

KAY 274
THEORIES OF STATE &
BUREAUCRACY

WEEK 4

BUREAUCRACY IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

METE YILDIZ

REFERENCES

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- Emine Sözüdoğru
 - Bürokrasi
- İpek Özkal Sayal
 - *Türkiye’de Kamu Personel Sisteminin Gelişimi*, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, SBF, 2005.
- OECD and Turkish Personnel Administration Data
- Birgül A. Güler, İpek Özkal Sayal
 - Personel Yönetimi Dersi, AÜ SBF 2007.

TWO DIFFERENT CONTENTS

- Bureaucracy:
 - A hierarchical management structure rising on the basis of
 - Division of labor
 - Specialization
 - Centralization of authority
- The institutional description of the roles of bureaucrats in the formation and use of the government, and evolution of the society
 - Bureaucracy 's social position

FOCUS: BUREAUCRACY AS...

- The basic variable that can be used to understand and describe the historical evolution of the Turkish society
- Many domestic and foreign researchers, who theorize about the socio- political structure and evolution of Turkey use the bureaucracy as their main independent variable.

BUREAUCRACY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

- Instead of the struggle between social classes in the West, in the Ottoman Empire the main struggle is between the people (governed) and the bureaucrats
- The ruling class in the Ottoman society was the bureaucrats
 - They had left their mark on societal change and development
 - Political power has been controlled by them effectively .
 - The Ottoman bureaucracy has adopted an opposing/negative attitude against other classes, such as the bourgeoisie, that struggled against it.

BUREAUCRACY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

- The opinion that the bureaucracy had features/characteristics of a social class
- Counter Opinion:
 - The Ottoman bureaucracy has never gained a social class character.
 - It has always been just a tool for the ruling class that controls the power.

3 DIMENSIONS IN THE EXAMINATION OF BUREAUCRACY

- 1. Structural features
 - Number of bureaucrats
 - Organizational structure
 - Their functions and their weight in social life
 - Participation into the bureaucracy
 - Being promoted in the bureaucracy, etc.

3 DIMENSIONS IN THE EXAMINATION OF BUREAUCRACY

- 2. Bureaucracy's social position
 - Relations with other social groups
 - Social status
 - Life style

3 DIMENSIONS IN THE EXAMINATION OF BUREAUCRACY

- 3. Political power - bureaucracy relationship
 - Effectiveness of the bureaucracy in using political power or in distributing social welfare
 - Ideological leanings of the bureaucracy
 - Bureaucracy's degree of autonomy

BUREAUCRACY IN THE REPUBLIC ERA: PERIODS

1. Establishment of the Republic and the Single-party Period
2. From the Multi-party System to the 1961 Constitution
3. From the Constitution of 1961 to 1980
4. 1980-2000
5. Some recent data

Establishment of the Republic & the Single-Party Period

- The leading role of the military-civil bureaucracy and local notables during the War of Independence
- Most of the high level bureaucrats were former members of the Party of Union and Progress .
 - A movement military officers, traders and local notables
 - This group had already been in power from 1908 to 1918 .

Establishment of the Republic & the Single-Party Period

- At the beginning, the size of the bureaucracy was rather small
 - The functions of the State were limited to the classic state functions of order (finance, foreign affairs and justice) and security
- No comprehensive social or economic impact of the state functions had been observed yet
 - Ministries in areas such as trade, public works, health and education were rather small and insignificant organizations

Establishment of the Republic & the Single-Party Period

- Bureaucracy has grown rapidly -more than 100%- in number and organization in just 20 years.
 - Backwardness of the country necessitated many of the basic services to be provided by the public sector
 - Increase in the state's economic functions and the transition to economic statism (devletçilik) because of the 1929 Great Depression
 - Public bureaucracy at its peak with 1200% increase by the use of State Economic Enterprises (KİT'ler)
 - The state being almost the only employer for the members of the middle classes

Establishment of the Republic & the Single-Party Period

- Changes in the bureaucrats
- In addition to the old generation of bureaucrats that provide order and security; a new type of bureaucrat has emerged that focuses on production and economic issues
 - Different trainings, different values and norms
 - Conflict regarding gaining control within the bureaucracy after 1950

Establishment of the Republic & the Single-Party Period

- The status of bureaucrats
- The first years/decades of the Republic was a «golden era» for the bureaucrats
 - Their social position (status and prestige) was quite high
 - They received a big share of the resources
 - High income
 - There was a close relationship between the bureaucracy and the group that founded the Republic

Establishment of the Republic & the Single-Party Period

- The private sector did not have large-scale industrial facilities or service organizations.
 - The relative weakness of the owners of economic power/property
- People with a modern education were demanding a public office because of high prestige and income
 - However, decline in the social position of the bureaucracy after 1935
 - While the bureaucrats increased in number, their revenues declined

Establishment of the Republic & the Single-Party Period

- The bureaucracy 's relationship with the political power
 - As it can be seen in all single-party states, bureaucracy was integrated into the state
- State capitalism after 1930s
 - Bureaucracy's direct and effective intervention into the economic life of the country
 - The state/bureaucracy has gained kind of an independence over the other actors of the political and economic system
 - But based on the criterion of ideology, it is not possible to mention about the domination of bureaucracy or its difference from the society in general

From The Multi-Party System to the 1961 Constitution

- 1950-1960 period witnessed a major decrease in power and status of the bureaucracy.
 - It is a period of conflict between the bureaucracy, which has lost power and the local bourgeoisie who seized the power
 - Commercial and industrial bourgeoisie entered into a stronger phase of monopolization.
- Constitutional measures for limiting the political power were discussed.

From The Multi-Party System to the 1961 Constitution

- The bureaucracy has suffered the greatest loss between 1950 and 1960.
 - The number of members of the Parliament (MPs) with an origin in bureaucracy has decreased.
 - The bureaucracy's share of the national income has fallen by half.
- The autonomy of the bureaucracy was significantly decreased
 - Demand for a bureaucracy
 - Whose ties with the opposition are severed/cut
 - That is dependent on the political power

From The Multi-Party System to the 1961 Constitution

- The administration has opposed to the statist policies but they implemented policies were in the opposite direction.
 - The expansion of large infrastructure investments and State Economic Enterprises (KIT) system
- Increasing government employment of engineers, technicians and economists.
 - The differentiation of and tension between the traditional bureaucracy and the technical -economic bureaucracy
 - Wage differentiation, intensive foreign trips and assignments

1961 to 1980

- The 1961 Constitution was named as a «reactionary constitution»
 - The bureaucracy 's response
 - The Constitutional Court and the Supreme Administrative Court are established to be an effective legal control over the legislative and executive
 - The emergence of the State Planning Organization
- But the bureaucracy could not regain its autonomy , its loss of income and social position has continued .
 - Numerical growth, impoverishment , the collapse of the merit system and partisanship

1961 to 1980

- Two new phenomenon in bureaucracy after 1960

1. Legislation about the military and civil bureaucracy is separated from each other

- Differences in salary and other amenities
- The continuation of military autonomy

2. The emergence of a new Civil Service Law (No. 657) the mid-1960s

- The end of the privileged status of employees/bureaucrats in economic institutions (i.e. technical services)
- Intense transfers to the private sector

1961 to 1980

- Growth in numbers
- If the number of civil servants in 1963 was 100, in 1980 it was 311
 - To alleviate unemployment by hiring people in the civil service
 - The rise in demand and increased competition lead to partisan politics
- Bureaucracy's living conditions were worsened.
 - The lack of and demands towards unionization
 - The right to collective bargaining but **not to strike**

1961 to 1980

- Civil service careers has become a **waiting room while waiting for better job opportunities.**
- The major crisis of the Bureaucracy
 - The collapse of merit
 - Partisanship and bureaucratic rent-seeking have become prominent.
- The objective of the political competition has become the acquisition of political power to influence economic functions of the state
 - «Compatible managers » were sought instead of " talented managers»

1980s and 1990s

- After the 1980 military coup, a «military barracks logic» became dominant in bureaucracy
 - Active duty and retired military officers were employed in important/ key points of bureaucracy
- Legal regulations
 - Collective oath system in the transition to become a permanent staff
 - Written permission became necessary when the bureaucrat travels outside the municipal boundaries
 - Membership in associations and organizations were banned
 - Membership to professional organizations were allowed

1980s and 1990s

- The impact of globalization
 - Cutting back of the welfare state
 - Elimination of bureaucracy's socio-economic functions
- The decline of the bureaucracy in numbers/size and skill

1980s and 1990s

- An extensive and intensive process of decline in the Turkish public bureaucracy
- A serious decrease in numbers
 - Savings initiatives
 - The transfer of services to subcontractors
 - Recruitment in the pre- election periods
 - A scattered compensation regime with plenty of exceptions

1980s and 1990s

- Reform/Restructuring in the public administration system
- Privatization and corruption
 - Is the reason of corruption the socio-economic functions of the state?
 - If so, it should be measured whether the implementation of neo-liberal policies decreased or increased corruption as a result.

1980s and 1990s

- The loss of the privileges of the free use of some services
 - Drug costs , transportation to and from work, housing , social facilities , dining halls ...
- A younger group of people , mostly under the age of 40
- Decline in the education , knowledge and skills of civil servants
 - The decrease in/lack of the merit system has become a serious issue

1980s and 1990s

| PERIOD | INCREASE IN CIVIL SERVANTS (%) |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1963-1970 | 6.5 |
| 1971-1976 | 7.6 |
| 1977-1980 | 9.1 |
| 1980-1986 | 1.6 |

Source: Şaylan, 1995: 184-185.

1980s and 1990s

- Declining demand for the civil service by people in the labor market, who have competitive features
 - Loss of candidates to the private sector
- Concepts such as community service and public interest become relatively unfunctional.
- The right to organize is limited while the income level decreases
 - Civil servants can not get a fair share of the economic growth

1980s and 1990s

- Princes of the Özal Period
- Between 1985 and 1995, persons working in international organizations (e.g. IMF and the World Bank) were transferred to the peaks of the economy bureaucracy
 - As a reaction to the bureaucrats of Mülkiye
 - Causes disruptions of the usual bureaucratic rules
 - These princes lacked bureaucratic experience
 - Allegations of corruption and irregular spending
 - Example: Court processes of a prince, Engin Civan

Current System: Separate Personnel Categories for Administrative, Judicial, Military & Academic Personnel

- There are different laws for different types of civil servants in Turkey such as
 - Administrative Personnel
 - Military Personnel
 - Judicial Personnel
 - Academic Personnel

Source: İpek Özkal Sayan, *Türkiye’de Kamu Personel Sisteminin Gelişimi*

Principles

- Principle for the judicial personnel :
 - The guarantees of the independence of judges and courts
- Principle for academic staff :
 - Scientific and administrative autonomy

Administrative Personnel

- Categories under Law of Civil Servants Numbered 657
 - A- Civil servants
 - B- Contracted staff
 - C- Temporary staff
 - D- Workers

Military Personnel

- Military personnel are subject to the Turkish Armed Forces Personnel Law, Numbered 926.
- This law is valid for the members of the Turkish military such as
 - Officers
 - Noncommissioned officers
 - Military students

Academic Personnel

- Staff working in higher education institutions are subject to the Higher Education Personnel Law No. 2914 .
- This law regulate salaries and other fringe benefits of the faculty members, who are subject to the Higher Education Law of 2547.

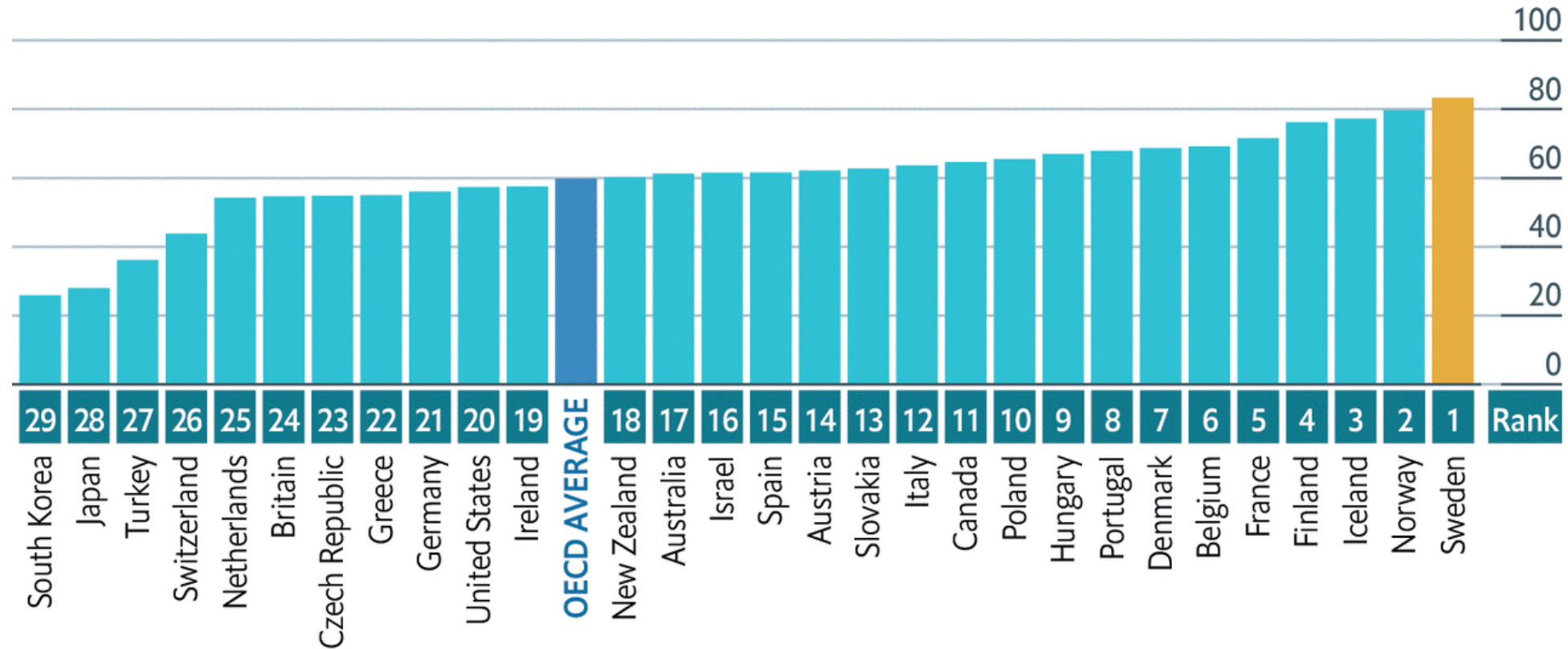
Judicial Personnel

- Law No. 2802 regulates judges (criminal and administrative court judges) and public prosecutors.
- The chief justice and members of both the Constitutional/Supreme Court and the Supreme Administrative Court are subject to the provisions of this Act in terms of personal rights (salaries, allowances and other financial benefits).

Glass Ceiling Index

Glass-ceiling index

Environment for working women, 2018 or latest, 100=best



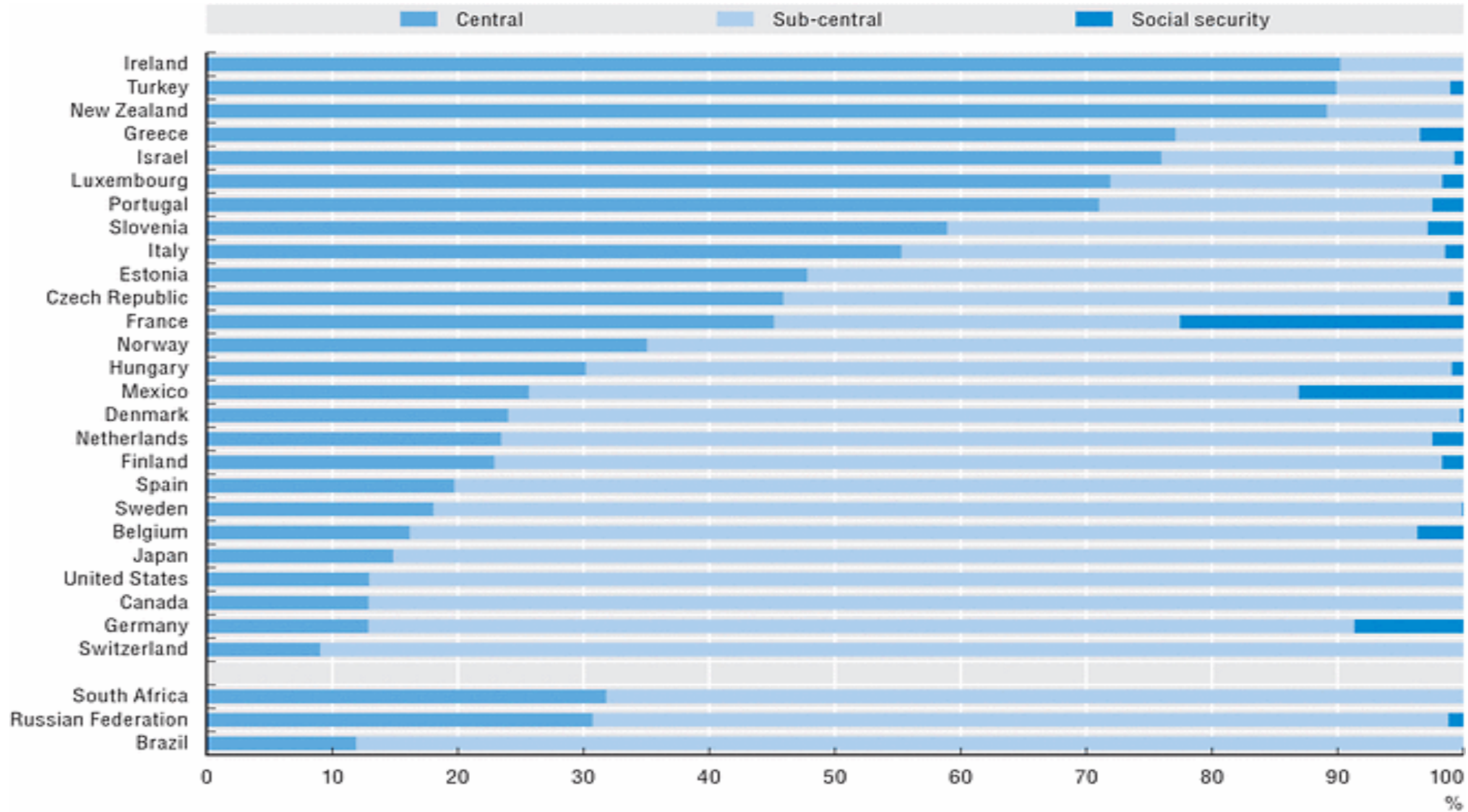
Sources: European Institute for Gender Equality; Eurostat; GMAC; ILO; Inter-Parliamentary Union; OECD; national sources; *The Economist*

The Economist

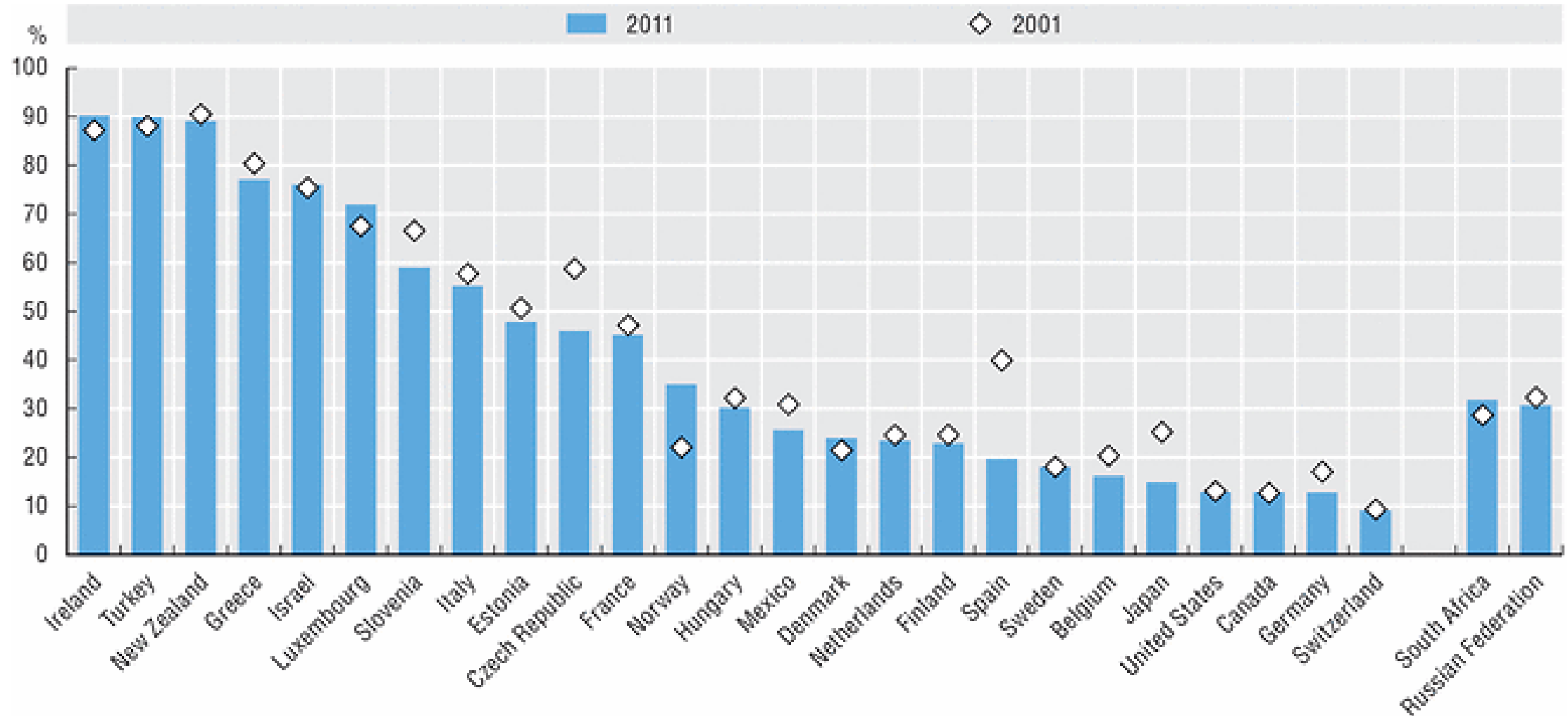
Centralization vs. Decentralization

General Government Employment Across Levels Of Government

http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/gov_glance-2013-en/05/02/g5-03.html?contentType=&itemId=%2fcontent%2fchapter%2fgov_glance-2013-32-en&mimeType=text%2fhtml&containerItemId=%2fcontent%2fserial%2f22214399&accessItemIds=%2fcontent%2fbook%2fgov_glance-2013-en&_csp_=7226b18ecfc0b354f7f2f8ab786d6a97 (May 3, 2016)



Change in the Percentage of Government Staff Employed at the Central Level (2001 and 2011)



Gender in Turkish Central Government (OECD, 2009)

<http://www.oecd.org/gov/pem/OECD%20HRM%20Profile%20-%20Turkey.pdf> (May 3, 2016)

- Female participation in central government workforce:
 - 34.0%
- Share of top and middle positions who are women:
 - 7.0%

Bureaucrats by Type (March 2018)

<http://www.dpb.gov.tr/tr-tr/istatistikler/kamu-personeli-istatistikleri>

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Kamu Personelinin Statülerine ve İstihdam Edildikleri Kurum Türlerine Göre Dağılımı

| İSTİHDAM TÜRÜ | | BAKANLIKLAR, BAĞLI İLGİLİ VE İLİŞKİLİ KURULUŞLAR | KİT'ler ve Kamu Sermayeli Kuruluşlar | MAHALLİ İDARELER | GENEL TOPLAM |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|------------------|--------------|
| MEMUR | | 2.315.014 | 4.192 | 110.895 | 2.430.101 |
| HAKİM VE SAVCILAR | | 17.467 | | | 17.467 |
| ÖĞRETİM ELEMANLARI | | 131.171 | | | 131.171 |
| SÖZLEŞMELİ PERSONEL(**) | 657 /4B | 85.727 | 78.019 | 14.096 | 213.225 |
| | DİĞER SÖZLEŞMELİ PERSONEL | 35.383 | | | |
| İŞÇİ | SÜREKLİ İŞÇİLER | 98.875 | 46.158 | 82.496 | 317.502 |
| | GEÇİCİ İŞÇİLER | 10.150 | 9.419 | 4.913 | |
| | KAPSAM DIŞI İŞÇİLER | | 3.264 | | |
| | KAMU BANKALARINDAKİ İŞÇİLER(***) | | 62.227 | | |
| GEÇİCİ PERSONEL(****) | | 19.838 | | | 19.838 |
| TOPLAM | | 2.713.625 | 203.279 | 212.400 | 3.129.304 |

GENEL TOPLAM(*) 3.129.304

Bilgi Notu

(*) - Önceki yıllarda toplam kamu personeli sayıları içerisinde yer verilen TSK Askeri Personel sayıları bu tablodaki toplam sayıya dahil edilmemiştir.

- Mit Müsteşarlığı kadro ve pozisyonları, Jandarma Hizmetleri Sınıfı, Sahil Güvenlik Hizmetleri Sınıfı bu tablodaki toplam sayıya dahil edilmemiştir.

(**)657 4/B, 399, 5393/49 Teşkilat Kanunlarına göre sözleşmeli personel sayılarını kapsamaktadır. PTT A.Ş. Sözleşmeli Personeli Sözleşmeli Personele dahildir.

(***) T.C. Ziraat Bankası A.Ş., Türkiye Halk Bankası A.Ş. ve İdaresi Kamu Yönetiminde yer aldığı için Kamu Sermayeli Kuruluşlar içinde yer alan Vakıflar Bankası T.A.O gibi kamu bankalarında istihdam edilen işçileri de kapsamaktadır.

(****) Geçici Personel 2 Nisan 2018 tarihi itibarıyla 4/B Sözleşmeli Personel pozisyonuna geçirilecektir.

Bureaucrats by Gender (March 2018)

<http://www.dpb.gov.tr/tr-tr/istatistikler/kamu-personeli-istatistikleri>

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Kamu Personelinin Cinsiyetlerine Göre Dağılımı (*)

| Başbakanlık, Bakanlıklar, Üniversiteler, Kuvvet Komutanlıkları, Müsteşarlıklar, Başkanlıklar, Genel Müdürlükler, Üst Kurullar ve Diğer Statülü Kurumlar, Kit'ler, Kamu Sermayeli Kuruluşlar | Toplam Çalışan | Çalışan Oranı (%) |
|---|----------------|-------------------|
| Kadın | 1.188.382 | 37,98 |
| Erkek | 1.940.922 | 62,02 |
| TOPLAM | 3.129.304 | 100,00 |

Bilgi Notu :

(*)TSK Askeri Personel sayıları bu tablodaki toplam sayıya dahil edilmemiştir.

- Mit Müsteşarlığı kadro ve pozisyonları, Jandarma Hizmetleri Sınıfı, Sahil Güvenlik Hizmetleri Sınıfı bu tablodaki toplam sayıya dahil edilmemiştir.

Women's Rights

- 1843: Eligible for education in the School of Medicine
- 1848: Land Code updated (right to property by inheritance)
- 1869: Legal requirement for the education of the girls
- 1897: Introduction to career status as workers
- 1930: The right to be vote and be elected to political office
- 1989: Permission to enter the governorship exam
- 1992: To be able to work without the permission of her husband

Source: Birgül Ayman Güler ve İpek Özkal Sayan, Kamu Personel Yönetimi Ders Notları.

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN BUREAUCRACY IN TURKEY: IS THERE A **GLASS CEILING?** (2016)

| MINISTRY | NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES | WOMEN | MEN | NUMBER OF HIGH-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS | HIGH-LEVEL WOMEN | HIGH-LEVEL MEN |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| JUSTICE | 87.773 | 22.390 | 65383 | 61 | 5 | 56 |
| FAMILY & SOCIAL POLICIES | 10.887 | 4.261 | 6626 | 26 | 8 | 18 |
| EU | 316 | 171 | 145 | 9 | 2 | 7 |
| PRIME MINISTRY | 1.339 | 260 | 1079 | 49 | 11 | 38 |
| SCIENCE, INDUSTRY AND TECHNOLOGY | 3.112 | 743 | 2369 | 17 | 0 | 17 |
| WORK AND SOCIAL SECURITY | 2.249 | 704 | 1545 | 48 | 4 | 44 |
| FOREIGN AFFAIRS | 3.242 | 968 | 2274 | 66 | 13 | 53 |
| ECONOMY | 2.298 | 865 | 1433 | 131 | 27 | 104 |
| ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES | 1.286 | 377 | 909 | 46 | 3 | 43 |
| YOUTH AND SPORTS | 326 | 95 | 231 | 31 | 2 | 29 |
| FOOD, AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK | 39.372 | 9.196 | 30176 | 79 | 7 | 72 |
| CUSTOMS AND TRADE | 10.875 | 2.622 | 8253 | 115 | 13 | 102 |
| INTERNAL AFFAIRS | 22.035 | 6.391 | 15644 | 222 | 2 | 220 |
| TOTAL | 2.138.942 | 828.602 | 1.310.340 | 4.403 | 455 | 3.948 |

Bureaucrats by Gender (March 2018)

<http://www.dpb.gov.tr/tr-tr/istatistikler/kamu-personeli-istatistikleri>

Mart 2018

İstihdam Türüne Göre Kamu Personelinin Cinsiyet Dağılımları

| İstihdam Şekli (*) | Kadın Sayısı | Kadın % | Erkek | Erkek % | Toplam |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Memurlar | 990.431 | 40,76 | 1.439.670 | 59,24 | 2.430.101 |
| Hakim ve Savcılık | 5.463 | 31,28 | 12.004 | 68,72 | 17.467 |
| Öğretim Elemanları | 56.137 | 42,80 | 75.034 | 57,20 | 131.171 |
| Sözleşmeli Personel | 83.833 | 39,32 | 129.392 | 60,68 | 213.225 |
| Geçici Personel (**) | 3.527 | 17,78 | 16.311 | 82,22 | 19.838 |
| Sürekli İşçi | 18.321 | 8,05 | 209.208 | 91,95 | 227.529 |
| Sürekli İşçi Kapsam Dışı | 804 | 24,63 | 2.460 | 75,37 | 3.264 |
| Geçici İşçi | 3.076 | 12,56 | 21.406 | 87,44 | 24.482 |
| Özel Hükümlere Tabii Personel | 26.790 | 43,05 | 35.437 | 56,95 | 62.227 |
| TOPLAM (***) | 1.188.382 | 37,98 | 1.940.922 | 62,02 | 3.129.304 |

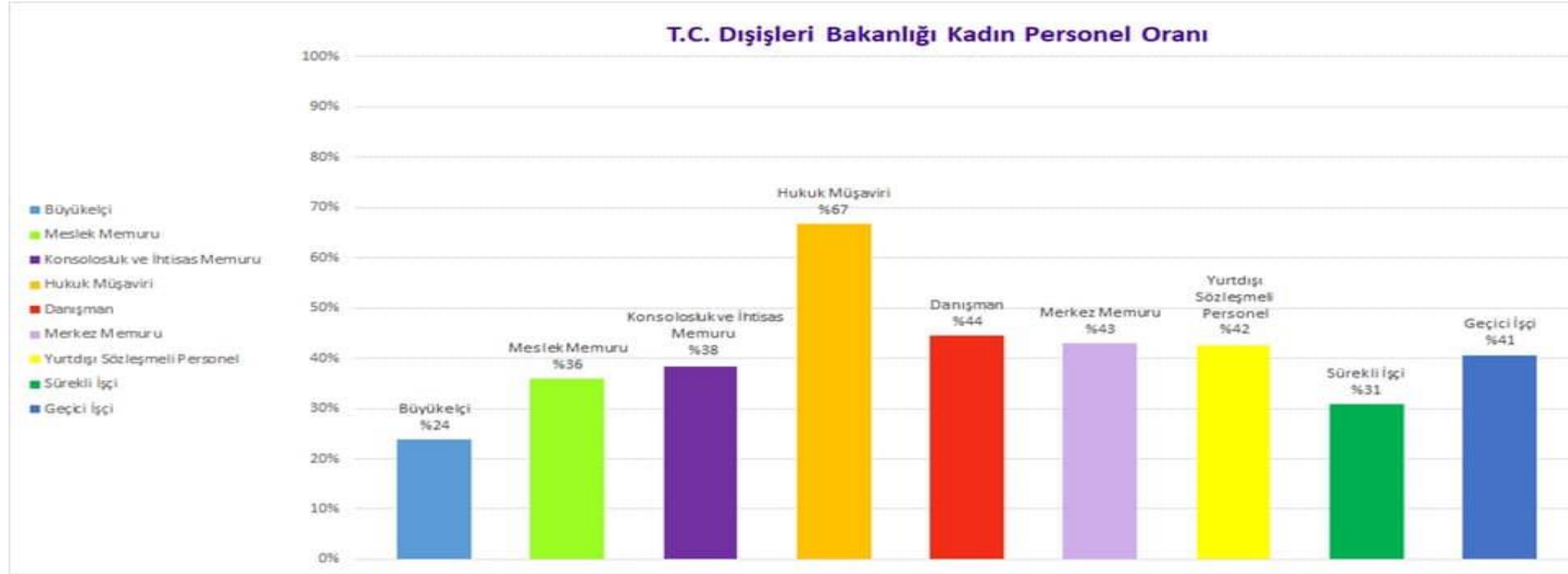
Bilgi Notu :

(*) - Mit Müsteşarlığı kadro ve pozisyonları, Jandarma Hizmetleri Sınıfı, Sahil Güvenlik Hizmetleri Sınıfı bu tablodaki toplam sayıya dahil edilmemiştir.

(**) Geçici Personel 2 Nisan 2018 tarihi itibarıyla 4/B Sözleşmeli Personel pozisyonuna geçirilecektir.

(***) Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Asker Sayısı Dahil Değildir.

Female Personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs



| Personel Kategorisi | Kadın Personel Sayısı | Personel Sayısı | Kadın Personel Oranı |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Büyükelçi | 63 | 265 | %24 |
| Meslek Memuru | 259 | 722 | %36 |
| Konsolosluk ve İhtisas Memuru | 300 | 783 | %38 |
| Hukuk Müşaviri | 10 | 15 | %67 |
| Danışman | 8 | 18 | %44 |
| Merkez Memuru | 407 | 947 | %43 |
| Yurtdışı Sözleşmeli Personel | 1266 | 2981 | %42 |
| Sürekli İşçi | 107 | 347 | %31 |
| Geçici İşçi | 13 | 32 | %41 |
| Toplam Personel Sayısı | 2433 | 6110 | %40 |