### 1. Introduction

From the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Traditional Public Administration (TPA) approach, which was formed by the theories of the scholars such as Weber, Wilson, and Taylor, dominated the public administration discipline. The TPA theory, rising through basic elements such as the separation of politics and administration, bureaucratic organization, scientific management, and the existence of universal principles, has become the mainstream that shapes public administrations especially after the 1929 economic crisis and the World War II with the Keynesian economic model and welfare state policies put into practice. The TPA approach, which continued to exist as the ascendant paradigm in the discipline until the 1970s, started to be criticized heavily especially since these dates, and as of the 1980s, a new approach known as “New Public Management (NPM)” was adopted and brought to the fore in the public administration discipline instead of TPA.

Becoming the most effective paradigm in the discipline in the 1980s and 1990s and fed by Neo-liberalism and New-Right ideology, NPM aimed to transform public administration with a perspective focused on economy,

efficiency, and effectiveness within the framework of a managerial and market-oriented approach. This approach, which intensely criticizes the TPA and foresees that the state can be operate more effective and efficient by opening the public administrations to the use of the methods and techniques that are successfully applied in the private sector, maintained its influence in the discipline for a long time. However, especially as of the 2000s, the suitability of this managerial model that emphasized by NPM for the public sector has also started to be discussed seriously. While these discussions focus on how possible it is to present NPM as a recipe for absolute success, they also include an assessment of how successful these market-based reforms have been in meeting the effectiveness and efficiency targets in the public sector. Therefore, although the NPM approach has declared its dominance after the TPA within the discipline of public administration, the criticisms and discussions that have been directed towards the managerial approach have brought about the formation of different approaches and theories within the discipline and have begun to reveal alternatives to the NPM.

The New Public Service (NPS), which is one of the approaches that has come to the fore as an alternative perspective in the face of these criticisms and debates, has gained importance in the search for a new administrative paradigm. This approach, which criticizes both TPA and NPM approaches and constructs its assumptions by evaluating various theories that has a crucial place in the discipline, has made significant contributions to public administration with a perspective that focuses on democratic values, service, public interest, citizenship, negotiation, and dialogue processes. The NPS approach states that a market-based approach alone will not be sufficient to solve the problems caused by the TPA. It also emphasizes the importance of remembering the indispensable values of public administration and underlines the need for democratic values, serving the citizens and participation mechanisms.

Within this general framework, this study examines the NPS approach based on its interaction with the NPM. In this context, firstly, the transition from the TPA approach to the NPM and its main arguments are emphasized and afterwards, the NPS approach and its relationship with the NPM are discussed in detail. It concludes with the general evaluation part and reveals that unlike the market-based governance model adopted by the NPM, NPS approach supports a network-based and collaborative governance model in which individuals and non-governmental organizations, as well as the private sector, participate more actively in administrative processes.

## 2. Transition from Traditional Public Administration (TPA) to New Public Management (NPM)

Public administration, whose development as a field of education, training and research in the historical process can be traced back to the 16th and 17th centuries and which has a history of approximately one hundred and fifty years as an independent discipline within the social sciences, has been shaped and dominated by the TPA from the second half of the 19th century to the last quarter of the 20th century. Based on the thoughts of the scholars such as Woodrow Wilson, Max Weber, Frederick Taylor and Henri Fayol, this approach focuses on the “public” dimension and “legal-bureaucratic processes” of the public sector and includes the basic elements of the structure and activities of the executive branch of the state (Şaylan, 2000, p. 6-7; Ömürkünüşen, 2003, p. 13; Kalfa, 2011, p. 406).

TPA approach adopts the idea of the separation of politics and administration, which was conceptualized by Wilson and supports that public administration should be organized structurally according to the “bureaucracy” model formulated by Weber. According to TPA, the main role in the production and distribution of public goods and services is in public institutions, and the understanding that public administration is quite different from the management of the private sector is accepted (Genç, 2015, p. 130; Eryılmaz, 2021a, p. 42-44). It has features that include detailed rules with formality and based on a centralized and strict hierarchical structure. The administrative model proposed with this approach is generally characterized by an administration under the official control of the political leadership, a strict bureaucratic hierarchy, continuity, stability, and a personnel system that motivated by the public interest. In this sense, legality, and rationality; large, centralized, and hierarchical organizations; division of labor and specialization; formality and density of rules; mechanicalness; secrecy; aversion to innovation; professionalization and monopoly tendency can be counted as the main elements of this approach (Al, 2002, p. 28-39; Gökçe & Turan, 2008, p. 178).

One of the most important features of the TPA is that professional bureaucrats carry out the duties of public administration within the scope of the modern state system. In this system, the basis of the structural organization of the public administration is based on the “ideal type bureaucracy” theory formulated by Weber. According to this, organizations operate within a legally regulated jurisdiction in the framework of division of labor, hierarchy of authority, specialization, impersonality, and formal elements. But while

bureaucrats are performing their duties, they are positioned separately from the political mechanisms and especially from the private sphere. Thus, based on the views of Weber and Wilson the separation between politics, administration and the private sphere will eliminate arbitrariness and corruption, and at the same time will create a public administration system based on merit and ability. In this system while the decisions are taken by political leaders, the bureaucrats will have a limited managerial discretion. But they still have a significant role in the implementation of political decisions because of their expertise. In this manner, in the relations between public officials and the state, an understanding of public administration based on the principle of political neutrality and standing at an equal distance to all citizens will be realized (Eryılmaz, 2021b, p. 54-58; Ayhan & Önder, 2017, p. 28-29).

Essentially, after the World War II, the TPA approach began to be questioned both in theory and practice, and practical experiences with different theoretical approaches started to affect public organizations. On the one hand, while “public choice theory” put forward its criticisms of the public bureaucracy within the framework of the principles of individualism and rationality by using the methods of economics, the American “New Public Administration” movement, which rose on the basis of main principles such as equality, justice, ethics, participation, decentralization, rejection of the separation of politics and administration, and representative bureaucracy in the late 1960s criticized the TPA for lacking a clear ideological framework and incapable of producing solutions to current social problems (Çoban, 2002, p. 75-79; Katsamunska, 2012, p. 78; Özgür & Ciğeroğlu-Öztepe, 2015; s. 97-98). However, it continued to exist as the dominant paradigm in the discipline until the last quarter of the 20th century and began to be criticized more intensely with the economic-financial crisis that emerged from the mid-1970s. Due to the formation of a public sector that grew and spread over the welfare state period, but unable to work effectively, criticisms such as red tape, inefficiency, unwieldiness, centralism, and strict hierarchical structure have come to the fore. In parallel with these, ideas such as the return of the state to its classical limits, to be organized on the basis of efficiency, and the integration of private sector-based management functions into the public have begun to spread all over the world. Therefore, it has been sought to create new administrative structures that can provide economic, effective, and efficient public service delivery besides a limited state. With the influence of neo-liberal thought, the idea that economic and social subsystems defined in Keynesian thought and supported by Weberian bureaucracy are no longer

functional, has become widespread. (Ömürgönülşen, 2003, p. 6; Karcı, 2008, p. 41; Boztepe, 2018; p. 193). These ideas have brought a transition from the traditional approach to public management within the discipline and especially since the 1980s, “New Public Management” has started to become the dominant paradigm in the field.

This management-oriented understanding in public administration was defined by names such as managerialism, new public management, market-based public administration, post-bureaucratic paradigm, entrepreneurial government. Among these, “new public management” became more widely used and prominent. Focusing on results, customers, and outputs; this understanding emphasized having a perspective advocating the inclusion of market-like mechanisms and competition-based practices in the public sector and the importance of responsibility and accountability in terms of public administration (Katsamunski, 2012, p. 78). Within the framework of the policies of downsizing the state; it is considered extremely important to implement practices aimed at reducing public expenditures and employment, privatization, deregulation, and increasing efficiency in the provision of public services. In this context, in the 1980s and 90s, this managerial approach found an environment of application in many countries’ public administration within the framework of various reforms (Üstüner, 2000, p. 16-20).

The term “New Public Management” was used for the first time in British academician Christopher Hood’s article titled “A Public Management for All Seasons” (Hood, 1991). However, the birth of this approach was in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In this period, the elements emphasized in the book titled “Public Management: Public and Private Perspectives” published by James Perry and Kenneth Kraemer in 1983 are important for the implementation of the managerial approach in the public sector. The intellectual crisis that this movement entered in the late 1980s caused a redefinition and revealed the “new public management” approach (Üstüner, 2000, p. 16-20). According to Hood (1991, p. 5), NPM is a combination of Institutional Economics, which is a mix of Public Choice, Transaction Costs and Principal Agent Theories, and the managerial approach. In this theoretical framework, the main features of NPM are a professional management approach, clear determination of performance criteria and performance measurements, focusing on outputs rather than procedures, dividing large organizations into new structures of optimal size, creating a competitive environment in the public sector, applying private sector management techniques in public administration, and being disciplined and

frugal while using resources (Hood, 1991, p. 4-5). According to this approach, the state should be drawn into a “minimal” structure in order to provide effective and efficient service. Instead of traditional bureaucratic structures, core “executive” units which are responsible for policy making, planning and coordination should be established. Participatory, flexible structures should be created, and rivalry should be revived by using management methods and techniques in public administration. Ultimately, a performance and output-oriented structure should be created by stretching the rigid, hierarchical and cumbersome structure of the administration, and public administrators should become entrepreneurs (Ömürgönülşen, 2003, p. 23; Ünal, 2020, p. 184-185).

Although NPM is an Anglo-Saxon approach, it has had the chance to be implemented with the public administration reforms that have taken place in many countries since the 1980s. This approach, based on reshaping the state in the context of finding solutions to the economic and administrative crises caused by the welfare state model, has had an important place as a reflection of neo-liberal ideology on public administration, especially with its intense influence and support from international actors. However, it is seen that the NPM approach and practices, which became a dominant paradigm in public administration in the 1990s, were criticized in the 2000s and the search for new paradigms came to the fore in the literature. In this framework one of the approaches that has an important place in these searches is the “New Public Service (NPS)” approach and there is a critical relationship between this approach and NPM.

### **3. The New Public Service Approach and Its Relationship with the New Public Management**

The 2000s witnessed the criticism of the NPM and efforts to create alternative approaches within the discipline. The criticisms are generally due to the business/market-based reforms advocated by the NPM approach and that the principles such as low cost and efficiency which were emphasized by NPM cannot be realized due to public-private sector differences. In addition, in this process, criticisms were raised that moving away from the values such as public service, public interest, citizen and democracy; in a sense, the political one was turned into an economic one, civil society was become marketable, the citizen was positioned as a customer, and democracy was handed over to an entrepreneurial understanding. The New Public Service (NPS) approach, which has come to the fore as a new perspective in the face of these criticisms and gained importance

in the search for a new administrative paradigm. While the New Public Service (NPS) is based on the New Public Administration (NPA) approach, which was accepted as the first breaking point of the TPA approach, it started to rise in the 2000s, with its criticisms on the NPM approach.

The NPS approach took its place in the literature for the first time with the article titled “The New Public Service: Serving Rather Than Steering”, which was published by Denhardt and Denhardt in 2000. While this article emphasizes the necessity of service beyond administrative control in the public sphere, it has highlighted the understanding of democracy as well as public service and citizen. The approach, in a way, is a return to the late 1960s before the NPM, to the democratic administration approach, public interest and citizen-oriented perspective that were on the rise with that period. This period, that criticized the centralist, hierarchical structuring, and the managerial perspective in the name of efficiency in public administration; is also accepted as the first breaking point in the field with the New Public Administration (NPA) movement which came to agenda with the leadership of Dwight Waldo. The main elements of this movement are stated as participation, decentralization, and representative bureaucracy. Accordingly, participation, is seen as both a political and an organizational process. While political participation is seen as the distribution of power and increasing the participation of citizens in the administration, organizational participation is accepted as change and participation within the institution. The principle of decentralization is seen as a basic element that will support these two processes. Finally, representative bureaucracy also refers to the realization of a citizen-oriented public administration by managers. While the NPA movement opposes the tendency to use private sector techniques in the public sector for efficiency, it argues that efficiency can be valid within the framework of consciously taken values (Fry & Raadschelders, 2017, p. 418). At this point, democracy and participation are seen as the basis of these conscious values, while public administrators are given a significant role in ensuring social equality. Contrary to these views, every movement is seen as obstacles to democratic government. However, it is seen that the NPA movement, which rose with the criticism of Weberian bureaucracy, the politics-administration dichotomy, and a one-sided understanding of efficiency, was pushed into the background against the NPM approach and market-based perspective in the 1980s.

The main emphasis of the NPM approach is economy, effectiveness, and efficiency in public administration. The “NPM” approach, which rose with

the support of globalization and its supporter neoliberal policies in the effort to overcome the crisis of capitalism at the end of the 1970s, emphasizes the inadequacy of the TPA approach in the face of developing technology, the rising information society (post-industrial society), flexible production brought by industrial change and increasing competition. For this reason, it advocates the redefinition of public services and the restructuring of the classical state organization according to the needs brought by the change. (Özcan & Ağca, 2010, p. 8–9). With this change, principles such as localization, flexibility, participation, and pluralism have been brought to the agenda instead of centralization, hierarchy, and formal structure existing in TPA. At the same time, the understanding of public interest, which is politically defined in TPA, and which forms the basis of public services seems to have left its place to public service and public interest understanding which is based on public choice and organized within the framework of market rules. Under the leadership of the central state, the understanding of public interest, which finds its expression in public services aimed at meeting collective/general needs based on fundamental social rights, has also been determined within the framework of market principles. With this paradigm change, the multi-actor form of government, the “*governance*” model, has been adopted as a flexible administration structure that can keep up with the ever-changing conditions and respond better to the demands of the people.

While the governance model was first brought to the agenda by the World Bank in 1989, it has since been used to express the implementation of a democratic process in decision-making mechanisms (Zabcı, 2015, p. 151). The governance, which has gained importance in policy-making and decision-making processes in public administration with the NPM approach; adopted the post-bureaucratic organization in which all actors (private-public, NGOs) are as a part of the governing action that rather than the unilateral governing action of a person or group. In a sense, it is planned to go beyond strict bureaucratic mechanisms with governance and to increase the participation of different actors (such as the private sector, non-governmental organizations) in the determination of public policies. Therefore, it is aimed to move away from the elements such as rationality, centralism, and holism represented by the bureaucracy, and to implement more democracy ideas (Tuncer & Usta, 2013, p. 187). However, it is stated that the governance model adopted in the effort of a participatory administration approach against a centralist, hierarchical bureaucracy is stuck with market rules and cannot provide citizenship, civil society, and democratic

values on a competitive basis (Genç, 2015, p. 131). In other words, it is accepted that the relations between the state and other actors in the governance and administration process are limited within the framework of market principles.

After these paradigms, it is seen that the NPS adopts a more socially based paradigm, acting on the strengths and weaknesses of the previous approaches in the field, and its starting point is citizen, public interest-oriented service, and democratic values. According to this approach, the citizen is neither the dependent service buyer as the TPA expresses, nor the customer created by the NPM. A citizen is an individual who can influence the political system. Through the governance mechanism, citizens will be able to be decisive in public service together with politicians, public administrators, and other organizations by participating in the administration. Only in this way values, such as equality, justice and public interest be achieved through the governance mechanism, progress will be made both in society and in public administration (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015, p. 2-3).

In the light of these principles, it is seen that the NPS approach emphasizes democratic values rather than economic values. Although it criticizes the market-based perspective of the NPM approach, it seems to support the governance model and discourses. In a sense, it can be said that the New Public Service is a gateway to governance (Ayhan & Önder, 2017). However, this study accepts that the governance model, which can be considered as the interaction point of the NPM and NPS approaches, has been handled on different grounds and now the door is opened towards a new governance style. At this point, it is important to evaluate the governance model, which gains importance in the name of democracy, as an important interaction point between the NPM and the NPS.

It is accepted that the NPS approach came to the fore largely through the criticisms of the NPM's market dominance in the field of public administration. The approach criticizes the NPM, which adopts a competitive and economic-based paradigm in the name of democracy in public administration. According to the approach, the management of public administration with business logic leaves democratic values and a citizen-oriented perspective in the background. The first sentence of Denhardt and Denhardt's book *The New Public Service*, published in 2003, states that “*Government shouldn't be run like a business; it should be run like a democracy*” and this statement is a clear and unequivocal indicator of the main criticisms of the approach. According to the NPS, running the government is the same as moving the democratic order. Accordingly, no one is a spectator in the game/public administration area, but everyone is in the

game. The duty of the government and public administrators in the game is to act within the framework of their responsibilities by considering the demands and interests of the citizens (Kusnandar, 2018, p. 110).

According to the NPS approach, officials in public organizations serve “citizens” and “democracy”, not customers or consumers. Public officials are tasked with creating a democratic space where citizens can share their views, develop more public interest thinking within the framework of common values, and be more effective as citizens in the policy-making process. In a sense, the government and public administrators will assume the role of mediating between the interests of citizens or various groups to create common public value to be determined on the basis of participation, dialogue and negotiations (Genç, 2010, p. 153-155).

While the NPS approach defends the democratic spirit against the entrepreneurial spirit of the NPM, it also criticizes the centralized hierarchical structure of the TPA approach, such as the NPA movement. In this context, it is accepted that the approach criticizes the public service provision that is determined unilaterally by the state or the market. In addition, it is seen that it protects the public interest through citizen-based common values and cooperation and supports public service delivery with a participatory and democratic management style in which citizens are basically included in the management process (Genç, 2010, p. 153). In a sense, the NPS approach, which attaches importance to democratic values, focuses on serving the citizens, aims at the public interest, and emphasizes the processes of negotiation and dialogue between public employees and citizens (Ayhan & Önder, 2017, p.22); it points clearly a network-based administrative approach, as both an idea and a method to be applied in the relationship between democracy and public service.

This managerial approach, defined as “policy networks” by Denhardt and Denhardt (2003, p. 3-5), basically serves different actors, participation, dialogue, and a deliberative understanding. Policy networks are also expressed as playgrounds where different actors (trade unions, non-profit organizations, interest groups, government actors and ordinary citizens) organize to develop policies in line with their interests and demands. According to Denhardt and Denhardt (2001, p. 391), one of the most important developments in political life today is the striking changes in how public policy is determined. In the past, although different interests were involved in the “steering”<sup>1</sup> process, the

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<sup>1</sup> Governance theory explains the function of the state with the concept of “steering” (Üstüner, 2003, p. 52).

primary actor was always the government. Today, many groups and interests play an active role in determining and implementing public policy directly. In a sense, the old spectators went down to the field, causing the society's steering mechanisms to be reformulated. In this context, it is seen that Denhardt and Denhardt redefined the role of the administration and the position of the citizen in the governance model of the period (Genç, 2015, p. 137). This model, which is based on the theories of democratic citizenship, civil society and participation, negotiation and dialogue, is based on democratic and social standards beyond the direction of society, legal/political principles, or economic rules. With the NPS approach, it is expected that civil society participation in the governance process will be increased, and citizens will participate in the administration and take an active role in the public service determination phase together with politicians, public administrators, and other actors (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015, p. 1). In this context, it can be said that Denhardt and Denhardt have adopted the network governance model.

The network governance model, also referred to as policy networks, aims to prevent privileges and power concentrations in the policy-making process, to ensure the unity of different segments over networks, and to create common policies (Üstüner, 2003, p. 49-52). This governance model is handled with a more community-centered perspective. The network governance model is considered as a new form of governance where policy making and implementation processes are no longer managed only by central units, but where the decision space is expanded regarding common democratic values determined as a result of dialogue and negotiation between various actors (Keast, 2016, p. 442-446). At this point, the NPS, with its emphasis on democracy and the individual, is also considered as a new reform approach in governance (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003 p.3). It is clearly seen that the NPS with network governance model, strives to bring together different interests and demands, advocate efficiency on the basis of a participatory and deliberative understanding, target the public interest on the basis of justice and equality (Genç, 2015, p. 138-139). Therefore, the interaction of the NPS and the NPM can be considered as a governance model, although it is based on different foundations.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The TPA, which has been the dominant paradigm in public administration for a long time, has been heavily criticized especially since the mid-1970s. During this period, a tendency has emerged to reduce the rigid, centralized, overly

bureaucratized, and cumbersome state structure and to make it work more effectively and efficiently. In this context, with the effect of neo-liberal policies, a market-oriented public administration approach has come to the fore, and while private sector methods and techniques have been transferred to the public, market values and the role assigned to citizens have changed. This change in public administration has been realized with the reforms and regulations carried out within the framework of the NPM approach. The NPM, which was very effective in the discipline until the end of the 1990s, started to cause some problems over time and this situation led to the emergence of new searches within the discipline.

The 2000s is a period in which the criticisms towards the NPM approach, which is accepted as the most effective paradigm after the TPA. Following these two approaches based on bureaucracy and market in public administration, the NPS approach, which rose in this period when the search for democratic administration increased, came to the fore within the framework of a multilateral administration approach. The NPS, which severely criticizes both TPA and NPM, aims to create a network-based administrative structure focused on common interests on behalf of democracy and citizens in public administration. The NPS approach advocates a deliberative and participatory public administration model, in which democratic values are prioritized rather than market values, and the citizen is not seen as a customer in this respect, on the one hand, it presents itself as an alternative to the dominance of the managerial approach in public administration, on the other hand, it is an important element on the way to governance.

In this context, it is accepted that the NPS approach is expressed as a new door to governance. Unlike the market-based governance model adopted by the NPM, this form of governance appears to be a network-based and a collaborative model in which individuals and non-governmental organizations, as well as the private sector, participate more actively in administration. It is seen that the understanding of public interest, which the NPM approach has reduced to market criteria, is evaluated within the NPS on the common values of the citizens and the others. As a result, it is seen that the NPS approach exalts the democracy and citizen-oriented perspective within the framework of the governance approach.

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## CHAPTER XVI

# DEVELOPMENT FROM TRADITIONAL APPROACHES IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION TO NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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### 1. Introduction

In the age we live in, management constitutes one of the principles that we encounter in many areas of social life, that shapes social life and that we say “no without it”. Management is a dynamic process that systematically presents the predetermined objectives, is planned and considers them at the final stage, and has to constantly change and improve itself (Eryılmaz, 2016). The constant change in the aforementioned conditions the development of management, as well as the change in the objectives of the organizations, the replacement of the old ones with new technologies, and the renewal of existing tools and resources, making the development of management science inevitable (Parlak and Doğan, 2016). Management science is a common resource that both business administration and public administration use and feed together (Lynn, 2006). In terms of the development process, the science of management has made progress over the discipline of public administration until recently. This is because businesses large enough to need organizational knowledge and business management did not exist until recently (Emre, 2012). But today there are very large international enterprises. Most of these businesses are managed with a non-bureaucratic, post-modern management approach (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In this sense, the efficiency provided by enterprises (Peters and Pierre, 2003), result-oriented, performance-sensitive flexible personnel regimes (Newman, 2005), strategic planning, and non-bureaucratic management

systems have become remarkable in terms of public administration (Hope, 2005).

Since the end of the 1970s, many countries in the world, with the pioneers of western countries, have entered a public reform process that can be considered comprehensive and meaningful (Weymes, 2004). The reforms made show that the public administration has been restructured both at the macro level and at the micro level (Coşkun, 2004). The new public administration, which came to the fore in the 1980s, started a major change by breaking away from the traditional public administration logic based on conducting business by process-based methods and rules (Moynihan et al., 2011; De Araújo and Branco, 2009). This transformation has led to a paradigm shift in public administration, in which performance measurement is made, resources are used effectively and efficiently, responsibility is assumed and the target is focused (Schedler & Proeller, 2005; Carroll & Steane, 2005). The main focus of this change is that it is based on the transition from administrative management to business management (Borins, 2005; Deem and Brehony, 2005).

The new public management idea (NPM), applied in the private sector; strategic planning and performance-based management, accountability, transparency, efficiency, and effectiveness have made the idea of applying features such as efficiency and effectiveness to the public sector (Heinrich, 2012). This system consists of anti-bureaucratic concepts that are far from centralized, where there is delegation of authority, projects are presented, contract-based, corporate development and sensitivity training is given, responsibility is increased, results are faced and the customer is included (Frederickson, 2016; Kaboolian, 1998).

In this chapter, first of all, classical management theory and neo-classical management theory will be discussed. Based on the historical development processes, the most influential current and management scientists will be discussed. In the following pages, the development process of the new public administration, the reasons for its emergence, and its features will be evaluated.

## **2. Classic Concept of Management**

Public administration; is a science that is based on the needs of society and the execution of public activities by the organization. The main development of public administration, which dates back to the early times of human civilization, dates back to the 15th century. The strengthening of central structures and the

weakening of local and feudal structures began to take place in the 15th century. Cameralism, the French Revolution, and nation-state understanding, which were very influential in the development of public administration, has taken place after this date (Bryson, et al., 2014). Cameralism is one of the first movements that shaped the form of public administration. In the chambers of cameralism, which aimed to educate people trained for state administration; subjects such as finance, economy, accounting, the art of management, organization employees, and managers have evaluated. The management knowledge and technique developed to increase the power of the central state formed the basis of cameralism.

The reforms sparked by the French Revolution in the 19th century supported the idea of the nation-state and allowed the principle of rule of law to emerge. Emphasizing the principle of law has caused the public administration to remain under the shadow of administrative law for a while (Eryilmaz, 2016). Wilson, who was an academician at the end of the 19th century, in his work titled "The Study of Management", written in 1887, states that public administration has aspects other than law and politics and that it should be evaluated as a different discipline from political science. The article, allowed the independent development of public administration as a discipline. Drawing attention to the practical and technical aspects of public administration, Wilson's following statement is almost a reference to the idea he defends: "To operate the constitution is even more difficult than to make it" (Bilgic, 2011: 98-99; Frederickson, et al., 2012:15-16).

The period of the traditional public administration approach: is evaluated as from the last quarter of the 19th century to the 1980s. The accepted theories of the traditional period are mostly based on the ideas of Wilson, Taylor and Weber (Lynn, 2001). Wilson and Weber among these names; have provides a consensus that the discipline of public administration should be separated from politics and that the decisions taken by politicians should be implemented impartially and effectively with the expertise of public personnel. Taylor, on the other hand, argued that at the beginning of the 20th century, the best management for every business could be achieved by using scientific methods. Taylor's main view that marked the traditional management concept; puts forward an output-based management idea instead of an input-based management approach. While doing this, it has received a lot of criticism for not taking into account the socio-psychological aspects of the employees. Taylor also emphasized that production and labor relations should be rationalized (Parlak and Doğan, 2016).

If we briefly touch on the basic features of traditional management (Bryson, et al., 2014:446; Eryilmaz, 2016:44-47; Telsaç, 2020:10; Tortop, et al., 2016:302):

- Considers the size, legal and bureaucratic functioning of the public sector,
- Based on the Weberian bureaucracy model,
- Prefers public sectors for the production and delivery of public services,
- Emphasizes that the public sector compared to the private sector in terms of management is not similar to each other,
- In many respects, politics and management evaluate differently.

Public Administration, before the general acceptance of traditional administration; was sustained by the personal loyalty of individuals to leaders and politicians. However, with the implementation of the traditional theory, a structure based on merit in public administration and services was carried out by professionals (Hughes, 2014). Before the industrial revolution, the areas that the state served were mainly focused on security, education and health institutions to a very small extent, after the industrial revolution, the state; has become increasingly interfering with social and economic life. The way the work of the state has changed and they have started to operate in more areas (Eryilmaz, 2016).

The traditional management approach is mostly based on the bureaucratic organization model of the German sociologist Max Weber and the ideas of western thinkers. From the beginning of the 20th century until the 1980s, Weber's bureaucratic organization model found a wide application area. This model; is not taking sides in management, is efficient in the services provided, detail-oriented, process-oriented, centralized, and rigid hierarchical basis. It also argues that the production of public goods and services should be carried out by its own organs. However, this process has resulted in cumbersome growth of the public sector and giving importance to excessive normative rules. Another feature is the assumption that politics and the executive are different (Kandeger and Telsaç, 2022). Based on this assumption, public employees should fulfill their duties in line with the instructions and rules they receive from the political power, and politicians should direct the decisions and strategies to be taken. In this way, it was aimed to supervise the public administration and to be responsible to the politicians. Based on the lifetime employment of the employees, an organization based on political neutrality and equidistant from

every political party was aimed, but a mechanism that is almost insensitive to the market and works with the guidance of politicians or bureaucrats has been realized (Mecek and Yılmaz, 2021).

The excess in the rules and responsibility principles emphasized by traditional public administration has resulted in the examination of the discipline of public administration by administrative law, apart from political science (Bayraktar, 2012). Basically, the traditional understanding of public administration is built on bureaucracy in terms of structure. The main arguments that make up this structure are to provide public interest, to be efficient, to operate within the framework of predetermined duties and authorities, and to be responsible for hierarchical management and subsequent processes (Young, 2010: 148).

## ***2.1 Mainstreams Directing the Classical Management Approach***

The main ideas and actors that shape the classical management theory, which is also called the traditional management approach, are listed under this title.

### ***2.1.1 Cameralism (Kameralwissenschaft)***

Cameralism is a management model created to expand the power and intervention area of the central authority. According to this model, the state is the determining factor in all respects. The interests and goals of the state are the most important focus. Cameralists are the primary servants of this state (Eryılmaz, 2016). We can say that the cameralists act on three basic ideas in terms of strengthening the central government and they are (Hocaoğlu, 1997:375-6; Tuncer, 2018:4, 8, 12):

- First of all, the elimination of decentralized structures and thus overcoming the biggest obstacle to centralization (The big problem in front of creating a centralized structure in Prussia was the existence of autonomous administration areas in the context of feudal-aristocratic privileges. Because they were built on the innate administrative rights of aristocrats. Autonomous areas have caused the division of power in terms of central authority,
- To compress the wide authority area of the church, which has become a serious problem in front of the central structure, only to the otherworldly area and to narrow the intervention areas of the church in this way,

- And we can list it as the creation of a middle class that is financially strong and can move more comfortably in society. The main target in the formation of this middle class is public servants. Cameralism also laid the groundwork for bureaucracy in the context of seeing management as a rational/scientific activity.

One of the essential requirements of creating this new class was securing the right to property and providing the means of enterprise that would enrich the middle class in order to acquire property. In this respect, it was necessary to expand education in order to create a desired middle class. Education could only be carried out under the control of the center, within the framework of unity in education. Of course, this unity should have been provided by the central government (Hocaoğlu, 1997).

### ***2.1.2 Woodrow Wilson***

Wilson's article "The Study of Administration" published in 1887 is considered a start in evaluating public administration as an independent discipline from political science (Denhardt, 2008:12). While the civil service was still in its early stages, Woodrow Wilson, in his seminal article on modern public administration, argued that politics should not interfere with administration and administration should not interfere with politics (Frederickson et al., 2012:16; Wilson, 1887:221). Pointing out that public administration is a separate field from politics by emphasizing its practical and technical features; Wilson made great contributions to the discipline of public administration and to raising qualified people in organizational terms (Hughes, 2014; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000). Examining the possible drawbacks of the public personnel system, Wilson boldly expressed in this article what should be done in the American Federal administration for improvement (Tortop et al., 2016).

Wilson states that the science of management was shaped on the basis of a centralized and unitary structure, especially by French and German thinkers, but such an administration would not be appropriate for the United States (Wilson, 2016). He states that, contrary to the unitary state structure, there is a need for a state system that can take various forms and concentrates more on decentralization (Waldo, 1948:16).

### ***2.1.3 Scientific Management and Frederick Winslow Taylor***

The understanding of scientific management, which has an echo in the form of Taylorism: Was embodied by Frederick Taylor, who was an engineer in a

company in the USA, in his book “The Principles of Scientific Management” dated 1911. Taylor essentially has pondered the idea of how to do a job most efficiently. What Taylor wants to do is to prove that “good management” is real science (Hindle, 2014:453).

Taylor’s primary goal in terms of the administrative arrangements planned to be made is to have the most talented employees get the most talented employees done as quickly as possible and at the same time accelerate the education and development of each individual working in the enterprise (Öztürk and Demir 2017; Livvarçin and Kurt 2014; Telsaç, 2020; Taylor, 1911). Scientific management is a system where compliance, not incompatibility, can be defined as a rule (Taylor, 2016: 45).

Taylor’s principles; it has received a lot of reactions because the socio-psychological aspects of the human element are excluded from the management, the effect of environmental conditions are ignored, and the psychological needs and tendencies of organizational behavior are not given enough attention. The reason why Taylor’s management philosophy is not understood is that the information read from secondary sources rather than her original works is a source of criticism (Yüksel and Aykaç, 2012). Because, in his article named “Scientific Management”, Taylor stated that the real workload in enterprises should be shared almost equally between the employer and the employee and that it would be more accurate to consciously transfer most of the division of labor to the managers (Taylor, 2016: 44-45).

#### ***2.1.4 Management Process Approach and Henri Fayol***

Henri Fayol has an important place in the traditional management approach with his work titled “General Industrial Management” published in 1916, which talks about the principles of management that can be applied everywhere, and his views based on management experience (Eryılmaz, 2016).

Fayol evaluates the functions of management (planning, organizing, commanding, coordinating, controlling) as the “role of administration” and reveals this as “practical functioning”. This idea is to be expressed in the definition of “Administration Theory” stated in Fayol’s book the concept of management discussed in theory is the idea that it is a “process”. In the definition in which suggestions such as “function, tool, role, and principle” are presented, attention is also drawn to other points necessary for the management process (Duyar, 2018: 78). According to Fayol, one of the elements that are among the basic functions of the organization, management should be emphasized the most (Hindle, 2014).

### ***2.1.5 Gullick and Urwick: Notes on Management Science***

One of the important works written in the field of public administration is the book named “Papers on the Science of Administration”, by Luther H. Gulick and Lyndall Urwick. In this work, they increased the five basic elements of the administration, which Fayol had previously determined in 1916, to seven (Özer and Önen, 2017: 63). According to Gulick, who gives more importance to the concept of division of labor than Fayol; The positive input that cooperation or division of labor will bring in organizations is that people gain some skills by specializing, and thus, differences such as “creation, capacity and skill” among people can be reduced thanks to the return provided by the division of labor (Gulick, 2016: 99-100). It is known by the abbreviation “POSDCORB”, which consists of the combination of the initials of English words in the management literature. According to this (Gulick, 2016: 109-110; Gulick, 1937: 13): “Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Co-Ordinating, Reporting, Budgeting”. While Fayol emphasizes the necessity of planning and organization, Gulick and Urwick; stated that the division of labor and coordination should be given more importance (Duyar, 2018: 80).

### ***2.1.6 Max Weber and Theory of Bureaucracy***

Today, the name Weber has almost become a whole with the concept of bureaucracy. Traditional public administration as it is generally accepted; mostly went to the way of organization based on the bureaucracy model that Weber conceptualized. Weber was the first to examine bureaucracy as a concept in a broad and systematic way. Bureaucracy is defined as the continuous organization of cooperation made by many people who are considered experts in their field in order to fulfill a certain function (Sager, 2012). The bureaucracy model is based on detailed rules and formality. Weber uses the definition of “ideal type” for the bureaucracy model, which is a result of his studies on organizational structure and functions. According to him, the bureaucratization of existing organizations depends on how close they can get to this ideal type. At this point, Weber’s word “ideal” does not mean “desirable”, “good” or “superior”. What is meant by this concept is likened to a mold (Eryilmaz, 2016). Instead of explaining bureaucracy through definition, Weber preferred to express it through its principles and features. Bureaucracy for Weber; is a type of organization that consists of division of labor, authority hierarchy, impersonality, a disciplined structure, and clear written rules, where correspondence and activities are filed

and available from official positions (Weber, 1987: 204-205). In this respect, bureaucracy is technically superior because it is a rational formation on the basis of. Weber states that all modernizing organizational structures will have to adopt the bureaucratic structure one day (Weber, 2016: 55). While Weber was in the process of creating this model, he observed the public bureaucracies of industrially developed societies and took notes from them. Weber made general inferences about bureaucracy by examining state institutions, organizational structure and characteristics (Özer, 2005).

### 3. An Overview of Neo-Classical Theory

In general, it has brought some new ideas and solutions in order to eliminate the problems in the classical management approach. This management theory has a basis that enables the reduction of the shortcomings of the previous classical period and emphasizes the need for greater consideration of human relations and socio-psychological aspects in the business environment. In this respect, definitions have been made for the neo-classical theory as “human relations movement” and “humanistic relations movement”. Within the scope of this theory, which examines the relationship between organizational employees, principles such as employees’ motivation, leadership and participation come to the fore (Şahin, 2014, Asunakutlu, 2001).

Compared to the classical theory, which cares about physical processes and people’s adaptation to these processes, but ignores their psychological needs while doing this, the neo-classical theory considers the human element working in the workplace as a whole together with other social values. In the organizational sense, basic goals such as production and productivity are evaluated in terms of socio-psychological, that is, social and spiritual, within the framework of the human factor (Özer and Önen, 2017). In addition, neo-classical theory, which criticizes other aspects of classical theory, emphasized that the division of labor is based on a rigid hierarchical structure, which causes some communication problems. We can list the features of the neo-classical period as follows (Şahin, 2014: 75; Telsaç, 2020:24):

- **Natural organization:** It argues that organizations established by people for a specific purpose are artificial, but spontaneous organizations are natural. Outside of the hierarchical structure, emphasizes that factors such as religion, politics, and ethnicity are also effective.

- **Reformism:** In addition to the understanding of imposition existing in classical administration, if there is a principle that does not work, an innovative search can be made in this respect defends his thesis.
- **Alienation:** New ways should be sought in order to motivate the employees of the organization to do their work.
- **Delegation of authority:** criticizes the failure of the principle of division of labor in practice. Accordingly, in the transfer of powers, either stinginess or generosity is made. Balance must be chosen.
- **Staff-line mismatch:** It expresses the lack of adequate communication channels in the command-staff relationship.
- **Control area:** Trying to keep the audit area narrow leads to an overgrowing hierarchical structure.

In order to benefit from the talents of the employees of the organization at the highest level, it is necessary to reveal the social groups existing in the organization and their characteristics. The human-oriented approach is an employee has brought the direction of a “social person” to the agenda. According to this Human-centered perspective, technical, economic, and structural aspects have come to the fore (Sahin, 2004).

### ***3.1 Mainstreams Guiding the Neo-Classical Management Approach***

Although there are many names that contributed to the Neo-Classical Management Theory, in this section, the most mentioned and the ones that left their mark are emphasized.

#### ***3.1.1 Elton Mayo and the Hawthorne Experiments***

The Hawthorne experiments, which shaped the neo-classical management theory to a large extent, were carried out between 1927-1932 in the Hawthorne facilities of Western Electric company in the USA, which produced telephone parts, with approximately 200 thousand employees (Şahin, 2014). The experiment was done by a group of academics working at the important universities of the period. Research conducted by a group of psychologists formed by Roethlisberger and Dickson under the Mayo administration, involving more than a thousand employees, continued for years (Asunakutlu, 2001). Pursuant to this observation carried out; they tested whether the idea of “organizing the work environment”, which they aimed at, would really work by conducting three different

experiments, which were carried out over the lighting, over the relay-assembly room, and finally over the wire bonding observation room (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 2003:14). However, the result exceeded the expectations and created surprise (Hindle 2014). Because this experiment, which was carried out to question the reality of Scientific Management Techniques, opened another door and made it possible to understand how important human relations can be, how human beings have feelings and thoughts as a social being, and in this respect, the great effects of social conditions in workplaces on production has come to light. It has been clearly revealed that the main element to be considered in a business should be human and the importance of human factors (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 2003).

### *3.1.2 Abraham Maslow, Hierarchy of Needs*

Abraham H. Maslow, as a result of experimental and observational clinical research that he started in 1943 in the USA; reached the idea that the behaviors of people are to meet a certain need and that these needs should be met in a certain hierarchical order (Şahin, 2014). He states that the satisfaction of some needs is more important than others in terms of ensuring the motivation of people (Özer and Önen 2017). Maslow while making the hierarchical order, stated that it is not possible to move to a higher level without meeting the needs at the lowest level, and found that if the physiological needs of a living thing are not met, all other needs are null and void or pushed into the background (Quatro, 2004:237). Maslow stated these needs as follows (Maslow, 2016: 157-165):

- **Physiological needs:** These are the basic needs necessary for human survival. Of all the needs, the most dominant physiological impulses are food, water, and sexuality.
- **Need for security:** Emphasizes the need to have a physically and psychologically safe environment.
- **Belonging needs:** When a person's physiological and safety needs are adequately met; another need for love, affection, and belonging arises.
- **Respect need:** At this stage, the person wants to be valued and respected.
- **The need for self-actualization:** people should do whatever they are happy to do. In other words, he should do what he does well. In this way, a person can realize himself.

This cycle essentially makes the general definition of life satisfaction and emphasizes that in order to understand the behavior of individuals, it is necessary to look at how well their needs can be met.

### **3.1.3 McGregor, X and Y Theory**

For McGregor's article "The Human Side of Enterprise" published in 1957, the behavior of managers depends on how they perceive other people in the organization. Based on this perception, McGregor talks about two different attitudes and separates them as X and Y (McGregor, 1957:168). X theory is an authoritarian management style, while Y theory is a participatory management style. It assumes that, to the extent of their commitment to the goals, they will exert individual effort and individual control towards achieving organizational goals. At this point, the duty of the management is to raise this commitment to the highest level (Hindle 2014). The main conclusion is that if the appropriate conditions are prepared in the organizations, participation and solidarity management; can help direct the creative energies of employees towards corporate goals and employees become more willing (McGregor, 1957: 233-234).

### **3.1.4 Herbert Simon: Administrative Behavior**

Herbert Simon, who received the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1978 for his work "Administrative Behavior", published this book as a reaction to the previous books on public administration, right after the Second World War. Simon has explained two important issues in this work. It is the idea that it is not possible to clearly distinguish between politics and management and that the principles called management principles contradict each other (Frederickson et al., 2012). Simon collects common management principles for increasing managerial efficiency under the following headings (Simon, 2016: 180-187):

- **Specialization:** Managerial activity should be shared among a particular group. As specialization and branching increase, managerial efficiency increases.
- **Unity of Command:** Administrative efficiency can be increased by gathering the group under a definite management hierarchy.
- **Scope of control:** Administrative efficiency can be increased by reducing the number of people to be controlled hierarchically.
- **Organization Based on Purpose, Process, Customer and Location:** Grouping personnel by taking processes into account for control

purposes can increase managerial efficiency. (This item is actually a more detailed statement of the first item, but it is worth discussing individually).

He argues that there is a significant relationship between public administration and political science (Özer, 2016; Hindle 2014). The main point that Simon tries to touch on is that social psychology and sociology cannot be ignored on the basis of management science (Eryılmaz, 2016; Şahin, 2014).

#### **4. The Concept of New Public Administration (NPM)**

This understanding of management is referred to by various concepts such as “market-based public administration” and “entrepreneurial government” (Osborne, 1993:352). He argues that management is a broader concept than administration (İzci et al., 2020). Administration; is administrating the work in accordance with a certain process, methods, and rules, but the management also takes into account many aspects such as making implementation plans in order of priority, using human resources effectively, taking responsibility, and evaluating performance (Telsaç, 2019). The price-based, anti-bureaucratic, market-based, and customer-oriented approach in public administration is generally called New Public Administration (Osborne, 2006:379). The new public administration thought (NPM); strategic planning and performance-based management applied in the private sector have focused on the idea of applying features such as accountability, transparency, efficiency and effectiveness to the public sector (Alford and Hughes, 2008). It consists of anti-bureaucratic concepts in which decentralized, devolved projects are presented, contract-based, institutional development and sensitivity training is provided, responsibility is increased, results are faced and the customer is included in the system (Ward, 2007).

The understanding of new public management; the adaptation of the company management style to the state has manifested itself as the adaptation of neoliberal approaches based on reducing the state’s intervention in the market as much as possible, the state competing in the free market like other companies, and the state being content only with fulfilling its basic duties (Kalfa, 2011).

The understanding underlying the new public administration; is seeing the citizens who benefit from/use the goods and services offered by the state as customers and consumers (Barzelay, 2005). In this respect, public institutions

and organizations; should pay attention to the production of goods and services in accordance with consumer satisfaction and their demands, the quality of the product produced and the cost it will cause. However, efficiency, effectiveness, and savings in production are also very important (Kahraman, 2011).

Basically, the NPM doctrine argues that the state should be run as a business, only emphasizes that economic decisions such as privatization, reorganization, market competition and commercialization should be made under the management of the public sector and thus the adoption of free market practices (Ariely, 2011), this argument on the assumption that private firms are more successful than the public sector (De Araújo, 2001).

#### ***4.1 The Development Process of the New Public Administration***

Since the end of the 1970s, many countries in the world, with the pioneers of western countries, have entered a public reform process that can be considered comprehensive and meaningful (Boyne, 2005). The reforms in public administration show that it is restructured at both macro and micro levels (Moynihan, 2006). In terms of states, the new public administration that came to the agenda in the 1980s; has resulted in a paradigm shift in which performance measurement is made, resources are used effectively and efficiently, taking responsibility and focus on the target, from the logic of conducting business in accordance with process-based methods and rules (Christensen and Læg Reid, 2007). This change is based on the transition from management to business (Strielkowski et al., 2016).

In the course of time, NPM has become a standard international model for public administration reform. The term NPM came from New Zealand as a phrase to describe the reforms first initiated in the 1980s. Today, NPM is used as a general term for the worldwide movement of similar public administration reforms. The hallmark of all these reforms is the shift from input to output orientation. NPM reforms first started in Anglo-Saxon countries such as England, the USA, and New Zealand (Schedler and Proeller, 2005; Hood, 1995; Federicson et al., 2012).

When Hood, published “A Public Management For All Seasons?” article he used the concept of New Public Management (NPM) for the first time for public administration and brought this definition to the literature (Dawson and Dargie, 2005). Again in the same work, the rise of NPM thinking is one of the most striking international trends in public administration in the last 15 years. Although research in other papers on this subject mainly refers to the British

experience, Hood says, NPM is definitely not a British development, he states, and he drew attention to four administrative trends in terms of explaining the rise of NPM (Hood, 1991:3):

- Actions to significantly slow down public growth in terms of expenditure and personnel, or to downsize the existing structure of the state,
- Emphasis on local service delivery and privatization or semi-privatization rather than centralized administration in service delivery,
- Development of information technologies and automation in the production and distribution of public services,
- and its in the form of a more international agenda for public administration, policy design, decision styles, and interstate cooperation.

In the welfare state period, nationalization and welfare state services continued together. The nationalization of companies providing gas, electricity, and tram services, followed by compulsory health insurance, are the first areas in which the state began to expand. In the said period, the state; assumed a position in favor of the employees and Marxist thought partially provided the theoretical infrastructure by influencing the policies of the state. With the great economic depression, the theoretical foundations of the state were already ready and it resulted in states taking on more tasks and intervening in the market and the private sector with the thought that it will function better. In this period, it was perceived more rationally to leave the recipe to the “visible hand” of the state, namely the bureaucracy, rather than leaving the recipe to the “invisible hand of the market” in order to overcome the social economic crisis. As a natural outcome of this perception, the state; It has been put into focus as the source of general well-being and wealth. The state and bureaucracy have had a wide range of discretion and authority, and many services have become public (Al, 2008). Welfare state policies enabled a growing public administration and a public organization that uses more resources (Şaylan, 2012: 618). However, the 1970s opened the door to a new era when it was realized that some things went wrong and the previous criticisms against the free market were replaced and this time the state was the target of the criticism (Bovaird, 2004). It is no longer the market whose power and influence are open to discussion, but the state and bureaucracy itself (Boyne, 1998). While the proponents of the new administration idea criticize the modern Weberian bureaucracy, they display an ironic picture because although the idea of state expansion emerged mainly

under the pretext of efficiency, it has become the focus of inefficiency in practice (Al, 2008).

#### ***4.2 Factors Leading to the Emergence of the New Public Administration***

The replacement of the traditional management model with public management is connected to the reform movements that started in the 1980s (Taylor, 2005). The fact that the traditional model no longer works well and the criticism it receives from a social point of view has caused governments to take a series of reforms (Hughes, 2003). These reforms have been made in many areas such as policy making, financial management, community relations, concessions, public personnel recruitment and promotions (Hughes, 2014). The reasons that reveal the new public management can be listed as follows (Genç, 2010:147; O'Flynn, 2007:354-57; Yeatman, 1994:289; Taylor, 2005:110-111):

- The oil crises that broke out in the mid-1970s and the economic problems it created, the deficits in the budget, the welfare state understanding that was respected after the Second World War and the overgrowth of public finances to be considered responsible for this,
- The public's expectations of the state increase, but the state cannot meet this expectation and the services provided are insufficient in terms of quality, speed and efficiency,
- Demands for downsizing the public sector, transforming these structures into a structure similar to enterprises, making savings, increasing efficiency and productivity in the public sector in parallel with the rise of the New Right-wing thought based in the USA and England,
- The increasing intensification of negative discourses and attitudes towards the state and bureaucracy,
- The active policy implemented by global organizations such as OECD (Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation), IMF (International Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank), causes has prepared a suitable ground for the New Right movement to increase its population,
- Technological innovations in the field of information and communication,
- Democratization demands in the last quarter of the 20th century are the appreciation of the concept of governance, the transfer of some of the powers and responsibilities collected at the center from the central administrations to local governments, and globalization (Yılmaz and Telsaç, 2021).

Although there are many reasons for the transition from the traditional public management approach to the new public management, it is possible to talk about three main factors. These are (Terry, 1998:195-96):

- a) Economic and financial factors: Economic crises, household budget deficits, and the public sector suffering,
- b) Social factors: Intense criticism about the state,
- c) Political factors: We can evaluate it as new ideas in economic theories, the emergence of the New Right, and finally developments in the private sector.

#### ***4.2.1 Economic and Financial Factors***

The idea of governing the state in the 19th century was traditionally based on basic tasks such as ensuring security, ensuring justice and conducting foreign policy. This idea was in the form of the state assuming a law enforcement duty. As a result of the economic depression at the beginning of the 20th century, this management style began to be questioned and a change in management was made quickly (Harrow, 2005). While the economic paradigm valid for the period was that it would automatically reach the optimum level in market conditions provided that economic resources were not intervened, it has now gone on the logic that the state should intervene completely in the economy. The tendency of the state to show a protective approach, such as starting to operate in the fields of production and distribution in economic life, has been added to the main duties of the state (Arslan, 2010). In this period, which has been referred to as the welfare state since the 1930s, Keynesian economic policies have been put into practice and have caused the state to take on more duties in both economic and social policies. The policies implemented in the said period manifested itself in the form of extensive health programs, education services and social security expenditures and took on a structure that almost filled the content of the word welfare. However, the negative effects of the economic crisis that occurred in the 1970s caused the states to take difficult decisions due to the budget deficits and the excessive borrowing they brought (James and Manning, 1996). While talking about increasing the services provided by the states at this stage or introducing additional taxes for their financing, demands such as the withdrawal of the state from the economic and commercial channels or the reduction of services emerged, which can be considered even more radical (Eryılmaz, 2016).

### **4.2.2 Social Factors**

After 1970, with the influence of the liberal movement that discussed and criticized the welfare state, the role of the state was opened to discussion. The negative consequences of the oil crisis that took place after 1970 laid the groundwork for the emergence of neoliberalism. (Terry, 1998). Unable to meet their increasing demands and expectations, the more educated and right-seeking citizen profile enabled a new flow of ideas far from the old culture of allegiance to the state (Arslan and Arslan, 2010). The birth of neoliberalism emerged in societies that developed and progressed in terms of industry and adopted the understanding of the social state, that is, in a period when the state made its economic and social presence evident in almost every field (Karcı, 2008). Considering the period in which it emerged, this new approach introduced itself with demands to reduce the scope of the state's activities and to give priority to private enterprise (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993).

The role that the state should have, from the point of view of neoliberal thought; is to take on a partly supervisory structure, not intrusive in the general sense, in the form of ensuring the economic environment dominated by the free market, ensuring free trade, ensuring the right of private property of individuals under all circumstances (Malgaç and Ünlü, 2017; Navarra and Cornford, 2007).

Neoliberal ideology advocates that the techniques and methods preferred by the private sector should be applied to the public in order to ensure that the state organization works effectively and efficiently just like the private sector. The “small state” emerged with the prescription of a “strong market” and led to a change in the role of the state (Guzelsari, 2004).

As a result of the developing neoliberalist thought in general; the state and especially the administrative apparatus is declared guilty. The inability to overcome the crisis seen in the 1970s is attributed to the inadequacy of administrative reform, leading to the opinion that a paradigm shift is needed in this area (Yayman, 2016).

### **4.2.3 Political Factors**

As an attempt to combine economically liberal ideas with state authority and discipline; the New Right movement is emerging in front of us. This view, which argues that the state should be downsized and market mechanisms should be taken as a basis, initiated radical reforms in the functioning of the state and brought the end of the welfare state understanding (Kandeğer and Telsaç, 2022;

Carmeli and Kemmet, 2006). Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, who came to power towards the end of the 1970s and implemented the programs described as the New Right, pioneered the movement that would seriously change the structure and field of activity of the state (Boyne et al., 2003). The economic difficulties faced by both the Reagan and Thatcher administrations and the cumbersome structure of the bureaucracy prompted them to reform in order to find a solution (Yeatman, 1994; Alford, 2002; Diefenbach, 2009).

New Right thinking; can be evaluated as Liberal New Right, Conservative New Right, and Public Choice Theory (Eryilmaz, 2016; Aksoy, 2012). These three sources are; contribute to the definition of the New Right in different shapes and sizes, and although there are conflicting issues between them, it creates a holism that supports each other in many aspects. For them, free market and liberalism are common ground (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2005). Liberal ideas and propositions were kneaded with public choice theory and found strength in conservative discourses (Aksoy, 2012: 579). The basic doctrines of the New Right thought are (Flynn, 2005:65-66; Olssen and Peters, 2005:314-315):

- That markets are more efficient than any other allocation method and trusted;
- Humans are already selfish, so managers should not be allowed to make big decisions about budgets or services because they will only serve their own interests and not those they are supposed to serve;
- Employees' motivations have not changed and therefore should be tightly controlled;
- It is that the state should not intervene in the economy and act as little in the field as possible.

Liberalism; can be explained in two ways, politically and economically. Political liberalism; can be defined as an individual(s) who will enable human rights, freedom and economic independence. In economic liberalism, the emphasis is; market mechanisms should be left excluding the intervention of the state (Arslan, 2010). In general terms, despite the prevailing opinion that liberalism and conservatism are opposite to each other, the supporters of the New Right movement tried to find the best by taking the truth of both perspectives. As a result of this search, the idea of new public administration emerged and when the New Right was examined, it played an important role in the development of the new public administration approach. This approach has caused governments to make a great transformation in public services, and this change has occurred

especially in the form of privatization of the public sector and moving away from bureaucracy (Flynn, 2005; Broadbent and Laughlin, 2005).

### **4.3 Features of New Public Administration**

When looking at the basic principles of the new public administration, the concepts of business administration and corporate economy are the first factors that stand out (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2011; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2011). In order to achieve excellence in public administration; private sector practices such as low cost, high quality, and rational management should be implemented (Bryson, et al., 2014). Because the idea that management is good and bureaucracy is bad was widely accepted in the 1980s and 1990s (Bilgic, 2011). In terms of new public administration; features such as improving the system, increasing efficiency, providing a flexible structure, locality in service, contracting, decentralization and transparency come to the fore (Christensen and Lenreid, 2012; Osborne, 2006).

NPM, like many management concepts, is a flexible concept. Since the 1970s, a broadly similar set of management doctrines has been used as a shortcut that triggered the formation of the bureaucratic reform agenda in OECD countries (Hope, 2005:211). In his 1991 article on the fundamentals of the new public administration, Hood mentions seven basic principles. These are (Hood, 1991: 4-5):

- Transferring the public sector to professional managers: giving the executives in the public services the freedom to manage and at the same time giving them clear responsibilities and paving the way for accountability in this sense. It recommends a clear job description to the manager (Bryson, et al., 2014).
- Open standards and performance measures: This includes defining goals and quantifying indicators of success, especially in terms of professional services. Accountability, a clear goal statement, and efficiency require a “hard look” at the targeted objects (Hughes, 2014).
- More emphasis on output controls: We should care about results rather than process. Rewards related to resource allocation and measured performance should be given and incentives should be provided. Transferring centralized personnel management in bureaucracies to lower levels (Borins, 2005).
- Transition to unbundling of units in the public sector: You need to create manageable units. For this, units that act with the logic of a product-

oriented operator should be built. Centralized structures that are managed from a single source should be avoided, and decentralized budgets should be focused on. The advantages of contracted service procurement should be utilized (Federicson et al., 2012).

- Transition to greater competition in the public sector: Transition to forward contracts and public procurement procedures. Compete to reduce costs. Additional freedom should be given to the manager in dismissal and rewarding and public relations techniques should be applied (Christensen and Lenreid, 2012).
- Implementation styles of private sector management style: Military-style large organizations should be avoided and private sector management tools that have proven their worth before should be used (Osborne, 2006).
- Increased discipline and attitude in the consumption of resources: Costs should be reduced. Union demands must be resisted to raise labor discipline. It is necessary to keep the resource demands of the public sector under control and to ensure that more is done with less (Hood, 1995).

Many of the elements that Hood elaborates on have an older precedent rather than a novelty but these contents would have been deserving the title “NPM” in the near future. Hood says that there is no accepted explanation or interpretation of why “NPM” came together or became fashionable (Hughes, 2014: 51-52).

The generally accepted features of the new public administration elements in literature are listed as follows (Borins, 1995:11; Diefenbach, 2009:894; Flynn, 2005:68-73; Gruening, 2001:2-3; Osborne and Newman, 2005:82,85,87):

- In terms of management, the focus is; to move away from the logic of input and process and evolve into production and result-oriented (Schedler and Propeller, 2005);
- Progress toward an understanding focused on performance measurement and management (McCourt, 2005);
- Instead of big, cumbersome and rigid hierarchical bureaucracies; elegant, flat and autonomous organizational structures (O’Flynn, 2007);
- Contract and contract-like structures preference over hierarchical relationships, and the use of alternative service delivery mechanisms rather than major structural reform in government (OECD, 1995);
- Making more use of market mechanisms in the provision of public services (Hood, 1995);

- The importance of initiatives to improve service quality, set goals and measure performance (Martin, 2005);
- Use of private sector techniques on issues such as service quality and restructuring of business processes (McLaughlin, 2005);
- Deep differences between the public and private sectors should be eliminated, to prefer public-private partnerships (Pollitt, 2005);
- and at the total there is a tendency towards new values (individualism and efficiency) by abandoning old values (universality, equality, security) (Hughes, 2014).

Some management scientists like Hughes, say that the reform process is real, but it is not a revolution and does not deserve the name “New Public Administration” (2014: 168-169). Üstüner, uses the phrase “new wine in an old bottle” for new public management and says that the paradigm that seems to have changed at first glance is an effort to reproduce the old one (2012: 402). However, despite these views, the most important emphasis for NPM is the macro-level change in the form and functioning of public institutions. These changes have strongly directed the characteristic public sector organization away from the old template and towards the private sector organizational style (Christensen and Lenreid, 2012; Ferlie and Mark, 2005; Ferlie and Fitzgerald, 2005).

## 5. Conclusion

Throughout the history of the world, the constantly changing and innovative nature of human beings has led to the development of new methods and original strategies in terms of life in line with needs and expectations. The idea of management, which has an important place in social relations since the early ages, has witnessed many practices and methods over time. Management is a vital criterion in almost all social life and an important factor in shaping collective life. Especially in terms many institutions and organizations that have a vision and mission is the touchstone. Important decisions taken and plans for the future are always shaped by the management. Considering the changing conjuncture, there are many factors in the emergence of the new public administration. These factors can be grouped as political, administrative, economic and social factors. Basically, one of the most prominent factors is economic factors. The burden brought by the economic crisis that occurred in the 1970s, due to budget deficits and excessive borrowing, made countries take decisions that can be considered

difficult. For the states are going to continue the services they already provide at the current stage, it has become inevitable to either raise these services or impose additional taxes for their financing. The fact that the traditional model no longer works well and the intense criticism it receives from the social point of view has caused governments to make a series of reforms. The focal point of these reforms has undoubtedly been the NPM. According to this:

- To evolve into a flexible and anti-bureaucratic management by focusing on applied and entrepreneurial management as opposed to its traditional bureaucratic focus;
- To establish clear standards and performance criteria for public administration;
- Using the performance criteria in the audit;
- Performance-based pay instead of fixed pay;
- Giving importance to output and result controls rather than process-oriented;
- The transition from management to governance;
- The return from quantity to quality in service;
- Participatory management that shares authority;
- Emphasis on localization instead of centralized structures;
- Transparency, not confidentiality, in public administration;
- Promoting competition in the provision of public services;
- Emphasis on private sector management styles and their superiority;
- Promoting discipline and frugality in public resource allocation;
- Risk-taking and team-oriented manager;
- and at the final it is in the form of market-oriented public administration.

The message about public administration is that there is a paradigm shift and that this change is moving away from the bureaucratic tradition in an irreversible way.

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## CHAPTER XVII

# NEOLIBERALISM AND NEW PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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### 1. Introduction

Rapid and radical changes have been taking place in many parts of the world since the World War II. Such rapid changes are observed in various areas from economy to politics, from state administration to businesses, from values to beliefs. Many important changes such as political and social development, change of administrative apparatus, restructuring of the state, etc. emerged with this process. Discussions and practices on what/how the social development and state function would be realized were held in this short period of time. It is possible to observe that these changes continue in theoretical research and practice today. Practices and discussions on development are among the most intense topics of this period.

One of the issues that directly affect individual and social life and bring about changes on a global scale is the change in the role and duty of the state. The abandonment of the Keynesian economic model in a short time despite its successful implementations, in line with the national development goal in accordance with the modern state practice, the change in the role of the state, took place in connection with the dynamism of the economic and political conditions. However, the Keynesian development model was designed as a long-term development model in the aftermath of the 1929 liberal economic crisis. According to this, the state was designed to be in a dominant position in the administrative and social aspects, prominently in the economy. The involvement of the state as the dominant actor in monetary and fiscal policies was considered to be the main goal of Keynesian economic development. The Keynesian model,

that became motto of the national development goal with the weakening of the liberal economy thanks to the Great Depression, continued to exist to a large extent until the 1980s. However, the economic crisis that occurred in the 1970s made the welfare state understanding controversial while also intensifying criticisms of the Keynesian economic development model.

Criticisms towards the cumbersome and inefficient functioning of the legal-rational Weberian state within the framework of the Keynesian model and rapidly changing social needs lead to changes in the traditional public administration understanding. In the traditional administration that only aims public interest under the formal leadership of the political authority, the bureaucratic hierarchy had difficulties in responding to changing conditions, expectations and economic crises. Public administration was revised based on relevant theoretical criticisms and alternative business administration practices. The minimal state understanding started to be integrated into the global system with the practices of the new right-wing ideology formed in the 1980s instead of the macroeconomic theory where the state is active. Criticisms of liberal economists, especially Friedrich August von Hayek and Milton Friedman, towards the Keynesian development model, the weakness of the state's capacity to produce solutions, and the individual and market-based neoliberalism, which is an updated version of classical political economy, changed the dominant role of the state and started to become an alternative.

The neoliberal understanding, which limits the dominance of the state and imposes negative duties on it, achieved practical results in the UK with the populist new right-wing policies of Thatcherism and in the USA with Reaganism. Since the 1980s, the dominant role of the state has been limited by developments such as deregulation and privatization, especially in the USA and the UK. With the practical solutions producing solutions to administrative and economic crises, the mentioned phenomena have started to be applied in different countries of the world. While neoliberal policies produced economic, political and administrative changes with the effect of globalization, they spread from developed countries to underdeveloped countries. The new understanding, which is based on efficiency instead of the welfare state, was the most important factor in the transformation in public administration. Global political organizations such as the United Nations, NATO, EU, which are described as post-modern initiatives together with economy-based organizations such as the World Bank and IMF were started to be substituted for national development. The dominant role of the state began to be transferred to international organizations.

International organizations began to integrate countries into the new global system by interfering with the sovereignty of states. Neoliberalism, which is based on effective and efficient management also accelerated globalization. Thus, neoliberal policies will have achieved their true target as long as they are a part of the global system, Neoliberalism has triggered changes in different areas of state functioning, especially in economic efficiency.

Reshaping the state's sovereign role, development, individual, social, and international relations, the neoliberalism also lead to reorganization of its political organization. The administration function delivered to the sovereignty of harsh bureaucracy in line with the Keynesian development mode, was revised under the name New Public Management. While developments lead to a change of paradigm in public administration, the harsh bureaucratic mechanism of the administration turned into flexible and market-based effective and efficient public administration. The changes in the framework of neoliberal policies, principles and applications of business administration were included in public administration. The New Public Management (NPM) based on efficiency and effectiveness changed the harsh centralist structure of the state to develop the administration understanding including individual, social, and local dynamics in the system. Thus, the changes in the public administration in the last 40-year process feed into privatization, localization, and globalization phenomena while also benefiting from them.

## **2. Break From the Keynesian Policy and Neoliberalism**

Classical liberalism remained in existence until the 1930 with its successful applications. However, the economic crisis in 1929 lead to a major depression in production and employment. The crisis lead to over 30% decrease in industrial production in the USA while unemployment increased to over 25%. In the process until the Worlds War II, the crisis became evident in several countries and alternative searches to recover from the crisis continued. Economists put forward a two-targeted alternative as nationalization and central planning as an alternative to socialism. The renowned economist of the period, John Maynard Keynes, described in his book dated 1936 *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* that capitalism does not lean towards instability and full-employment due to its nature and put forward his opinion as an alternative to liberalism. The expansionist financial policy of the state was designed as the solution to unemployment (Skousen, 2007: 135). Thus, the “*welfare state*” understanding establishing economic intervention of the state and dominance

of state mechanisms, providing for full-employment was adopted as the method of eradicating the crisis. The welfare state financed with tax revenues and Keynesian model prioritizing full employment started to be applied in a broad area from Europe to the USA as a whole. The macroeconomic model developed with full-employment maxim was accepted as the new development model of the non-communist world (Wapshott, 2012: 201). The social welfare state in the framework of Keynesian policies developed as a social security system encompassing not just a certain segment, but the entire society. Main areas such as education, health, and accommodation became a part of the social security system. The social state started to act with a mission assuming many individual and social burdens. The Keynesian model not just lead to the broadening of the welfare state. At the same time, it was accepted as a political gain for the politicians that adopted this policy. Keynesian policies that were applied as the national development model after the World War II, ensured employment while also election wins to politicians in many countries starting from the USA and the UK.

However, the constant increase in duties of the state and public services lead to significant gaps in resource supplies of the system. The social state understanding that was applied as full employment, interest and monetary policy modelling of Keynes (Keynes, 1997), lead to increasing tax burden. While macroeconomic growth slowed down with increasing tax burden, criticisms of the Keynesian theory and alternatives also intensified. The stagnation caused by diminishing tax revenues with welfare state spendings from the 1960s caused bottlenecks in the system. Stagflation and the resulting inflation together with increasing unemployment started to become the most important problems of the Keynesian economic model (Delfaud, 2010: 90). Keynesianism that argued every economic problem has a solution remained desperate against inflation and unemployment (Wapshott, 2012: 195). The addition of 1973 Oil Crisis with oil embargo of the OPEC due to the US foreign policy lead to crisis in countries that applied Keynesian development model. In 1974 next to crisis in energy supply in the USA, price increases reached 10% while unemployment exceeded 7%. The upwards movement in unemployment and inflation continued in the following years (Palley, 2005: 21).

The model that foresees centralist, expansionist, and harsh bureaucratic system of the classic administration remained far from producing solutions for crises. While secondary solutions do not prove to be fruitful, system criticisms and alternatives developed from the end of the 1960s were started to

be observed in party programs in the UK and the USA. Due to the increasing burden of the welfare state, parties embracing liberalization policies took over government. The new leaders ensured sharp turns in the government changes in the USA, the UK, and China in the 1980s. Taking over of the government by conservative leader Margaret Thatcher and Republican Ronald Reagan in 1979-80 is accepted as a significant turning point in abandoning the Keynesian policies (Steger and Roy, 2010: 21). In China Deng Xiaoping took over the government after Mao and prioritized economics over ideology and took steps from closed structure to liberalization integrated with capitalism (Harvey, 2005: 9). While the Republican candidate Ronald Reagan showed partial success in 1976 elections, he adopted liberal policies following the long-term stagnation after 1978 and gained victory in 1980 elections (Halliday, 1986: 113). In the UK, with Thatcher rising to leadership of the conservative party, grabbing power and liberalizing the economy started to be applied in the conservative party programs. According to Thatcher policies, inefficient complaisant policies and welfare programs of the previous Labor party and the conservative party went beyond the capacity the country could meet. Taking over the government, Thatcher started change by taking money supply under control, abandoning welfare increase and industry subsidies despite increase of unemployment to 14% and bankruptcy of thousands of companies (Roskin, 2013: 62). Thus, with new applications, contracting finance and monetary policies presented as steps to prevent inflation and increase productivity, social rights were restricted (Filho, Johnson, 2005: 4). In this quarter of the 20th Century, both authoritarian military dictatorships of the right and communist totalitarian systems of the left started to display great weaknesses and dissolved. Liberal economic principles started to be applied from Latin America to the Eastern Europe, from the Soviet Union to Asia although not being a true liberalism (Fukuyama, 1992: 14). Policies based on liberal principles such as the free market instead of the Keynesian development model the welfare state accepted as the long-term development model broadened both economic and political freedoms.

While demand, inflation, increasing unemployment, the dominant role of the state on the economy falsified the Keynesian policies, the new leaders started to create a new paradigm based on liberal principles. Classical liberalism, which was also revised with the ideas of Frederich Hayek, Milton Friedman and Robert Nozick, found the opportunity to be applied with the new administrations in the USA and the UK. Thus, the ideas of liberal thinkers who were always critical of Keynesian policies found the opportunity to be applied. In the new situation,

changing interest rates that were maintained for decades with Keynesian policy and directly intervening in the amount of money in circulation were accepted as the first target. For the development of neoliberal policies, it was necessary reduce public finance, taxes, and government spending and to stretch the legislation and support the private sector in order to open up space for private enterprise (Delfaud, 2010: 98). Thus, classical liberal idea of “*limited state*” and “*market economy*” began to develop within the framework of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is above all a political economy theory that proposes free markets, free trade, provision of private property rights at institutional level and human welfare. The main duty of the state is to create an institutional framework suitable for such practices (Harvey, 2005: 2). Thus, the liberalization moves that started under the leadership of the USA and the UK developed with the creation of the appropriate environment by the non-economist Hollywood artist Reagan and the chemist Thatcher.

The impasse of Keynesian policies, which started with the oil crisis and the intensity of ongoing theoretical criticism, laid the groundwork for the development of the liberalization process. The change, which is described as the bankruptcy of the national development strategy, started to be replaced from 1980s onwards by neoliberalism, which is the new form of liberalism.

### **3. Neoliberalism and the New Paradigm**

Foundations of neo-liberalism should be sought in the past of classical liberal thought. Classical liberalism flourished throughout the second half of the 18th century, with designs put forward by Adam Smith and David Hume in the UK, Turgot and Condorcet in France, Thomas Jefferson in the USA, and Humboldt and Kant in Germany. Tax equality and abolition of internal customs after the French Revolution, acceptance of human rights in the colonies that gained independence in America together with compulsory and free basic education, and the expansion of the reforms after the Napoleonic wars in the United Kingdom took place after the development of this idea (Vergada, 2016: 8). The industrialist class that developed with the industrial revolution and the market system that developed with it offered an alternative model to the interventionism of the state. However, the liberal model that would operate by itself, away from the intense intervention of the state, became the new motto of both economic and political progress. Liberalism, which is the transformation of unlimited capital accumulation that started with the French revolution into political consciousness,

progressed rapidly as the dominant ideology in the world system (Wallerstein, 2020:10). According to this idea, the individual should have broad freedom of expression, religious and economic freedom. However, this freedom should be valid for everyone. Although different interpretations and theories were developed in terms of their practices, the common feature of all theories was that they were united in the idea of freedom. Instead of mercantilism (Kazgan, 2016: 15), which became increasingly rich under governmental protectionism and based on monopoly rents provided by the state, self-functioning *laissez faire* was foreseen.

Liberalism that wants the state to remain at a minimum, become a classic with Smith's invisible hand metaphor. According to Smith (1977: 915), defense, which is the reason for the existence of the state, is limited to three basic areas such as the legal system that secures laws of the country and the market and assuming the production of public goods. Smith notes that the state should stay out of the market as much as possible and argues that the system can work better on its own. Liberalism also triggered the birth of two new currents such as conservatism and socialism in the 19th century. But liberalism's endless expansion and perpetual reproduction features make it dominant over other ideologies. In the political sense, liberalism progressed continuously, allying with the second and/or the third periodically (Wallerstein, 2019: 23). Conservatism and socialism, which accept themselves in liberal categories, also became the determinants of political transformations that resulted in their alliance against the third.

Neoliberalism, which developed after the collapse of the Keynesian economic model and the national development model, adopted the principles of classical liberalism as the new model of development. Although when neoliberalism started is not stated exactly, it is symbolically started when Paul Volcker, who became the head of the US central bank in 1979 increased interest rates. With this change, known as the 1979 coup, while the capital flow was liberalized, replacing the national currency with another currency became possible. Thus, while the inflationary wave was stopped and financial investments and activities were made attractive, the globalization of money was allowed (Duménil and Lévy, 2005: 32). The new president Reagan who supported Volcker began to implement policies aimed at liberating the financial powers both at home and globally. The neoliberal doctrine, which started with the applications of Volcker, began to become the most basic principle of economic thought and management (Harvey, 2005: 2).

The ultimate goal of neoliberalism, which is an updated version of classical economics, is the free market and the individual. The duty of the state is to create a framework based on property rights, free market and free trade and to protect these rights. According to the neoliberal understanding, no matter how well-intentioned the state is, the “*dead hand*” of the state consumes the market and breaks the power of private enterprise. Thus, it is necessary to push the sovereign state back to its fundamental limits and replace the market with the “*invisible hand*” in classical liberal understanding (Heywood, 2013:37). The neoliberal theory, which prioritizes the individual and private enterprise, was politically reciprocated by Margaret Thatcher’s statement that *there is no such thing as society, there are individual women, men and families* (Harvey, 2005: 82). For Thatcher and neoliberals, the market and individuals who make free choices are priorities for the policy implemented (Prechel and Harms, 2007: 4). After Thatcher<sup>1</sup>, who was accused to be a milk thief, conservative new right-wing policies continued to shrink the public sector, reduce the money supply, reduce taxes and privatize state assets. The development of neoliberalism cannot be attributed solely to Thatcher’s policies. In the development of these policies, the economic crisis and fact that the Keynesian economic model was far from producing solutions to the crises also have a role.

Studies of free market economists such as Frederich Hayek, Milton Friedman and Robert Nozick had a significant impact on the emergence of neoliberalism as an alternative model. After Thatcher who followed Hayek and his theory since her university years (Wapshott, 2012: 198) became the prime minister, she put forward a policy that prioritized liberal policies. While Thatcher was implementing liberal conservative policies, Reagan, who was elected president in the same period, was implementing policies foreseeing tax cuts and the development of individual enterprise as a way of economic growth. Thatcher and Reagan duo who met since 1975 and became prime minister and president around the same time, stated that they had found their political soul mate (Sandbrook, 2008: 176). While neoliberal policies were first implemented in the USA and the UK, Deng Xiaoping in China started to implement pro-market reforms instead of the national development plan. The new economic and development model developed in the UK, the USA and partly in China had significant effects on the rest of the world. While the implementation of

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<sup>1</sup>Thatcher was accused of being a milk thief for banning milk distributed free of charge in schools after coming to power in order to expand neoliberal policies (Golder, 2020: 7).

neoliberal policies was described as the victory of global capitalism, the collapse of the communist bloc accelerated (Radice, 2005: 96). The resurgent capitalism benefited from the growth of global markets, which expanded with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. Thus, liberalism, as an ideology adopted by all segments, placed the market at the center of social life (Thompson, 2007: 18).

The main feature of neoliberalism is systematically using power of the state to enforce orders of the market. The state's power was started to be determined by international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. With this aspect, international economic integration gained a global quality and lead to its description as interests of individuals and international organizations being preferred over interests of the society (Filho and Johnson, 2005:15). This power is constantly produced abroad through globalization. While potency of companies and finance increased, political spectrum shifted to the right. Following neoliberal approach that rearrange the government and economic distribution, leftist parties and mass organizations became ineffective. (Fildo, Johnson, 2013: 17). In this aspect, redistribution of the national capital through local and international cooperations is among significant criticisms of the neoliberal policies.

International organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank that were established in the after math of World War II assumed important roles in expansion of neoliberalism. Providing resources for underdeveloped countries, such organizations lead to adoption of liberalization policies in return (Kazgan, 2016: 23). Neoliberal policies are supported through international organizations when necessary with economic, political, and military programs. Neoliberalism emerged as a project of reinforcing the government of the capitalist class against labor and other opposition forces and centralization. Intervention types such as coup d'états in Chile, Argentina, and Türkiye (Harvey, 2005: 23) were qualified as road cleaning for application of neoliberal policies.

#### **4. New Public Management (NPM)**

Public spendings of the state continuously grew since the end of the 19th Century. Intervention of the state to the economy by using financial and monetary tools expanded service areas of the state and lead to emergence of an over-bureaucratic system. While total public spending of the OECD countries was around 10% in the 1870s, it exceeded 50% by the 1990s (Aktan, 2003: 37). Social democratic state understanding was successful between 1930-70 in developed countries to

encourage economic growth and social justice. Public spending of the welfare state that was 18.7% in 1930, was 43.1% by the 1980s (Carlos and Pereira, 2004: 67). The welfare state and classical Weberian bureaucratic system that continued intact until the 1980s started to be questioned and change with the financial crises (Homburg, Pollitt, and Thiel, 2007: 1). Abandoning Keynesian development model suitable to the Weberian bureaucracy naturally meant change of management process. The new public management suitable to the neoliberal order of the 1980s started to emerge as the public face of neoliberal policies. The new public management that was perceived as a deviation from the classical management model (Hood, 1991: 7), developed as a model to replace the classical management model.

While the New Public Management became the new paradigm in administrative processing, it also includes concrete practices towards modern management methods. The new public management progressed as a management style that is shaped and changed according to prominently governments that adopt neoliberal policies. Thus, there is no agreement of what the New Public Management is while it is also not possible to discuss its theoretical framework. It is applied and named differently according to the initiative of executors. In this sense it brings in a post-modern understanding to classical public management. This model that emerged as the new public sector model in the developed and developing countries is defined with various different names as “*new public management*”, “*managerialism*”, “*market-based public administration*”, “*post-bureaucratic paradigm*”, and “*entrepreneur government*”.

The common feature of the new public management can be described with the view that it is shaped according to international management and market understanding. Despite various naming, the market-based paradigm that slowly develops (Hughes, 2003: 4) could not yet complete its development process (Newman, 2002: 77). In this sense, the new public management moves with a market-based understanding that limits the sovereign role of the state as a new paradigm. Using market tools, forming competition conditions, management according to global market and cooperations is a new state that emerged with new public management. The main point that differentiates the new public management from classical public management is public managers achieving results and assuming responsibilities of their actions (Hughes, 2003: 569). While there is a hierarchical bureaucratic mechanism in the traditional management model, according to the new paradigm, there is an agreed upon choice on the market and economy. The new paradigm that is formed in this period presented

the choice of market. While administrations develop policies according to their choices between market and bureaucracy, the New Public Management is qualified as the initiative to decrease bureaucracy on public management to transform it into a freer model (Mcnabb, 2009: 37).

The interconnected changes have a major impact on development of new public management. Criticisms based on its inability to respond to growing public sector and increasing needs is the first step that initiated change. The intensified criticisms towards the Keynesian development model after the World War II caused increasing criticisms of traditional management. Thus, the transition to the new public management is shaped with conditions of the period. Thus, Hood (1991: 7) explains the birth of the New Public Management with four processes developed after the World War II. Increasing income levels and growth of the segment that is sensitive to taxes covers the first process. Disappearing differences between the public and private sectors based on development of advanced technology and development of post-industrial and post-Fordist technical systems is noted as the second process. Development of new campaign methods where opinions of electorate masses are determinant and detector is presented as the third process while increasingly independence of public policy making process from traditional bureaucracies is presented as the fourth process. Hughes (2003: 9) adds that the effect of the strong change in economic theory on private sector and globalization processes in addition to the impact of the changes in technology. The market-based “*New Right*” ideology and neoliberal inclinations of the governments that adopt this ideology to solve the bureaucratic bottleneck is another factor that is effective on development of the new public management. The new right that is a synthesis of neoliberalism and neoconservatism concepts found life with Thatcher and Reagan (Heywood, 2013: 37). The new right that presents a democratic texture based on globalization, localization, and privatization is expressed as the end of modern era and the start of post-modern period. In the globalizing and shrinking world, the market is dispossessed of economic and social roles of the state which are shared among global and local forces (Güler, 2005: 26). Practical changes in the UK and the USA under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan who adopted neoliberal policies were effective in application of the new right and development of marketable new public management.

The bureaucratic hegemony created by the welfare state, unlimited employment, the abandonment of the expanding public service understanding and the adoption of policies away from the welfare state were the first steps

taken for the new public management. Flexibility in terms and conditions of employment, performance-based scales in organizational and personal goals, market-testing of government policies became new trends. Privatization and marketization of public services, which minimizes the role of the state in the economic sector, were Margaret Thatcher's most important steps towards new public management (Osborne and McLaughlin, 2002: 9). The new public management, which ensures the implementation of neoliberal policies, were applied in the UK followed by the USA and elsewhere. Municipal governments in the USA together with New Zealand and Australian governments, which were harmed due to economic recession and tax riots, also tried to transition to new public management processes in accordance with the changing market conditions. With the successful applications in these countries, New Public Management entered the agenda of the World Bank, OECD and other countries. Performance system, customer orientation, privatization, output-oriented management and decentralization become tools of the new public management (Gruening, 2001: 3).

Practical applications and changes in public administration brought up the redefinition of the role of the state. This understanding that changes the monist sovereign role of the state, brings with itself the redistribution of sovereignty by national and international organizations. The simultaneous development of questioning of the duty definition of the state and the division of duties with neoliberal policies, demonstrate that public administration adopted a business logic. Leaving aside the integrity of the state and bureaucracy and perceiving everything that belong to them as a business has emerged as a result of the inquiries towards the modern state (Güler, 1994: 1). The new situation, where the manager is responsible for getting results and that includes the transition from administration to management, includes changes in organizational design. While the changes in the economic area were the most important reason for the development of new public management, they also affected the shaping of the administration according to these parameters. In addition to its successful practices in the UK, the USA and New Zealand, international organizations played an important role in the popularization of new public management (Christensen, Lie, and Laegreid: 2007: 18). In the following process, administrative reforms became a part of public management practice in Europe and many parts of the world (Homburg, Pollitt, and Thiel, 2007: 2). International organizations that affect the management systems of states take decisions that would impact organization and management systems and allow it to become widespread.

## 5. Principles and Criticisms of the New Public Management

Market-oriented reforms that were started in the 1980s emerged as an alternative to the overgrowth of the state and the reduction in its capacity to produce services. In this period when the capacity of the traditional management understanding to produce solutions to increasing problems was intensively questioned, the recommendations package brought about radical changes in the managerial sense. Opinions that alleviate public burdens such as the setting attainable and manageable targets by the management, assignment of specialized institutions with a single purpose instead of large and multi-purpose institutions and the reduction of overemployment were proposed (Drucker, 1980: 103). Such proposals that questioned and changed the welfare state understanding became an area where the neoliberal management approach came to life. As in the USA and the UK examples, neoliberal policies were presented to the global public opinion with a break from the traditional management approach. Thus, the management model started to take shape in accordance with neoliberal policies. The governance set of the New Public Management was shaped by the conditions facing governments. For instance, a government that is faced with economic problems would act according to privatization and economic competition conditions rather than democratization and participation (Osborne and McLughlin, 2002: 165). Acting with an understanding that prioritizes economy, efficiency and effectiveness, the new public management foresees slowing down the growth of the state and shrinking the services provided by the public sector by privatization (Manning, 2001: 298).

The new public management represents the transition from a community-centered approach to an individual-oriented approach. The idea that the individual interest will ultimately turn into social benefit in the neoliberal management approach is embodied in the new public management. The new paradigm, shaped within the framework of cost-benefit analysis, advocates many new managerial approaches such as governance, strategic management, accountability, flexible, participatory, decentralized, performance-scaled organization. These principles, which were increasingly widespread, became the basic principles of new public management. The understanding that incorporates business and economic theories into management towards efficiency makes private sector principles a part of public administration. Forcing institutions to compete and eliminating anti-competitive institutions became the main goals in order to create an efficient economy under the pressures of globalization (Painter, 2007: 90). The new public management, which does not perceive a difference between private

and public administration, foresees establishing close relations between them and abandons the basic principles of traditional management approach.

The paradigm shift in the field of management and economy revealed the new public management, and the new public management revealed the neoliberal development model. Thus, there is a parallel between the success of the liberal development model and the new public management. While this change takes place with the new public management, it also creates original forms in administrative and economic terms. First of all, the development of pluralistic and different employment models from the system where single type of employees perform single-type services in modern traditional management started to become widespread with the new public management. The understanding that abandoned modern management styles and that is based on efficiency continues to this day. In this respect, privatization policies were emphasized and post-modern management principles were adopted. The new public management acts with the understanding that management is better than administration and the private sector is better than the public administration. It is assumed that business administration is more effective in solving economic and social problems with its situational approach (Sobacı, 2014: 52).

Although the new public management gives more successful results in terms of effectiveness, it is criticized in many ways when compared to the traditional public administration. Although it is an understandable model in terms of theory and practice in traditional public administration, it is criticized that the new public administration acts depending on the changing conditions. In this respect, what the new public management represents cannot be defined exactly (Hughes, 2003: 566). The new public management, which is argued to be a violation of social justice and human rights, is criticized as a mechanism that works against social justice and public interest. Its market, individual and economy-based approach was assessed as distancing of the administration from the public theory approach. The market and economy contingent management approach is criticized for being against the principles of democracy. Terry (2005: 428) argues that the values of equality and democracy that the public administration is based on was weakened with the principles of the new public management and public institutions were turned into empty states. In addition, the transfer of the sovereignty of the state to international institutions both legitimizes and encourages intervention of these powers. Also, it is stated that with weakening of public administration that works for the benefit of the public, the stability of democracy would deteriorate in the long run.

## 6. Result

With failure of Keynesian development model that constantly expands and grows together with social state understanding, neoliberalism that prioritizes individual and market conditions of classical liberalism was once again presented as solution. Neoliberalism that is formulated with free economy and strong state logic is executed with an understanding that minimizes state intervention. Neoliberalism, unlike liberalism, is shaping of governments according to practices without a clear theoretical framework. This does not mean that neoliberalism is completely independent of theory. Neoliberalism that is the updated state of the liberal development model ensured progress with pragmatic new right ideology prominently in the UK and the USA. Increasing service burden of the state, expanding social state and employment, excessive tax increase, and international economic crises next to criticisms towards the Keynesian economic model were indispensable causes in application of neoliberalism. In addition, the triggering role of shrinking in public service production capacity of the state against developments in urbanization, technology, population increase, increasing welfare level, etc. areas had a considerable effect. Neoliberalism that exist with new right ideology brought about changes in macroeconomic policies starting from main duties of the state. While neoliberalism ascribed negative duties to the state to limit it as much as possible, it foresees negative duties of the state are left to international organizations and market conditions.

Adoption of neoliberal policies lead to changes in government structure of the state and its operation. As it is known, political changes are objectivized with government operations. When the organic relationship between execution of policies and public management is considered, the main change is observed in management structure. The hierarchical, supply indexed determining traditional management understanding with defined roles started to be marketable with adoption of neoliberal policies. Modern management understanding is abandoned to execute post-modern management practices in line with business understanding. Thus, a management according to business understanding started to be adopted instead of traditional public management. Managers that try to adapt at market conditions outside the determined legal framework effect development of neoliberalism while also help abandonment of traditional public management.

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