

# THE CIVIL SERVICE IN TURKEY \*

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The purpose of this paper is to describe the salient features of the Turkish civil service and to discuss some of its problems.

First, an introductory section is devoted to a study of the general character of the Turkish public service in which distinguishing features, and the various types of public personnel as well as the size and distribution of the civil service are explained. The second section deals with personnel practices and procedures in recruitment and selection, classification and pay, training, promotion, discipline, separation from service, and working conditions. The subject of the third section is the limitations imposed on the rights of the public personnel. Then follows the organization of personnel operations. The paper concludes with a discussion of some typical characteristics of civil servants in an endeavor to give a profile of government employees in Turkey, followed by a recapitulation of some of the major problems faced by the civil service.

## GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE TURKISH CIVIL SERVICE

### *Distinguishing Features*

In Turkey, the civil service has traditionally been a permanent career on which young people embark soon after leaving school or university and continue in until retirement. Apart from certain exceptions, entry into the service is at the lower levels and higher posts are normally filled through promotions from within.

The civil service has never been the monopoly of a privileged class and public offices have always been open to the ablest of the

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citizens. During the Ottoman period, particularly prior to the nineteenth century, the Moslem Turks who constituted the dominant element of the Empire not only refrained from monopolizing the public service but also afforded ample opportunities to non-Moslem subjects to enter it. The educational policy pursued in the Republican era (i. e. after 1923), which provided favorable opportunities to all young men and women with ability, no matter how modest their origin, also helped to perpetuate this democratic practice in entrance to public service.

In Turkish society, the public service has for long enjoyed a high prestige, and while commercial activities were generally looked down on, a particular interest was evinced in the military and the public service. However, such factors as the evergrowing inadequacy of the salaries in relation to the cost of living (especially after the Second World War), political interference, and - to some extent - increasing opportunities in the private sector have tended to diminish this traditionally high prestige.

Turkish civil servants, whose rights are restricted in some degree in order to ensure a better functioning of the public service, have the advantage of a fairly secure tenure, and are accorded more privileged treatment in some other respects. For instance, certain offenses committed against civil servants are considered especially serious; also the law provides a special procedure in the prosecution of civil servants for offenses committed by them while engaged in official duties.

There is no general established term in the Turkish language corresponding to the «civil service» in English and embracing all government employees. The lack, both in theory and in practice, of a comprehensive approach in matters of personnel administration has resulted in the Turkish civil service being far from uniform in its procedures and practices. In fact, each ministry continues to operate as a separate entity in personnel matters, despite the recent establishment of a central personnel agency.

### *Types of Public Personnel*

In Turkey, civil servants are divided into two main categories on the basis of their legal status, namely «officials» (*memurlar*) and «employees» (*hizmetliler*).

In theory, the «officials» are regarded as the primary element of the civil service, while the «employees» are regarded as a secondary and auxiliary group. «Employees» receive «wages» while «officials» are paid «salaries», and the «employees» do not have privileges (such as annual leave, paid sick leave, children's allowance, birth and death allowances) on the same scale as the «officials». On the other hand, in certain other matters the rights of the «officials» are more restricted than those of the «employees». Furthermore, the legal position of an «official» is based on statute while that of an «employee» is regulated by contract<sup>1</sup>. In the absence of a contract, the employment conditions of the «employees» are determined by the agency concerned, or, if the employing agency fails to do so, the relations between the employee and the agency are regulated by the ordinary civil law of contract.

The above differences are recognized but the distinction between these two categories is not always applied in practice. In fact, a large number of civil servants who would normally fall within the category of «officials» have, as a result of inflationary pressures, been transferred to the category of «employees» in order to provide them with a more satisfactory remuneration. Under the present conditions, the tendency is to use the term «employee» (*hizmetli*) solely for such auxiliary civil servants as typists, messengers, janitors, guards, watchmen, etc.

Another classification of public personnel is based on the level of government in which they serve:

a. *State personnel.* This category which embraces the majority of public servants in Turkey, includes all civilian as well as military personnel. They are paid out of the general budget and «annexed»<sup>2</sup> budgets, and include, in addition to the personnel

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<sup>1</sup> The laws do not provide an adequate criterion to distinguish the «official» from the «employee», and they also fail to supply a good definition of them. The Civil Service Act of 1926 (No. 788) defines the «official» in such a narrow way that it leaves out many civil servants who are a permanent and primary element of the public service, while the definition given in Article 279 of the Penal Code is broad enough to cover all those who perform a public service, temporarily or on a permanent basis, from the President of the Republic down to the village headman.

<sup>2</sup> The «annexed budgets» (*katma bütçe*) are, according to the law, the budgets of the departments or organizations «whose expenses are covered by special revenues

of various ministries, the judges, teaching staff in schools at all levels, and military officers.

b. *Provincial personnel.* Each of the 67 provinces is both an administrative division of the central government - which is staffed almost wholly by officials of the national ministries and departments - and a unit of local government. By «provincial personnel» is meant the relatively few civil servants who are both recruited and employed locally and who are classed as local government and not state personnel.

c. *Municipal personnel.* This category includes the personnel employed by some 1016 cities of varying size throughout the country.

d. *Village personnel.*<sup>1</sup>

e. *Personnel of the State Economic Enterprises.*

This paper is primarily concerned with those civilian personnel of the central government who are employed on a permanent basis.

### *Size and Distribution of the Civil Service*

It is difficult to find regularly compiled and up-to-date personnel statistics. The latest figures available derive from a survey conducted by the State Personnel Agency. They show the situation on the 1st of November 1961 to be as follows :

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and which are administered outside the general budget» (such as the General Directorates of Monopolies and Pious Foundations, and most of the Universities). Although this definition implies a considerable financial autonomy, the organizations with annexed budgets do not differ significantly, in actual practice, from those which are in the general budget, the reason for this being that nearly all their revenues come from the general budget.

<sup>1</sup> Personnel needs of the villages (numbering over 35,000) are quite limited by the very nature of these primary local entities which are natural units of settlement in the rural areas. Most of their limited personnel are elected officers and in any case would not justify discussion here.

	<i>Number of personnel</i> <sup>1</sup>
Central government .....	313,391 <sup>2</sup>
State Economic Enterprises .....	115,582
Other National agencies <sup>3</sup> .....	18,350
Provinces (as units of local government)	12,982
Municipalities .....	35,069
Total	495,374

In Turkey, as elsewhere, the number of civil servants shows a marked tendency to increase. The following table indicates the rate of increase since 1950 :

	1950 <sup>4</sup>	1955 <sup>4</sup>	1961
Central government .....	173,608	190,206	313,391
State Economic Enterprises	15,975	40,130	115,582
Provincial local government	14,159	12,409	12,982

Within the last ten years, the number of central government personnel has almost doubled, and the personnel of State Economic Enterprises has increased more than seven times. The sharp increase in the latter is largely due to the fact that two of the largest of these Enterprises - i. e. State Railways and PTT which presently employ 44.8 % of the personnel of all State Enterprises - came into this category as a result of a change in their legal status. Until 1953, these two organizations had «annexed budgets», but were then converted into State Economic Enterprises. The static numbers of the locally employed personnel of the provinces is explained by the relative unimportance of their functions and the fact that their range of duties has been reduced.

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- <sup>1</sup> T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Personel Dairesi. *Devlet Personel Rejimi Hakkında Ön Rapor* (Ankara : Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1962), p. 118.
  - <sup>2</sup> Includes the personnel employed by agencies in the general budget, the annexed budgets as well as those with revolving funds.
  - <sup>3</sup> Miscellaneous agencies whose pay structures are not fixed by any law.
  - <sup>4</sup> These figures which were obtained from the Central Statistical Office some years ago, are based on budgets and indicate the number of positions. They should be taken as maximum figures with a 5 % margin of error.

The number of municipal personnel has also shown an increase by rising from 22,703 in 1946 to 35,069 in 1961.

The 1961 figures show that 71.2 % of the civil servants employed at the national level<sup>1</sup> were distributed among the larger ministries as follows :

	<i>Number of personnel (1961)</i> <sup>2</sup>
Ministry of Education .....	101,205
Ministry of Health .....	37,184
Ministry of Interior .....	26,218
Ministry of Justice .....	16,955
Ministry of Finance .....	16,444
Ministry of Agriculture .....	14,420
Total	212,426

The remaining 28.8 % were employed by other ministries, autonomous or semi-autonomous organizations, universities, etc.

There are no recent figures of the proportion of women employed in the public service. In 1938, only 10.4 % of the civil servants employed at the national and local levels were women. According to the last personnel census taken by the Central Statistical Office, this ratio had increased to 15.6 % in 1946, but it is possible that it has risen considerably since. It should not, perhaps, be considered as unusually low if it is remembered that the belief that the «woman's place is in the home» still strongly prevails in Turkey. However, it seems likely that the number of women civil servants will increase at a more accelerated rate in the future, as economic pressures oblige more and more of them to contribute to the family income.

In Turkey, as in many other countries, the view is expressed at times that the number of officials being paid out of public funds is excessive. However, such assertions need to be treated with

<sup>1</sup> Those who were paid out of general and annexed budgets.

<sup>2</sup> T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Personel Dairesi, *Devlet Personel Rejimi Hakkında Ön Rapor* (Ankara : Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1962), p. 126-128.

caution. While it is possibly true that, for economic reasons, an increasing number seek employment in the public service, and while there may be some imbalance in the distribution of personnel resources, and perhaps a failure in some instances to obtain the maximum output, it must also be recognized that the range of government activities and services has increased very considerably. In fact the present number of civil servants may well be insufficient to ensure the full performance of all the functions and services. For example, it is significant that such Ministries as Education and Health, which employ the largest numbers of civil servants, are also those whose services are deemed most inadequate.

## PERSONNEL PRACTICES AND PROCEDURES

### *Recruitment and Selection*

It was pointed out earlier that the principles of equality and merit which govern entry to the public service in Turkey have a long tradition. This does not mean, however, that recruitment and selection procedures are uniform throughout the public service. Although the principles are prescribed by law, they are not applied in a uniform and consistent manner, as is indicated in the following description of the actual practice.

The most common method used is to make the vacancies known to prospective candidates in newspaper advertisements. But, in many cases, vacancies are announced throughout the year at irregular intervals and the emphasis is usually on the educational and other requirements and the nature of necessary supporting documents, rather than on the possibilities that the job offers. In some cases, vacancies are not announced in the press, and the employing organizations try to select the best of the candidates who happen to apply. Some of the newer organizations, however, are pursuing a more enlightened policy of recruitment by utilizing such methods as contacting the future candidates while they are in schools, and/or trying to create an interest in their particular activities through special radio broadcasts.

It is customary to make inquiries about the character and integrity of the candidates who are being considered for responsible positions immediately or in the future, and some agencies conduct such inquiries through members of their own staff. In ge-

neral, however, such inquiries are not fully effective. Certificates of good conduct required for candidates for the civil service which are furnished by headmen of town districts are not always completely reliable because they do not know the candidates very well. Certificates issued by public prosecutors indicating that the candidate has no previous convictions are not of great value either because of the imperfection of available records.

Suitability of candidates for entry to public service is assessed most objectively through examinations. According to the law, all those applying for government service for the first time must pass a competitive examination and, if there is only one candidate, he or she should be required to undergo a qualifying examination. The exceptions to this rule are staff of the President's Office, ambassadors, heads of ministerial secretariats, provincial governors, legal advisers, translators, those who have had professional training, civil servants applying for positions that require special qualifications, those transferred from another government organization, and those whose schooling has been sponsored by the government<sup>1</sup>. All these may be appointed without an examination.

The term «professional training» tends to be interpreted in a rather broad sense. It does not, for example, include only those whose education and training fit them for a particular specialization, such as doctors to be employed in the Ministry of Health, engineers and architects for the Ministry of Public Works, and so on. On the contrary, it extends to others whose education and training have been far less specialized and not directed specifically to a particular class or type of work in the public service. To illustrate: candidates who have studied subjects such as law, economics or sociology are accepted by the Ministry of Labor and the Worker's Insurance Administration without examination even though their «professional training» has not been directed to the actual types of work in which they are to be employed.

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<sup>1</sup> Some organizations sponsor the schooling of promising students who commit themselves to serve them after graduation. In this method of recruitment the employing organizations select their prospective employees many years ahead of time and agree to employ them without checking their fitness for the jobs which they will be required to fill.



Similarly, graduates of institutions such as the Academies of Economic and Commercial Sciences and of Commercial High Schools are regarded as «professionally trained» and thus eligible for posts in the Ministry of Commerce without first passing an entrance examination.

It is possible that this wider interpretation may be adopted in some instances because the organizations concerned consider that the number of candidates likely to be available would be insufficient to justify their holding a competitive examination, or they may be reluctant to hold such competitions because they have too little knowledge and experience of the more modern techniques of personnel selection. Whatever the reason, the result is that many candidates who are not «professionally trained» in the strict sense for the specialized work they will be required to do are admitted without examination, and entrance becomes a matter of first-come - first served.

Some of the more notable examples of competitive examinations in the Turkish public service are those conducted by the Ministry of Finance for the Inspectors and Tax Auditors, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs examinations for entrance to the diplomatic service, the entrance examinations for academic posts in the Universities, and the examinations for entrance to the boards of inspection of various ministries and departments.

As a rule, the civil service examinations are similar to those used in schools, the aim being to assess the general educational level of the candidate rather than his aptitude and ability for a particular position. Generally the method of examinations is a written essay. The use of intelligence, aptitude and other objective tests is quite uncommon. The written examination is in most cases followed by an oral examination or interview whose primary purpose is to assess the personality of the candidate.

Examination panels are usually composed of the higher officials of the organization concerned, and generally include the Director of Personnel. Some organizations utilize the services of outside experts, particularly University professors. Examinations are set and the results evaluated by members of these panels, but they may not in some instances be knowledgeable about and experienced in selection techniques. In consequence, some of the examinations may not ensure that the candidates selected are suited to the requirements of the posts they are to occupy.

Recruitment and selection for the public service in Turkey is also highly decentralized, being conducted on a departmental basis even for posts common to all organizations.

The fact that some organizations interpret the law in such a way that the obligation of holding formal examinations is avoided might perhaps be excusable in some instances, at least in part, on the ground that the number of available candidates is too limited to justify the effort involved. But present trends indicate that, as the number of applicants increases and competition becomes more keen, the organizations concerned will need to revise their methods of selection in the near future.

A few words should also be said about the probationary periods which constitute a part of the recruitment and selection process. The period, which varies between 6 months and 2 years, depending on the nature of the work to be done, is fixed by special laws. Candidates whose performance is not found satisfactory within the prescribed period are given a further opportunity under another supervisor, and if they fail again they are discharged from the service. However, Turkish administrators tend to have, as do their colleagues elsewhere, some reluctance to eliminate the candidates who are not found to be completely suitable for the job, and in practice, it would seem that nearly all candidates are approved at the end of the probationary period. The number discharged is small and is confined to those who clearly do not fit.

### *Classification and Pay*

The personnel classification systems of various countries tend to divide broadly into two distinct categories: those which are based on «position concept» and those based on «rank concept».

In the Turkish civil service, as in many other countries where the public service is considered as a permanent career, it is the «rank concept» that prevails. A system of position classification of the American or Canadian type based on a detailed study of the duties and responsibilities of each post, and serving as a basis in setting pay as well as other personnel operations, is alien to Turkish administrative traditions.

Although to some extent an effort is made to establish a relation between the pay, the nature of the work to be done and the

qualifications required of those who will perform it, this relation is not as close as it is in a system of «position classification».<sup>1</sup> Considerable differences in pay may exist between civil servants performing work of comparable difficulty and responsibility. One reason for this is that new entrants to the public service begin at different levels in the general pay scales (*barem*) according to their education, irrespective of the work content of the positions that they will occupy. This situation is aggravated by the existence of a category of «wage earning» civil servants who enter the service with much higher remuneration than that applicable under the general scales. This category, which was created by organizations having great difficulties in recruiting technical and professional personnel as a result of the inadequacy of the regular pay system, has since been extended to other organizations experiencing the same difficulties. As a matter of fact, even in the older ministries, a sizable proportion of the employees has been taken out of the general pay scales in order to provide them with higher salaries. The following table indicates the percentage of civil servants who are paid according to the general scale (*barem*) in six of the older ministries which between them employ more than 70 % of the public personnel at the national level, excluding State Economic Enterprises:

	% <sup>2</sup>
Ministry of Health .....	50
Ministry of Agriculture .....	56

<sup>1</sup> In Turkey, the titles and numbers of the posts that each department is entitled to have as well as their corresponding salary grades are indicated in the lists attached to the organizational laws. It is true that an effort is made during the preparation of these lists to establish a balance between the level of difficulty and responsibility of the post and the salary grade, but the result is far from satisfactory because of the following reasons: (1) determination of the pay is not based on a careful study of the work that the post involves, (2) the job title may be misleading and no method has, as yet, been found to exercise an effective control capable of ensuring a relation between the work content, the title and the pay of the posts, (3) in practice, agencies appoint civil servants to posts carrying salaries which correspond to their acquired pay grades despite the fact that the titles may have nothing to do with the work they will have to do, and consequently the actual situation differs greatly from the already defective «ideal» situation.

<sup>2</sup> These figures have been drawn from the same source as the previous tables (p. 120-121).

Ministry of Interior .....	74.6 <sup>1</sup>
Ministry of Justice .....	76
Ministry of Finance .....	77
Ministry of Education .....	90

These percentages are much lower in the following more recently created organizations whose work is of a largely technical and professional nature :

State Planning Organization .....	$\frac{\%}{0}$
State Hydraulic Works .....	3.3
Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement ...	13.5
State Statistical Institute .....	20
Highway Administration .....	21

The proportion of civil servants remunerated according to the general pay scale for all organizations which appear in the general and annexed budgets was 65 % in 1961.

Many organizations found many different ways of compensating for the inadequacies of the existing general pay structure. A steady increase in the number of «specialized» and «exceptional» positions, the practice of showing some civil servants as acting for a second post and paying them a part of the salary of the second post in addition to their own, overtime pay, premiums and bonuses paid in State Economic Enterprises to everyone without regard to their contributions; and housing facilities provided by certain organizations are only a few of the measures adopted.

However, the above benefits are received by only some of the civil servants; the majority are underpaid with regard to the cost of living. The general pay schedule applied to regular civil servants <sup>2</sup> which follows will illustrate this point :

<sup>1</sup> The General Directorate of Security which is a semi-autonomous organization attached to this Ministry is not included and the percentage for it is 95.

<sup>2</sup> There are other pay schedules for various groups of civil servants and they contain somewhat parallel provisions

Grade	Gross monthly salary (TL)	Net amount due (TL) (married employee with 1-2 children)
1	2700 <sup>1</sup>	1900.70
2	2363.50	1698.01
3	2025	1479.58
4	1687.50	1248.69
5	1485	1116.64
6	1282.50	877.13
7	1080	847.13
8	945	744.75
9	810	652.41
10	675	552.03
11	607.50	499.81
12	540	447.14
13	472.50	402.97
14	405	358.56

(Situation as of March 1, 1963)

A university graduate with less than 17 years of schooling receives, when he enters the civil service, a salary of less than 500 TL.<sup>2</sup> which corresponds to the 11 th grade<sup>3</sup>. He would have to establish himself in a modest room or share an apartment to be able to make both ends meet unless he is supported by his parents<sup>4</sup>.

In addition to its quantitative inadequacy, the government pay structure falls behind the rates prevailing in private enterprise, and causes a flow of qualified employees from the civil service to the private sector.

<sup>1</sup> Two more pay increases (each 100 TL) are possible for those who reach this top grade, which brings the ceiling to 2900 Turkish liras.

<sup>2</sup> 9 Turkish liras correspond to one American dollar.

<sup>3</sup> High school and junior high school graduates enter the service respectively at the 13 th and 14 th grades.

<sup>4</sup> This is why university graduates do their best to succeed in the entrance examination of a better paying job which is not remunerated according to the general pay scale.

Another weakness of the pay system is that the distance between minimum and maximum rates is not wide enough to constitute a material incentive for those who embrace the civil service as a career.

It should be added, however, that civil servants in Turkey benefit, in addition to their salaries, from such advantages as free medical care for themselves and their families, monthly allowances for children, payments in respect of a birth in the family, and indemnities paid upon the death of their wives. Higher civil servants such as undersecretaries and provincial governors receive, in addition to their regular salaries, an indemnity called a «representation allowance» while certain other groups of civil servants are paid indemnities of a similar nature.

As the foregoing remarks indicate, the civil service pay structure in Turkey has become so confused since the Second World War that nobody has a clear idea about its real cost to the nation. The creation of a more rational system of personnel classification and remuneration will undoubtedly be among the chief aims of civil service reform in this country.

### *Training*

The Turkish civil service, like its counterparts everywhere, draws largely upon the products of the general educational institutions of the country to meet its personnel needs. Although some of these institutions such as the schools of engineering, medicine, agriculture, veterinary science etc., provide training for people in the specialized knowledge and skills required by the civil service, the general educational system cannot be expected to meet all the many specialized needs of a modern administration. In the past, the lack of trained people in certain fields led some government departments to create their own special training schools. The School for Finance Officers, the Land Registry School, Schools for Nurses and Public Health Officers, Agricultural Schools, the Railways School are only some of them. These schools are of the secondary level and combine in their curricula professional subjects with general cultural topics taught in high schools. Other schools of the same nature, such as the Maritime School and the Teachers' Training Institutes attached respectively to the Ministries of Communication and Education, are institutions of higher education.

Various in-service training programs organized in the civil service are discussed below.

These training activities may be briefly described under the following headings :

- A. Training for administration and management
- B. Training for office and clerical work
- C. Professional and technical training

A. *Training for administration and management.* Programs which fall in this category are, on the one hand, the central courses in which civil servants coming from various agencies participate, and, on the other, those organized by the individual agencies.

At the present time, there are three centers in the country which offer training programs on administration and management :

A Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East was established in 1953 by the Turkish Government with the assistance of the United Nations for the general purpose of promoting the development of public administration in this region<sup>1</sup> through training, research and publications. The Institute offers a general training program lasting one academic year for civil servants who are potential candidates for higher administrative positions. Participants in this program are recruited through an interdepartmental competition from among public servants (civilian and military) under 45 years of age with a minimum of 5 years' service and with a university education.<sup>2</sup>

A Business Administration Institute was established in 1954 with the cooperation of the Ford Foundation, Harvard University, the University of Istanbul and some Turkish business enterprises. Although the Institute which has been in operation since 1956 at

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<sup>1</sup> At the present time, the Institute does not have a regional character, all of its students, during the last few years, having been Turkish. Previously, it was attended by students recruited from the Arab countries, Israel, Iran, Greece, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> It also organizes specialized training courses attended by civil servants drawn from various organizations, such as O and M Courses and programs arranged for municipal officers which are conducted in various centers throughout the country.

the University of Istanbul's Faculty of Economics offers training courses mainly for private enterprise, the majority of its trainees come from public agencies, particularly State Economic Enterprises. Participants are generally between 30 - 40 years of age and have 5 - 10 years' service.

An Industrial Productivity Center has operated, under the supervision of an Inter-ministerial Committee, since 1954. Although the Center's activities are primarily concerned with the private sector, most of its trainees come from State Economic Enterprises. It has organized numerous seminars on administration and management in the larger cities of the country and trained thousands of foremen in State Enterprises as well as in private industry according to TWI programs.

Examples of programs carried out within individual agencies are the Training Courses for *Kaymakams* (district governors) and *Bucak* Directors<sup>1</sup> in the Ministry of Interior, programs organized for the training of Security chiefs in the Ankara Police Institute, the School for Finance Officers which also trains selected junior finance officers for administrative posts in the field organization of the Ministry of Finance, seminars arranged by the Ministry of Education for school administrators, and similar programs run by such organizations as the Highway Administration, Worker's Insurance Administration, etc.

B. *Training for office and clerical work.* Programs arranged by various organizations for the training of typists, accountants, file clerks, etc., fall within this category. Nine Secretarial Schools operated by the Ministry of Education at the pre-entry level try to meet a country-wide need for competent secretaries. Courses are also organized on private initiative to train typists, stenographers and accountants who later may join either the civil service or private business.

C. *Professional and technical training.* It was pointed out earlier that the civil service draws largely upon the graduates of the professional and technical schools in the country. These specialists receive further training when they enter the service in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Bucak* is the smallest administrative division of the central government in Turkey. It is a subdivision of the *Ilçe* (headed by a *Kaymakam*) which in turn is a subdivision of an *Il* (headed by a governor)



In some cases, it would seem that the selection of the lecturers is not done as carefully as it should be. The results of the training programs are not usually evaluated.

It should be pointed out, however, that there is a growing awareness of the importance of training in the civil service and measures are being taken or are contemplated to develop and improve it.

### *Promotion*

The Turkish equivalent of the word «promotion», *terfi*, which is defined in the dictionary as «advancement» or «moving upward», is used in practice to express both advancements in rank involving more onerous duties and responsibilities as well as ordinary pay increments not accompanied by an increase in the responsibilities to be exercised. This lack of clarity exists even in the rules and regulations concerning the subject, and leads to confusion as to the real intention of the text.

Pay increments are stringently regulated by law. Before they are granted it is necessary to have served for at least three years in a grade and to have demonstrated fitness for advancement to the next higher grade. A civil servant's fitness for advancement is evaluated on the basis of his «knowledge of the work, performance, personal record and the rating given by supervisors or inspectors».

Here, the merit rating or periodic reports assume a particular importance<sup>1</sup>. Lack of uniformity, however, is observed in practice among the various agencies. For example, although the rule is that three consecutive satisfactory reports are required before an increment in pay is given, some civil servants who have been rated as poor for two years are given an increment if they get a satisfactory rating during the third year, whereas others are denied it if they receive a poor rating after two years of satisfactory work.

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<sup>1</sup> Civil servants are regularly rated by their supervisors in January of each year. The number of rating officers vary from 1 to 3 depending on the case and they are determined by regulations. In principle, the rating is secret. Those who are rated as unsatisfactory during two consecutive years are tried out once again under another rating officer, and if their work is not found satisfactory again, they are compelled to retire upon the decision of the competent disciplinary committee. This last sanction, however, is seldom invoked due to obvious humane considerations.

The period of higher education received by a civil servant is taken into consideration in granting his first increment in pay. The law stipulates that should the period of education exceed three years, the amount of time by which it exceeds three is deducted from the period required to qualify for the initial increment. If, on the other hand, the period of education is less than three years, the amount of time by which it falls short is added to the normal qualifying period. In practice, this means that those who enter the civil service after four years of university education receive their first pay increase at the end of two years, whereas graduates from institutions of higher education with a two years' course of study are given the first increase at the end of four years.

As to promotion in the stricter sense of the term, it is based on seniority rather than merit; the latter becomes the deciding factor when the candidates have equal seniority. Consequently, it would be said that in Turkey the more able of those having the same seniority are promoted to high positions involving more onerous duties and responsibilities.

There are, however, three important exceptions to this general rule. Firstly, it is permissible to appoint persons to the 7th and higher pay grades both from the next lower grade and the one below that. This provision widens the area of competition for promotion by making it possible for the appointing officers to make their selection not only from among those who are at the next lower pay grade, but the grade below it as well. Secondly it is also possible to promote to the office of provincial governor, deserving *kaymakams* (district governors) who are at much lower pay grades. Thirdly, it is permissible to appoint to the 6th and lower grades, persons receiving lower grade salaries. Under this provision, a civil servant who is at the 9th grade (carrying a salary of 810 TL), for instance, could be put in charge of a higher position at the 6th grade (carrying a salary of 1282.50 TL). A civil servant who is thus promoted does not, however, receive the salary corresponding to the higher post, but continues to receive his old salary. This is an interesting example indicating that the Turkish legislators have not made efforts to establish a close relation between the pay and the degree of difficulty and responsibility of the work to be done.

As can be seen from the above, the law regulates pay advancements quite rigidly, but provides the administration with a fairly wide discretionary power in promoting young and qualified civil

servants to higher and more responsible positions. It should be pointed out, however, that despite this freedom of action, the field of application of the above provisions is limited by the fact that the principle of seniority has an established tradition in the country, and by the difficulties encountered in the proper evaluation of merit.

Another characteristic of the Turkish promotion system is that the high positions in a given department are not only closed to those who are outside the civil service, but promotions are also restricted, as a general rule, to the personnel of the particular department.

### *Discipline*

The disciplinary sanctions to be imposed in cases of irregularity in the behavior of civil servants, the offenses which invite them and the procedure to be followed are determined in a detailed manner by statute.

The disciplinary penalties prescribed in the law are of the following kinds : a warning (indicating that a more careful discharge of duties generally is necessary), a reprimand (a reproof prompted by a specific lapse), a cut in pay (the holding back of 1 - 15 days' salary), a lowering in seniority (3 - 12 months), a reduction in grade (to the next lower pay grade), and dismissal (without the possibility of reemployment).

In addition to the general Civil Service Act which contains minute details about disciplinary matters, the organizational laws of individual ministries also contain such provisions.

In Turkey, the legislators have established special disciplinary committees operating under judicial procedures in order to enforce the penalties, instead of leaving the responsibility to the hierarchical superiors.

Disciplinary committees are of three kinds : departmental committees, provincial (*il*) committees, and district (*ilçe*) committees. The law spells out in detail the functions, composition and working methods of these committees as well as the procedure to be followed in appeals against their rulings.

A «warning» may be given by hierarchical superiors and/or by a disciplinary committee. A «reprimand» is given by the appropriate minister or by a provincial governor and by a disciplinary

committee. Other penalties are imposed solely by the committees. Rulings of the committees are examined on appeal by the next higher committee, and those of the departmental committees by the Council of State <sup>1</sup>.

Transfers are also used as a disciplinary measure in the Turkish public service. Upon a complaint by the general public against a civil servant, not warranting, however, any disciplinary action of the kind described above against him, an administrative inquiry is conducted, and if the complaint is confirmed by the disciplinary committee, the civil servant may be transferred elsewhere by a decision of the said committee, whether or not he consents. Civil servants who have been sentenced to a term of imprisonment not heavy enough to entail dismissal from office may also be subjected to compulsory transfer.

Turkish law provides also for positive commendatory action for civil servants who give proof of outstanding performance in the discharge of their duties. Certificates in recognition of signal services are issued by Ministers or governors depending on the case. One such certificate cancels the effect of one reprimand and it also ensures that a civil servant is given preference in his promotion to a higher office when all other conditions (e. g. seniority) are equal.

### *Separation from Service*

Civil servants in Turkey are equipped with a strong tenure of office, with safeguards against arbitrary separation from service provided by a system of administrative justice which is empowered to annul any decisions contrary to the law.

There are two categories of separation from service foreseen in the law, namely, temporary and permanent.

An example of temporary separation from service is what is called «provisional discharge prior to investigation». A governor may, in times of emergency, suspend a civil servant whose continuance in office appears to him likely to jeopardize public order, provided that the ministry which has jurisdiction over the offici-

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<sup>1</sup> Rulings of the disciplinary committee of the Ministry of Justice are reviewed by the Court of Cassation.

al concerned is immediately informed. A disciplinary committee is obliged to give, within two months at the latest, its ruling on the subject, and anyone whose dismissal is adjudged unwarranted is reinstated in office and entitled to recover his full pay for the period during which he is unemployed.

Another form of temporary separation from service is a kind of suspension known as «holding at the disposal of the agency». According to the much-discussed public law No. 6435 enacted in 1954, all public servants - with the exception of judges and the military - may be suspended from active employment and pending decision by the Ministry or department to which they belong. Among these, only the «officials» (*memurlar*)<sup>1</sup> are paid one-fourth one-third or one-half of their salaries depending on their seniority for a duration of 6 months. Those civil servants who, at the end of this period, are not re-appointed to an office equal in rank to, or immediately lower than those previously held, or who have declined to accept an office thus offered them are compelled to retire.

The nature of this law and the possibilities of its arbitrary or wrongful application by the administration have been discussed often during the last few years. It has been argued that the law, which was originally enacted to make it possible for the administration to compulsorily retire some inefficient civil servants, has been used for political and personal purposes. In addition, the fact that the law gave the Minister of Education the power to suspend university professors has been held to be contrary to the principle of academic freedom and freedom of thought. The provision barring legal appeals against its application has in particular been considered unconstitutional by many students of law. As a matter of fact, this particular provision has recently been declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court created by the Constitution of 1961<sup>2</sup>.

A third kind of temporary separation from service is «abolition of office». An arbitrary use of this power for political or personal

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<sup>1</sup> See page 4 for a discussion of the dichotomy of «official» (*memur*) and «employee» (*hizmetli*) in the Turkish public service.

<sup>2</sup> Article 114 of the Constitution clearly states that «No act or procedure of the administration shall be immune from the review of law enforcing courts.

reasons could also make tenure of office in the civil service less certain. Civil servants who are removed from active duty by this method are entitled, after having received their full salary for the first two months, to a reduced salary which is the same as in the case of those who are temporarily suspended by their agencies.

It should be pointed out, however, that in all temporary separations, the government employees continue to enjoy their rights resulting from the status of civil servant despite the fact they are actually removed from office.

A form of permanent separation from service is resignation. All civil servants are at liberty to resign their office at any time, and resignation is not subject to approval. The only provision is that a resigning civil servant has to continue in office until his successor reports for duty, or when a successor does not report within a month's time, he may - except in times of emergency - depart from his office following the giving of notice to his superior. A civil servant's rights relating to retirement, seniority and pay remain intact despite his resignation. He is not required to undergo any entrance examination in case of re-employment, and his acquired seniority and pay level remain as they were at the time of resignation.

Finally, a few words should be said about normal retirement. Although the law sets different age limits for various types of jobs, the normal retirement age is 65. Civil servants who have served for 25 years and/or have reached the age of 60 may be retired by the administration irrespective of the length of their service. Those who have served the government for 30 years and have reached the age of 55 may request retirement. The amount of pension depends on length of service and varies from 40 to 70 percent of the last salary on the basis of which the superannuation premium has been calculated<sup>1</sup>. A civil servant retiring after 30 years of service is entitled to 50 % of the said salary plus a lump sum. Temporary employees do not have pension rights.

Many advocates of efficiency in government criticize, with the best of intentions, the excessively favorable tenure of office enjo-

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<sup>1</sup> Both the government and the civil servants contribute to the retirement fund in Turkey.

yed by the civil servants and argue that it does contribute to a better functioning of the public service. Experience indicates, however, that the power to remove civil servants from office could be misused if vested in hierarchical superiors, and consequently the tenure of office in the civil service needs to be safeguarded.

### *Working Conditions*

Although working conditions in the Turkish public service vary from one agency to another, they are generally more favorable in headquarters offices and in State Economic Enterprises than elsewhere. For example, civil servants in the field work under relatively unsuitable and inconvenient conditions throughout the country, whereas those at the center generally have newer and better furnished offices.

Hours of attendance can be fixed within the scale of 6 to 8 hours per day according to the season and are determined by the Council of Ministers. At the present time, government offices work from 9:00 - 12:00 and from 13:30 - 17:00 on weekdays and from 9:00 - 13:00 on Saturdays, making a weekly total of 36.5 hours<sup>1</sup>. During the summer, the working hours in some relatively hot regions of the country are from 7:30 - 14:00 hours daily. National and religious holidays amount to 15 days in a year and the total number of days during which government offices close their doors amount to 65, including Sundays.

Civil servants with administrative responsibilities and members of the police organization are obliged, if necessary, to work beyond the normal office hours. Overtime work is voluntary for other civil servants except in times of emergency. Overtime pay is usually restricted to State Enterprises of industrial or commercial nature, but it is also encountered - although quite rarely - in some regular government departments, and is partly used to supplement the salaries of lower paid staff.

Annual leave with pay is 30 days for «officials» and 15 days for «employees». It cannot be accumulated for more than three years. Provincial governors are empowered to grant an «excused

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<sup>1</sup> There are plans for a five-day and 40 hour-week.

sence» of up to 15 days and *Kaymakams* (district governors) of up to 8 days. Both require the consent of the department head concerned. An «excused absence» of 8 days is also granted to headquarters personnel. If such leave is granted more than three times in a year, the excess days are deducted from annual leave.

In addition, civil servants (more specifically the «officials») are entitled to sick leave with full pay varying from 3 months to 1 year, depending on their seniority. This leave may be extended (doubled) if it is certified by a medical report that the person is unable to resume work. Those who do not recover at the end of this period are retired on medical grounds. The upper limit of sick leave with pay for «employees» is two months with a maximum additional extension of 2 months without pay. Female civil servants are entitled to 3 weeks leave before and 3 weeks after childbirth.

### RIGHTS OF CIVIL SERVANTS

In Turkey, as elsewhere, certain limitations are imposed on the rights of civil servants in order to ensure a better functioning of the public service. The fear of wrong use of the standing that the status of civil servant gives in some respects, has led the legislators to take such measures in all countries.

Restrictions imposed on the rights of the Turkish civil servants can be summarized as follows :

#### *Political activities*

According to the Constitution of 1961, government officials, staff members employed in an administrative or supervisory capacity in public economic enterprises, and those who are employed in the central bodies of officially recognized voluntary organizations whose sources of income and facilities are provided by law, may not join political parties. Government officials and those employed in public economic enterprises may not, in the performance of their official duties, make any discrimination whatsoever between citizens on account of their political views. Any violation of the above principles which is established by court judgement involves permanent dismissal from public service of the official concerned.



Interference in elections, the issuing of political publications or the making of political pronouncements are punishable by dismissal. Only officials and governors authorized by a Minister may make such statements.

Although civil servants are forbidden to take part in political campaigns, they have the right to vote like any other citizen<sup>1</sup>. They may be candidates in national elections without having to resign their offices in advance<sup>2</sup>.

### *The right to establish trade unions*

This right, which has been clearly recognized by the Constitution of 1961, has not yet been regulated by a special law but plans are in hand for its preparation. Existing provisions prohibit the establishment of trade unions for civil servants. A law enacted in 1938 forbids also the establishment of civil service associations «for professional purposes». Despite this prohibition, however, teachers managed, in 1948, to set up a Federation for professional purposes. Professional associations organized on a country wide basis, such as the Union of Doctors, Union of Chambers of Engineers and Architects, Union of Pharmacists, Chambers of Agriculture and their Union count among their membership a large proportion of civil servants. The right to strike which has recently been accorded to workers seems unlikely to be extended to civil servants, at least in the near future. Existing penal sanctions in case of a strike against the State are quite heavy.

Although a strong desire to establish trade unions does not yet exist among civil servants in Turkey, it is almost certain that the number of those who favor it has notably increased during the last few years as a result of economic conditions. The desire for it seems to be stronger among the larger groups, such as school teachers and postal employees.

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<sup>1</sup> Before 1960, members of the police and the armed forces did not have the right to vote. This restriction has been partially eliminated. Under the present system, all public servants enjoy the right to vote with the exception of private soldiers, corporals and sergeants in the armed forces, and cadets of military schools.

<sup>2</sup> Civil servants were not allowed before 1960 to be candidates in elections for parliament unless they resigned 6 months in advance. This restriction has also been lifted. The new law contains, however, certain logical restrictions for judges, army officers, and civil servants intending to seek election in the constituency where they work.

*Civil servants' freedom of work*

Civil servants may not engage in a trade or craft, and are permitted only to manage their own property and land. They are not permitted to be employees of business and industrial concerns, but they may become members of the boards of directors or auditors in cooperatives. Civil servants may not be employed by newspapers or periodicals, their publication being considered under the law a commercial activity. Stringent restrictions are imposed on their participation in official auctions and these restrictions extend to former civil servants for prescribed periods following their separation from government service.

*The right to marry*

Civil servants are forbidden to marry aliens and those who contract such marriages are deemed to have resigned their office. This provision which seems to have been inspired by outmoded considerations of security and nationalistic or even religious conservatism of the past has had to be reconsidered in the light of changing conditions, particularly since the end of the Second World War. In fact, a recent ruling of the Constitutional Court repealed the relevant article of the Civil Service Act, and the government now has to bring in a new regulation which is in conformity with the Constitution and which meets the requirements of the service.

*Running into debt*

Civil servants are forbidden to run into debt for any amount in excess of one-half of their aggregate annual salaries, except in the case of loans they may obtain on the surety of their private income or of any sums they may draw on credit from banks. They are also forbidden to borrow money from the members of the general public who attend their offices. Those who act otherwise are liable to be punished, the nature of the penalty being determined by the proper disciplinary committee according to the gravity of the case.

*Freedom of travel*

Civil servants who want to go abroad for travel - during their annual leave for instance - have to present a special permit from their organizations to be able to obtain a passport.

As the foregoing remarks indicate, the rights of civil servants that have been rather rigidly restricted in the past are at the present time going through a clearly observable process of liberalization.

#### ORGANIZATION FOR PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

A brief reference has already been made in this paper to the recent establishment of a central personnel department in Turkey. It is the State Personnel Agency which comes under the Prime Minister's Office and which was created by a law enacted at the end of 1960 for the general purpose of «revising the public personnel policy in accordance with the economic, financial and social conditions prevailing in the country».

The establishment of this Agency is closely connected with the history of a new State Personnel Bill which has been under consideration since 1948. This Bill was prepared, circulated to ministries and presented to parliament in 1956. However, the elections of 1957 intervened before it was enacted, and the Bill had to be taken up again by the government after the new parliament assembled. Work on the Bill continued until the change of regime in 1960. During all this time, the press gave much publicity to this projected new Act which was expected to be a major work of reform that would especially solve the pay problem, a matter of great concern for all civil servants. It was intended to replace the existing Civil Service Act with its numerous amendments, and also a large number of other provisions related to personnel administration scattered throughout a multitude of laws and regulations.

The Bill, in the form presented to the parliament, was not drawn up in a way which would ensure its achieving the purposes intended. On classification and pay in particular it contained certain features of the American, British and the existing Turkish systems which were hardly reconcilable with one another.

While the constitutional reform was under way in 1960, the governing authority began to show a marked interest in administrative reform. However, in view of the difficulty of preparing a new State Personnel Act in a limited time, they preferred the alternative of establishing a central personnel agency whose primary function would be to deal with the personnel aspects of the much needed administrative reform.

The State Personnel Agency consists of a Board comprising a Chairman and five members, a Secretary General who is an ex-officio member of the Board as well as its «rapporteur», and a number of technical sections attached to the Secretary General. The chairman and members of the Board and the Secretary General must have had at least ten years' government service, a higher education qualification and be outstanding persons in knowledge and experience.

The jurisdiction of the State Personnel Agency is broad enough to cover, in addition to the ministries or departments, the provinces and municipalities, public economic enterprises, State banks and the enterprises in which the State has a share of more than 50 %. Only military officers and non-commissioned officers are outside its jurisdiction.

Its functions may be summarized as follows :

- a. Grouping jobs and services, standardizing job titles, applying the principle of equal pay for equal work, and making such salary revisions as are necessitated by changing conditions.
- b. Establishing the general principles governing recruitment and promotion on the basis of merit.
- c. Determining the standards and procedures to be used in the rationalization of work methods.
- d. Exercising a control over and making the necessary revisions in the number of posts, and determining the method by which redundant personnel may be better utilized.
- e. Keeping general personnel data, collecting documents and statistics on public personnel.
- f. Preparing draft bills, rules and regulations concerning the civil service.
- g. Determining the rights and obligations of the civil servants, deciding the acts punishable by disciplinary sanctions and insuring their uniform application throughout the service; studying matters related to the commendation of or awards to personnel.
- h. Determining the appropriate methods and means to be used in the training of personnel and their preparation for future positions.

i. Accomplishing other functions to be assigned by the Prime Minister's Office <sup>1</sup>.

Decisions taken by the Board are of consultative character and must be approved by the Council of Ministers before they can be put into effect.

The State Personnel Agency is at present engaged in the preparation of the State Personnel Act to which reference has already been made. A more or less comprehensive survey of the existing personnel practices has already been made, and a set of recommendations has been presented to and approved by the Council of Ministers. It should be pointed out, however, that most of these recommendations are universally accepted principles of a sound personnel system which also underlie the existing system. It seems that the draft bill will embody these principles in a more explicit form, but the really difficult task of personnel administration reform will have to be carried out after its enactment when the time comes to implement its provisions.

Under the present conditions, the State Personnel Agency is faced with a number of vexing problems which makes its work even more difficult. In the first place, it has its own staffing difficulties due to the inadequacy of the existing pay structure, and is not yet equipped with a sufficient number of technically trained experts who are urgently needed for an efficient conduct of the reform activities which are under way. The number of the posts allocated to the Agency is not sufficient having regard to the amount of work to be done, and especially of the posts required to do the bulk of the preparatory work. Secondly, it has such a heavy load of daily work that it has little time to devote to its primary task which is the conception and carrying out of the projected reform. In fact, the Agency spends a considerable part of its time examining the various personnel provisions contained in the organizational or other laws of the ministries or departments - particularly those related to pay and to the number of posts - in order to ensure their conformity with the general standards as well as with actual needs.

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<sup>1</sup> Provided that such functions will not be of such a nature as to increase the number of positions or the financial cost.

The Agency has no organizational links with departmental personnel units, but the latter are expected to submit to it quarterly reports on matters they deem useful and/or their observations on the application of Agency decisions.

The departmental personnel units lack uniformity both in their titles and their functions. In the ministries, they are sometimes organized as general Directorates of Personnel while in other instances they only have the status of Directorate. In the semi-autonomous departments (known as general directorates), personnel transactions are handled by Personnel Directorates or Sections. In some, the units which handle personnel matters also have charge of services such as supplies or archives; in others they do not. State Economic Enterprises have their own Directorates of Personnel.

In the provinces, the personnel transactions of the civil servants appointed from the center are carried out partly by the employing ministry's field organizations and partly by the headquarters directorates of personnel. Those of the locally appointed employees are handled by the secretariat of the provincial governor or of the district governor, as the case may be.

For the municipalities (which have the role of local government, see page 92), personnel transactions such as transfers, promotions and discipline of those civil servants appointed by the Ministries of Interior, Health, Agriculture or Public Works are carried out by the headquarters personnel units of these ministries, but their salaries are paid out of local revenues. Personnel affairs of the other municipal employees are handled by the directorates of personnel in the larger municipalities, by municipal clerks in the smaller ones. In the provinces they are handled by the chief clerks of the provincial executive committees under the responsibility of the directors of accounts.

A clear and widespread understanding of what the personnel function should be and the important role that a personnel unit may play in administration does not yet exist in Turkey. It is perhaps partly for this reason that personnel directorates are usually regarded as units whose main function is merely to keep the records. Another factor which limits their field of activity is that the organizational laws of the individual ministries or departments give the operational or line units the power to decide matters such as nominations and appointments.

## SOME TYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TURKISH CIVIL SERVANTS

Studies concerned with the social status and the general characteristics of the civil servants in Turkey are of very recent origin. Although the available information does not permit a detailed analysis, it is possible to venture some general observations.

Civil servants at the upper levels are usually persons who have had a higher education. Despite the lack of exact information about their educational backgrounds, it could safely be said that most of them have graduated in political science or law, particularly those who work in the Ministries (for example, Interior, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Labor, etc.) The staff of the Ministry of Education are mainly teachers; those of the Ministry of Health are for the most part doctors; those of the Ministry of Agriculture are principally agriculturists; and those of the Ministry of Public Works and of the other technical departments are engineers, architects, etc.

In a survey conducted some years ago among governors (*Vali*) and *Kaymakams* (district governors), the educational backgrounds were found to be as follows <sup>1</sup>:

Educational background	Governors	District Governors
Political Science Faculty Graduates	60 %	81 %
Law Faculty Graduates	39 %	14.3 %
Others	1 %	4.7 %

Complete data concerning the social origin of public administrators are lacking but figures relating to the occupation of the fathers of the governors and district governors are available. They show the following.

*Kaymakams* (district governors) whose fathers were civil servants or army officers constituted 39.8 % of the total. About two - thirds of these were the sons of civil servants occupying posts at the lower levels who had not had a higher, or even secondary

<sup>1</sup> T. Feyzioğlu, A. T. Payaşlıoğlu, A. Gervine, M. Soysal, *Kaza ve Vilâyet İdaresi Üzerinde Bir İnceleme*. Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını (Ankara : Ajans - Türk Matbaası, 1957), p. 15.

(*lycée*) education while the remaining third were the sons of middle or higher level civil servants <sup>1</sup>. The fathers of 19.2 % of the district governors were farmers; 11.6 % were tradesmen and small businessmen; and about 4 % were businessmen and industrialists. The authors compared these findings with those of a similar survey conducted in France and reached the conclusion that in this respect the situation is less restricted to the more privileged groups in Turkey and social mobility is higher.

The proportion of governors whose fathers were civil servants was 48.9 %; businessmen and industrialists 15.6 %; farmers 13.3 %. Those whose fathers were members of other professions were 4.9 % among *kaymakams* while for governors the figure was 8.9 % <sup>2</sup>. The high percentage of *kaymakams* and governors of those whose fathers were farmers and agricultural workers - who form the overwhelming majority (about 75 %) of the country's population - could be explained by the fact that the former groups have a stronger desire and more favorable opportunities for formal education than the latter.

According to the same survey, 73.3 % of the governors were between 40 and 50 years of age, while 95.3 % of the district governors were between 23 and 44 <sup>3</sup>. Although this age distribution indicates that the provincial administrators assume heavy responsibilities at relatively early ages, this is not the general rule in the Turkish public service and the average age is likely to be higher for other administrative posts of a comparable level.

The majority of the personnel in middle or lower level posts have had only a secondary school education, and the small proportion of university graduates who occupy such positions are normally prospective candidates for higher administrative posts. Heads of field offices in the provinces are usually persons who have had a higher education in their respective specializations, while those in the districts (*ilçe*) have had, as a rule, only a secondary school education.

<sup>1</sup> Studies made among the students of the Ankara Political Science Faculty which has been producing most of the provincial administrators also indicate that the sons and daughters of public servants constitute the largest group.

<sup>2</sup> Feyzioglu et al. *Kaza ve Vilâyet İdaresi Üzerinde Bir İnceleme*, pp. 12 - 18. The conclusion that may be drawn from these figures is that the governors come from relatively wealthier families and they belong to circles with a higher social status.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21 - 22.



Although the proportion of clerical employees who have had a higher education is relatively high in the larger cities, in the public service as a whole by far the majority of those involved in clerical work have had only a secondary education. Professional staff such as engineers, architects, doctors, geologists, agriculturists, etc., employed in the public service have in all cases, of course, had higher education in their respective fields.

Under present conditions, tenure of office and continuity are regarded as the main attractions of government employment. Public services which do not require a technical or professional training have an attraction for graduates of the institutions of secondary education because they are the most easily accessible fields of employment.

Many civil servants express dissatisfaction with the excessively authoritarian atmosphere in administration, and the lack of thoughtfulness on the part of the higher level administrators for the person in dealing with those who work at the lower levels and lack of interest in their ideas. They naturally feel that this situation should be changed. Undoubtedly, authority tends to be concentrated at the higher levels, and the superior officials are reluctant to delegate authority. As a consequence, initiative is not sufficiently developed, and the lower levels tend to submit for the approval of their superior officers decisions or action on quite minor matters. It follows that administrators at the upper levels do not have sufficient time for such functions as planning, coordination and administrative improvement because they devote a disproportionate amount of attention to questions of detail which could easily be handled by their subordinates.

The «literal application» of the laws and regulations is regarded as the primary function of the administrator, and the existing system cripples initiative and tends to promote officials who seek no more than get along in one way or another. Some believe that the discretionary powers granted to administration may be for personal or political considerations. Such critical views, which are usually expressed by young civil servants who are dissatisfied with the status quo, are not always justified, but it may be that the element of truth in them is greater than the degree of exaggeration.

Civil servants are relatively well-dressed despite the inadequacy of their salaries and they form, especially in the countryside, the

elite so far as their appearance and intellectual level are concerned. Employees of the local self-governing units, particularly those in small towns, as well as the lower echelon field personnel of the central administration, tend to be less well equipped from the point of view of training and ability than the civil servants stationed in the larger cities. Often they are not entirely dependent on their salaries - for example, they may possess a small property that they run with the help of their families.

Although not everyone agrees on the point, it can be said that civil servants generally are friendly and understanding in their relations with the public. It is true that a somewhat paternalistic attitude towards the citizens is adopted by some civil servants, but the self important type of public servant of the past has almost vanished.

At this point, a few words should be said about the integrity of public servants. Despite the evident difficulty of reaching positive conclusions on this subject, it is probably true to say that the standards in the Turkish public service compare favorably with those of western European countries. The instances of corruption which appear in the press from time to time naturally arouse an indignant reaction from the public, and there are some who constantly express pessimistic views about the integrity of the public service, but such views are often exaggerated and frequently do not correspond to reality. It is possible, of course, that the pressures resulting from the rising cost of living, and the inadequacies in pay, could tempt some basically honest civil servants to adopt corrupt practices. However, there must be very many people indeed who have shared the experience of the present writer in never having encountered a single case which would cast doubt on the honesty and integrity of the Turkish civil servant. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that a European public administration specialist who came into close contact with the Turkish administration stated some years ago that the public servants in Turkey are comparable with those of any European country.

### MAJOR PROBLEMS

In the preceding text the individual problems which await a solution in the Turkish public service have been analyzed. Now,

discussion of the subject may best be concluded by drawing attention again to some of the problems which are of particular importance.

The most pressing personnel problem in the Turkish public service at the present time is undoubtedly the inadequacy of the existing pay structure. During the last few years, the government has had to take measures to try to solve this problem, but the increases in salaries have always lagged behind the rising cost of living. Calculations made by the State Personnel Agency indicated that an adult person living in Ankara needed in 1961 a minimum of 968 Turkish Liras a month to be able to meet fundamental needs. The seriousness of the situation will be fully realized when it is remembered that today at least 85 % of the positions remunerated according to the regular pay schedule are below this minimum. Despite these undeniable facts, past experience suggests that a satisfactory solution of this problem is not likely to be reached in the near future because of financial difficulties, and that unless it is solved it will continue to have an adverse effect on the declining status of the public service.

It was pointed out earlier in this paper that, despite the recent establishment of a central personnel agency, individual ministries and departments continue to be regarded as separate entities in personnel matters. This situation, however, will inevitably change as the State Personnel Agency begins to exercise all its functions effectively and thereby ensure uniformity in the application of personnel laws and regulations.

The existence of a large number of laws relating to personnel matters, and their numerous amendments, is another element of confusion which will have to be eliminated by the efforts of the State Personnel Agency. It is hoped that the new State Personnel Act which is in preparation and the other laws and regulations which may follow will bring about a better system in the civil service.

Another question which has assumed considerable importance during the last ten years is the problem of the loyalty and political neutrality of the civil servant in a multi-party system. It was inevitable that some difficulties would arise during the transition to a multi-party democracy in a country which lacked a well-established democratic tradition, and in which public servants have

owed a loyalty throughout the centuries to a ruler or a single political party. At one time, an excessive sensitivity about the civil servants' political opinions was evidenced and there was discussion about «banning their political activities» by new and radical legislation particularly when dissatisfaction increased among public servants as a result of mounting economic difficulties and the rising cost of living. The system of proportional representation in the national elections introduced by the Constitution of 1961, and the coalition governments that followed, have eased the political pressures and brought a noticeable relaxation of the political atmosphere in which the civil servants operate.

Finally, attention should be drawn to research needs in this field. The study of personnel problems by scientific methods has begun quite recently in Turkey. The bulk of the published material available on the civil service has until now concerned itself with legal aspects and most of it gives neither concrete ideas about the actual problems encountered in practice nor the dynamic aspects of the subject. Most of the writings of the personnel practitioners have a legalistic character and consist mainly of commentary on the existing laws and regulations<sup>1</sup>.

It is encouraging to note, however, that during more recent years problems of public personnel administration have begun to be studied from the technical and sociopsychological points of view, which is a welcome departure from the traditional legalistic approach.

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<sup>1</sup> For other publications on this subject see : Albert L. Sturm and Cemal Mihiçioğlu, *Bibliography on Public Administration in Turkey, 1928 - 1957. Selective and Annotated* — A publication of the Institute of Administrative Sciences, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Ankara (Ankara : Ajans - Türk Matbaası, 1958), pp. 74 - 99,