

STAFFING NORMS PRACTICE IN TURKISH PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION: A CRITICAL EVALUATION

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ABSTRACT

STAFFING NORMS PRACTICE IN TURKISH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: A CRITICAL EVALUATION

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Staffing norms practice has been used in some public institutions and agencies in Turkey for over ten years. It is claimed that this practice provides scientific determination of cadre requirements in terms of quantity and quality, efficient and effective use of public human resource and recruitment of the right employee for the right cadre. On the other hand, this practice was transferred from management to public sector. Accordingly, there are some incompatible points between staffing norms practice based on job analysis and closed (career-based) Turkish Public Personnel system. The major aim of this study is to evaluate general consequences of the practice and its impact on public labour process and public service delivery. In this study, its relationship with new public management approach and the changing understanding of public employment within the framework of downsizing the state is discussed. In addition, the extent to which expectations have been met is analyzed. A field study which includes interviews with practitioners, personnel who worked at the human resources departments of public institutions, and public service unions has been employed. Analysis revealed that staffing norms practice has functioned as a Neo- Taylorist instrument for preventing alleged overstaffing problem in Turkish Public Sector.

Keywords: Staffing Norms Practice, public personnel system, job analysis, Neo-Taylorism

ÖZ

TÜRK KAMU YÖNETİMİNDE NORM KADRO UYGULAMASI: ELEŞTİREL BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

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Norm kadro uygulaması, Türkiye’ de ki bazı kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında on yılı aşkın süredir uygulanmaktadır. Söz konusu uygulamanın niceliksel ve niteliksel anlamda kadro ihtiyacının bilimsel olarak tespiti, kamudaki insan kaynağının verimli ve etkili kullanımı ve kadro gereklerine uygun personel alımı sağlayacağı (işe göre adam) iddia edilmektedir. Öte yandan, bu uygulama işletme disiplininin kamu yönetimine aktarılmıştır. Dolayısıyla, iş analizine dayalı norm kadro uygulaması ile kapalı ve kariyere dayalı Türk Kamu Personel Sistemi arasında bazı uyumsuzluklar bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı norm kadro uygulamasının genel anlamda ki sonuçlarını ortaya koymak, kamu emek süreci ve kamu hizmeti üzerindeki etkilerini değerlendirmektir. Bu çalışmada, uygulamanın, devleti küçültme yaklaşımı çerçevesinde değişen kamu istihdamı anlayışı ve yeni kamu işletmeciliği yaklaşımıyla olan ilişkisi tartışılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, beklentileri ne ölçüde karşıladığı analiz edilmektedir. Çalışma, konun uzmanı olan uygulayıcılar, kamu kurumlarının insan kaynakları birimlerinde çalışan personel ve kamu sendikaları ile yapılan bir alan çalışmasını da içermektedir. Sonuç olarak, norm kadro uygulamasının, Türk Kamu Yönetiminde olduğu iddia edilen aşırı kadrolama problemine çözüm olarak sunulan, neo-Taylorist bir araç işlevi gördüğü gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Norm Kadro Uygulaması, kamu personel sistemi, iş analizi, Neo-Taylorizm

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFF: Atatürk Forest Farm

DEMP: Prime Ministry the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

GNAT: Grand National Assembly of Turkey

GRRPA: The General Report of the Research on Public Administration

HRM: Human Resource Management

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IPATME: The Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and Middle East

JDP: The Justice and Development Party

KHE the Council of Higher Education

LGRGEA: Local Government Research, Guidance and Education Association

MH: The Ministry of Health

MNE: The Ministry of National Education

NPC: National Productivity Center

NPM: New Public Management

OECD: The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PDEMD: Provincial Disaster and Emergency Management Directorates

PTO: The Post and Telegraph Organization Incorporated Company

SEEs: State Economic Enterprises

SPO: State Planning Organization

SPP: State Personnel Presidency

TCEA: Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations

TIBA: Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association

TLA: Turkish Labour Agency

TNP: The Turkish National Police

TSR: Turkish State Railways

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, Neoliberal policies have forced states to downsize. Reducing numbers of public personnel was thought to be one of the most significant ways to do this. As a result, a new approach to public employment was born, with ‘do more with less’ as its central aim, and serving with minimum numbers of personnel to provide the maximum amount of public service was embraced. On the other hand, the quantity loss caused the necessity of strong administrative structures (Üstüner, 2000:25). Accordingly, public management understanding emerged as an extension of the New Right ideology on the assumption that it would fill this deficiency through efficiency-based methods of private sector. Hence, theories, techniques and instruments of managerial field were imported into the public administration without considering their ontological differences (Üstüner, 1995:67).

It can be predicted that the changing approach to public employment and applying the some managerial methods and techniques in the public sector have caused significant results in the function of “staffing” (= kadrolama) which means, in a general sense, means qualitatively and quantitatively detecting the necessity of human resources and the process of sustaining these resources. In other words, it looks inevitable that the developments of the last 30 years will bring a new market-like staffing understanding.

The effects of aforementioned developments on staffing function can be observed better especially in the states adopting closed (career-based) personnel system which is based on rank classification. Unlike market-like approach, this system and its staffing understanding focus on “person” rather than “job” or “position”. Since, this system has been shaped by the principles and values unique to public

administration, unlike another model which is known as open personnel system based on job classification and job-oriented staffing understanding.

Accordingly, the attempts to downsize the state through reduction of the number of public personnel and public management approach have also affected Turkish Public Personnel System, which mostly uses rank classification and its person-oriented staffing understanding despite the effort of rationalization and transformation since the 1950s. In parallel to the aforementioned developments, a new staffing understanding which is based on market-like job analysis techniques arose at the end of the 1990s in some public institutions. Then, it was planned to spread it and put in practice in Turkish Public Administration in 2000 with decision 2000/1658 of the cabinet. In this study, the ramifications of this staffing model, which is known as “*norm kadro (kadrolama) uygulaması*” in the scope of Turkish Public Administration, will be elaborately evaluated.

There is no exact translation of it in English Literature. Due to this, in this study, “staffing norms practice” is used as a translation of “*norm kadro uygulaması*”. I intend to specifically emphasize “concept of staffing” since staffing norms practice, which is unique to Turkish Public Administration, is a market-like staffing practice which is based on job analysis.¹

“Staffing norms” term means norms and standards regarding cadres and positions that must be obeyed over the course of staffing practice, which are also known as “norm cadre” and “norm position” (=norm kadro and norm pozisyon) in Turkish literature. Staffing norms practice is described as qualitative and quantitative determination of cadre and position needs of public institutions by taking into consideration job definitions and the results of job analysis; and standardization of their cadres and positions. (Bozkurt & Ergun, 2008:181).

¹ Even though the word “staffing” is not usually preferred in related literature, Hayrettin Kalkandelen, who is the pioneer of this practice in Turkey, uses the concept of “staffing” as synonym with “norm kadro uygulaması/düzenlemesi” (Kalkandelen, 1976: 22). In management literature, the concept of staffing usually refers to job-oriented staffing method which is based on exact person-job match.

Staffing norms practice is one of the practices that were transmitted to Turkish Public Administration from managerial field as a result of public management understanding. It includes both the methodology (job analysis) and the mentality (efficiency) of Taylorism. For this reason, staffing norms practice will be assessed as a neo-Taylorist practice in this study. It paves the way for job-oriented, market-like staffing understanding in Turkish Public Personnel System. That is to say, it is not only a consequence of public management understanding but also its instrument.

Staffing norms practice may become more widespread in future, although it is already used in some Turkish public institutions. These early examples of the practice may give an insight about potential dangers and possible benefits we encounter in case that it becomes widespread.

Most of the studies on this issue focused on the process of staffing norms practice more than its results i.e. even though people are the subject of these studies, studies on staffing norms practice have been too technical. To assess staffing norms practice in a better way, as well as studies that are focused on technical dimensions, it is supposed to be evaluated using macro perspective. Unfortunately, the number of studies that have a macro perspective of the subject and consider its status in Turkish public administration is very few. This study aims to fill that void.

In this study, the function of staffing norms practice in the last 30 years of the transformation process will be analyzed. Moreover, the extent to which expectations of staffing norms practice have been met will be discussed. In addition, this study will be focused on the general consequences of staffing norms practice that imported from management to public administration and its impacts on the public labour process and public service delivery. I hope that clarification of these points will enable us point out positive and negative results of staffing norms practice for public personnel and their providing of public services.

As well as the introduction and conclusion, this study consists of 5 chapters. In the first part of second chapter, information about “staffing”, which is one of the main functions of the field of management, and its terminology, will be given. The relevant terminology has taken from management discipline and was directly transferred to Turkish Public Personnel System. One of these transitions, and perhaps the most important one, is job analysis. Job analysis, which is said to be scientific because of its Taylorist roots and is seen as the first step of many administrative practices today, will be discussed, as well as why it is not outdated even after 100 years. In the other part of second chapter, I will focus on staffing practices in public administration. Public personnel systems and their staffing practices that are used extensively around the world will be explained. Also, the reasons and aims of why the public sector started to use staffing model based on job analysis, which is a reflection of the private sector, is one of the important subjects of this chapter.

After that, discussed are the effects of the new understanding to public employment and public management approach that were embraced after the 1980s on the career-based understanding, which Turkish Public Personnel System uses.

In the third chapter, staffing norms practice in Turkish Public Administration will be assessed generally. More than just a chronological narration, by using the information of the second chapter, the meaning of staffing norms practice based on job analysis - which is a market-like system - will be questioned from the perspective of traditionally closed (career-based) Turkish Public Personnel System. In this chapter, firstly, “staffing norms practice” will be defined. Afterwards, the efforts for rationalization of the traditional public personnel system, which started in the 1950s with reports by foreign experts and came up again in the 1980s, will be researched. After that, the discussion will move on to the subject of staffing norms practice in Turkish Public Administration 2000 onwards. In the third chapter, the ideas of the proponents about the practice and their expectations of it will be introduced. Undoubtedly, it is very important to answer the question of whether or not staffing norms practice has outlined the

expectations and met them. The arguments of people who criticize the practices will be looked at in the third chapter. Also in the third chapter, the role of staffing norms practice in the transformation of Turkish Public Administration will be discussed. The particular importance of reducing numbers in public employment with staffing norms practice, as well as the implementation of some neo-Taylorist managerial practices into public administration will be also argued.

I mention before that that there are very few studies that have been carried out about the results of the staffing norms practice put into practice over ten years in some public institutions of Turkish Personnel System. It may be then predicted that it will be more widespread in future. The fourth chapter will be used for the field study which will be made to demonstrate the results of staffing norms practice in a better sense. In the scope of the field study, I plan to address the institutions that stopped using staffing norms practice, as well as the public institution which have been somehow using it since 2000. There will be interviews in the field study that thoroughly investigate the subject. Three different perspectives will be looked at. There are practitioners who are experts in this area and who use and implement the system; the personnel who work at human resources departments of public institutions, and the executives of public service unions. Using the field study, concrete results of the practice will be tried to point out.

However, there might be some limitation over the course of the field study. Since, there is no systematic order in the practice of new staffing understanding. That is, some institutions have strictly practiced it according to legal regulations, whereas the others have carried out staffing norms practice at their sole discretions without any legal documents. Moreover, the process is too technical and complicated since the way of application varies from institution to institution particularly in terms of criteria used to determine cadres and positions. Therefore, in the chapter four, staffing norms practices in each public institution which I will analyze will be explained in general terms without going into detail, and the results of the practice will be focused on rather than the process.

In the conclusion, I will try to clarify the points I touched on above. Moreover, using all of the information from the chapters and field study, a general evaluation of staffing norms practice will be made.

CHAPTER 2

STAFFING, JOB ANALYSIS AND PUBLIC PERSONNEL SYSTEMS

Staffing (=kadrolama) and job analysis are the core concepts of this chapter. Both of them flourished within management discipline and were then somehow transferred to public administration. In this study, ‘staffing’ is defined as “the process of determining human resource needs in an organization and securing sufficient quantities of qualified people to fill those needs.” (Caruth et.al, 2009:1) ‘Job analysis’ means all of the methods employed to obtain necessary facts about the job, one of which is the sufficient quantity and the minimum acceptable qualities of the personnel required to properly do the job i.e., in an organization, the number and the quality of the positions or cadres² are determined by means of job analysis studies.

In this chapter, the concept of staffing and job analysis will be broadly defined and analyzed. Also, in order to indicate the rationale behind job analysis methods, the relationship among job analysis, Taylorism and efficiency will be addressed. In the second part of this chapter, understanding of staffing and public personnel systems will be analyzed. Then, factors affecting staffing in public sector which are mostly the changing understanding of public employment within the framework of downsizing the state and new public management approach will be discussed.

Chapter 2 is important in terms of analyzing the transformation signals of traditional closed (career-based) personnel system and the emergence of staffing norms practice (=norm kadro uygulaması) in Turkish Public Administration, since the transformation of public personnel system and emergence of a new staffing model which is based on “job analysis” in Turkish Public Administration are not independent from the developments which will be explained in the second part of Chapter 2 i.e., Chapter 2 will be a guide in order to analyze staffing norms practice in Turkey from a broader perspective.

² In Turkish public personnel administration, the term position refers to a temporary place of duty, whereas the term cadre is used to mean a permanent place of duty suitable for advancing in a career.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

Staffing is the whole process which has its own terminology. In this part, the concept of staffing and other concepts of the staffing process will be defined.

2.1.1. The Concept of Staffing

The concept of staffing can be defined in different ways i.e., there is no standard definition of the concept in management and administration literature. It is shaped by the unique needs and nature of every organization. Staffing practice in a public institution, such as a police department or a ministry, is considerably different from that of private work organizations such as automobile plants or theme parks.³ (Heneman et.al, 2000: 19) Moreover, staffing models must not be the same in both traditionally designed organizations and matrix organizations.

Since the emergence of modern work organizations, staffing has always been an important concept in terms of both scholars and practitioners from classical management to strategic human resource management. Different managerial approaches have made their own contribution to the concept of staffing, more or less.

Although the first studies on “staffing” began at the turn of 20th century, it appeared as a managerial function and conceptualized first in Gulick’s essay “Notes on the Theory of Organization,” published in 1937. More clearly, Gulick presented universal principles of management by enhancing and elaborating the quintet functions of management⁴ invented by French Industrialist Henry Fayol. Then, he generated the acronym POSDCORB⁵, indicating the functional responsibilities of

³ See (Heneman et al., 2000: 19-20)

⁴ These are forecasting or planning, organizing, commanding or directing, coordinating, controlling.

⁵ This is the answer to Gulick’s Question, “what is the work of a chief executive?” He claimed that the answer was POSDCORB, an acronym summarized executive’s roles of Planning, Organizing, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting and Budgeting.

executives. Gulick defines “staffing”, which is the ‘S’ of the acronym, as “the whole personnel function of bringing in and training the staff and maintaining favorable conditions of work” (1937/2003:14).

Today, there are different definitions of the concept staffing in management literature. For example, DeNisi and Griffin define the concept as the process of determining the organizations’ current and future human resource needs and then taking steps to ensure that those needs are effectively met (2001:138). Ployhart defines the concept from a broader perspective as “the process of attracting, selecting, and retaining competent individuals to achieve organizational goals” (2006:868). Randhawa defines it as a process concerned with filling all the positions in the organizations with adequate and qualified personnel (2007:9).

According to the definitions above, staffing is a two-stage process. The first stage is to determine the need of personnel/human resources in terms of quantity and quality. The second stage is to ensure that these needs are provided i.e., it is not a stable but an ongoing managerial function. On the contrary, it entails complex endeavor including lots of tasks ranging from job analysis to performance appraisal, from employment interviewing to career development, and from hiring to termination (Caruth et.al. 2009:1). Moreover, the staffing process should be continuous since its aim is to guarantee that “an organization continuously has the right quality and quantity of employees in the right place at the right time to perform successfully the work of the institution” (ibid); otherwise any trouble in staffing would cause the breakdown of service or jobs in a work organization.

Even if there are some exceptions, exact person-job match is accepted as the essence of the all staffing systems (Heneman et.al, 2000:7). As inferred from the definitions above, the term of staffing usually refers to exact person-job match which is an understanding of job/position-oriented staffing. That is to say, the job is accepted as “the bull’s eye of the matching target.” (ibid: 9) According to Heneman, as well as person-job match, person-organization match is sometimes preferred during staffing. In this perspective, as well as the job, there are other concerns which are organizational values, new job duties, multiple jobs and future jobs. In this

perspective, coherence between employees (applicants) and organizational values which mean norms of desirable attitudes and behaviors for the organization's employees is taken into consideration over the course of recruitment and new appointments. Moreover, unlike the understanding of person-job match, job descriptions are flexible. It is desired that employment of the new hires who can fulfill new job duties which may be added to job descriptions over time. Accordingly, this system requires employees who are able to perform multiple jobs and new jobs which may be showed up in the future. (ibid: 9-10) Similarly, Phillips and Gully state that there are two types of staffing which are job-oriented and talent-oriented. Job-oriented staffing means hiring to fill a specific job opening whereas talent-oriented staffing means recruiting and even hiring without a specific job opening. (2012: 39) Job-oriented staffing, which refers to exact person-job match, is also essential for understanding of human resource management as well as traditional personnel management. On the other hand, there are some examples ignoring exact person-job match during staffing. Career systems in the Continental European Public Administration and some practices in Far-Eastern tradition may be example of this.

2.1.2. Job Analysis and Its Products

As is frequently repeated in management literature, some standards/norms should be determined at the beginning of the work process in order to effectively and efficiently staff organizations. These standards and norms are determined by means of "job analysis" i.e., job analysis is the first step of the staffing process which based on job-oriented understanding of recruitment, selection and appointment.

Brannick and Levine define job analysis as a "systematic process of discovery of the nature of a job by dividing it into smaller units, where the process results in one or more written products." (2002:9) In the Routledge dictionary of business management, it is defined as "(...) the elements making up a job are studied in an

attempt to match the tasks and skills necessary for successful performance with the ability of worker to perform them” (Statt, 2004:77).

Job analysis has been applied in work organizations since the start of the 1900s, and it is still an inevitable instrument of modern management methods such as human resource management. What is surprising is that it is used for virtually the same purposes in both personnel management and human resource management periods. Yoder et al. specify the objectives in job analysis as development of manning tables or staffing schedules, organization planning, recruitment, placement, guidance, training determining content and needs, job grading (evaluation) and classification, setting wage rates, handling grievances, avoiding health hazards, safety and basis for service rating of employees. (1958:56) Similar to functions of job analysis in traditional personnel management, it is used for recruiting, selection, strategic human resource planning, employee training and development, compensation, health and safety, and performance appraisal in human resource management (De Cenzo & Robbins, 1996:143).

The major inputs of a job and the tasks and resources which are needed to achieve outputs that are expected from the job are obtained by detailed job analysis (Jones, 2010: 8). Job analysis is a highly technical process, so it would be almost similar for each organization. For instance, Caruth et.al. divide the job analysis process into five steps. It begins with the identification of each job in the organization. In the second step, the information about duties, responsibilities, and working conditions of each job is collected. Thirdly, it is necessary to delineate essential job functions and marginal or nonessential job functions. Then, the human qualifications needed to perform the job are determined. Finally, job descriptions and job specifications are obtained at the end of the job analysis process. (2009: 97)

In management literature, job description, job specialization and job evaluation are known as products of job analysis.

Job description means written statements elucidating the tasks, working conditions and other aspects of a specialized job (Werther & Davis, 1989: 123). According to

the Oxford Dictionary of Business and Management, it means “an official document that states the purpose of a specific job, together with tasks or duties involved, performance objectives, and the reporting relationships. It also provides information on the remuneration and working hours. (...) it can then be used to compile a personnel specification defining the skills and other attributes necessary to successful performance of the job.” (Law, 2009) Briefly, it describes what the job is.

Job specification indicates “a profile of the human characteristics needed by the person performing job” (Werther & Davis, 1989:127) i.e., it states what the minimum acceptable qualifications that the employees have to have in order to carry out the job (De Cenzo & Robbins, 1996: 142).

Job evaluation is “a method of comparing jobs for their relative value to an organization and then determining on the basis of hierarchy of pay appropriate to each one” (Statt, 2004:78).

The products of job analysis can be obtained in different ways. Observation, interviews with subordinates and seniors and structured questionnaires are some of the more common methods of job analysis. (Jones, 2010:8) Brannick and Levine emphasize that job analysis methods are three-fold: Work-oriented method, worker-oriented method and hybrid method. This separation is based on the focus point of the analysis i.e., work-oriented methods focus on machines/tools, tasks and, particularly, motions of employees/workers, whereas worker-oriented methods concentrate on physical and mental requirements of employees, which are needed to successfully perform their jobs. The third is the hybrid method, which compiles the data obtained from the first method with the second (2002:25). Although it seems as if the second and the third methods have been applied since the rise of neoclassical management understanding, it is known that traditional work-oriented job analysis methods which are based on close observation, such as time and motion studies, are still recommended for organizations and employed by job analysts.

As is discussed in the next topic, the importance of job analysis was recognized in 1900s and some job analysis techniques are still employed in both private work

organizations and public institutions. It is accepted as inevitable not only for understanding of staffing based on exact person-job match but also other purposes such as performance evaluation and work measurement by means of calculating daily workload per employee. The main reason why some techniques of job analysis are still popular is that these techniques serve increase in efficiency of labour in a Taylorist manner. Accordingly, in the next heading, Taylorist background of job analysis which is the first step of staffing process will be examined.

2.1.3 Taylorist Roots of Job Analysis

At the beginning of the 20th century, the increasing scale of work organizations caused some problems in terms of controlling labour and its efficiency. Accordingly, the idea arose that old managerial practices had to be abandoned in order to control and increase efficiency of labour. Therefore, the survival and growth of organizations could be guaranteed. Systematized managerial practices and a strictly organized labour process took the place of the past management understanding (Thompson & McHug, 2002:20). Of course, the impetus this change was none other than “scientific management” initiated by W. Frederick Taylor. The scientific management movement was seen as real science due to the fact that it was based on job analysis including mathematical calculations. Braverman explains this movement as “an attempt to apply the methods of science to the increasingly complex problems of the control of labor in rapidly growing capitalist enterprises” (1998:59).

The first systematic endeavors on job analysis studies were started by W. Frederick Taylor in early 1900s. Taylor aimed to raise efficiency of labour. Accordingly, Taylor devoted himself to rationalize and dehumanize the labour process. He tried to put forward quantitative and qualitative standards providing efficiency under all conditions, since, according to him; management should have been run like a machine. So, they should have been based on well-defined rules and norms that derived from subjectivity and were to be fully rationalized:

the most prominent single element in modern scientific management is the task idea. The work of every workman is fully planned out by the management at least one day in advance, and each man receives in most cases complete written instructions, describing in detail the task which he is to accomplish, as well as the means to be used in doing the work. This task specifies not only what is to be done but how it is to be done and the exact time allowed for doing it. (2003:138)

It can be inferred from Taylor's words above that the first step to achieve these aims was to define norms/standards regarding the job by means of "job analysis". Therefore, replacement of the judgments of the individual workman with the predefined, rationalized job standards would be enabled.

Undoubtedly, "time study" (the work of Taylor) and "motion study" (developed by Frank B. and Lillian Gilbreth), are the most famous and favorite job analysis methods (Barnes, 1980: 6). Taylor began "time studies" by analyzing some unskilled work such as loading pig iron on to a bogie and shoveling. By means of time studies, Taylor tried to determine how many tasks could be completed by a first class man in a day. During the course of time studies, he also tried to calculate the shortest time to complete some specific tasks. In his book *Shop Management*, written in 1903, he states that "almost the only way in which the timing can be done with certainty, is to divide the man's work into its elements and time each element separately" (Taylor, 1911/2003: 20). That is to say, time studies have become the instrument of increasing observability of managers to decide whether or not his workers reach their highest speeds. On the other hand, the Gilbreths, who were supporters of scientific management, made some observations and did experiments about bricklaying in order to prevent waste of human effort. The Gilbreths focused on wasted movements of the bricklayers. They tried to eliminate all unnecessary movements and to replace fast motions with slow ones. The Gilbreths stated that "motion study consists of analyzing an activity into its smallest possible elements, and from the results synthesizing a method of performing the activity that shall be more "efficient"" (Gilbreth, 1916: 272). They asserted that motion study provided a crucial industrial opportunity to eliminate the needless motions and to transform ill-directed and ineffective motions into "efficient activity" (Gilbreth, 1915: 96).

Taylor states that by means of the techniques of scientific management, the fewer workers, who were approximately a quarter of the previous number, managed to load approximately four times as much as those who did so with the old plan (1911/2003:157). This meant that the aim to increase efficiency of labour was achieved.

These methods were influenced by public and private organizations in terms of re-designing work and organizations. As Aglietta stated, the capitalist mode of production has systemically gathered absolute and relative surplus values. (Aglietta, 1987:113) i.e. efficiency has been improved by means of increasing relative surplus value. It is based on raising efficiency of labour by developing production methods as well as absolute surplus value produced by lengthening the working day.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, relative surplus value was increased by means of job analysis methods mentioned above. More output was obtained in a lesser time. First of all, the job was divided into small parts and then elaborately analyzed and simplified. As inferred from the table above, as result of job analysis studies, more tasks were fulfilled with fewer workers in less time, so serious increase in surplus value was provided.

These methods also been used for clerical jobs. As Braverman states, along with the rapid growth of offices in the late 19th century, the need for systematizing and controlling the labour process appeared. Therefore, office work transformed into a labour process in its own right (1998:210-211). Braverman propounds that applicability of job analysis methods was first recommended by William Henry Leffingwell. Leffingwell's statements about applicability of job analysis methods in office work are remarkable:

Time and motion studies reveal just as startling results in the ordinary details of clerical work as they do in the factory. And after all, since every motion of the hand or body, every thought, no matter how simple, involves the consumption of physical energy, why should not the study and analysis of these motions result in the discovery of mass of useless effort in clerical work just as it does in the factory? (Cited from Braverman, 1998:212)

Today, job analysis techniques are still popular in both offices and factories since industrial engineers and firms have been in an infinite pursuit of efficiency since 1900s (Dikmen, 2011: 94). For example, it is stated that human resource management cannot be practiced without knowing what the job entails so the job analysis is accepted as starting point of human resource management (DeCenzo & Robins, 2010: 143-144). Today, as job analysis methods, questionnaires and surveys are also used in work organizations and public administration. However, this does not mean that time and motion studies have been completely abandoned. It is possible to see that Taylorist job analysis techniques based on close observation of the job and the employee who performs it are still recommended in human resource management books. This indicates that, even though the some managerial principles such as human resource management are accepted as “modern” and a rupture from early practices, as Braverman mentioned, today fundamental teachings of Taylorism have become “the bedrock of all work design”(Braverman, 1998:60).

2.2. Staffing in Public Administration

Up to now, the concept of staffing and its basis have been addressed. In the second part of this chapter, public personnel systems, staffing methods applied in public administration and their transformation will be discussed.

2.2.1. Public Personnel Systems and Staffing in Public Sector

“As personnel systems, civil service systems are typically the primary means for staffing the administrative organs of the state” (Bekke et.al., 1996:5). Therefore, the structure of a public personnel system would define which staffing types are adopted.

When personnel systems in different countries are taken into consideration, it is seen that there are mostly two approaches to merit-based public personnel system.

(Tutum, 1979:31-57, Güler, 2005b:194-208) In different academic sources, these systems are called by different names:

- Person-oriented classification, rank-in-person, rank classification, career-based systems/closed personnel systems.
- Job-oriented classification, rank-in-job, job/position classification, open systems.

Two classification systems of public personnel systems are seen as “antagonistic systems” (Leich, 1970:355). To claim that they are opposite and irreconcilable patterns would be an oversimplification and an inaccurate generalization, since, in practice, classification systems applied in public administration are the combination of two patterns to some extent i.e., there is no “pure” system. However, it is inevitable that one of them outweighs the other.

Table 1. Job vs. Rank Classification

Job (Open) Merit Strategy	Rank (Closed) Merit Strategy
Focus on work: “job makes the person”	Focus on individual: “person makes the job”
Entry based on technical qualifications only	Entry based on general qualifications and long-term potential
Lateral entry allowed	Lateral entry discouraged or prohibited
Promotion based on open competition in most cases	Promotion based on evaluation by superiors
Grade level maintained as long as performance is satisfactory	Career development is largely planned by the organization through specified career paths
Tends to focus on/produce specialist	Tends to focus on/produce generalists

Source: (Berman et al. 2001: 134)

First of all, in closed systems, a career begins with recruitment. Careers of public personnel start at young ages. At the beginning of their career, substantial experience

is not expected. A diploma is sufficient for entrance to this career. (Güler, 2005b:196) Moreover, appointments are based on the ranks of personnel. Recruitment usually starts from entrance/bottom level in the hierarchy and appointments follow the sequence of ranks (David & Pollock, 1957:52-53). In closed personnel systems, position mobility within the organizational hierarchy is very high since personnel can carry their rank with them regardless of what their current assignment is (Berman, et al. 2001:134). Payment is defined according to rank, educational degrees and special training and skills rather than monthly performance of an employee. Hence, payments are in advance under this system (Güler, 2005b:196).

On the other hand, in open systems, individuals who fill the positions should be trained and experienced, because qualifications of individuals should overlap with the requirements of the elaborately specialized positions. That is, recruitment is for the specific position. Open systems do not promise life-time careers. Moreover, “lateral entry” to public services is possible in open systems. Recruitments and appointments do not have to be reliant on internal structures. Lateral entry is possible for each specific position. Moreover, unlike closed personnel systems, the pay received is determined by the needs of position regardless of educational degrees, achievements, special trainings and skills employees possess (Sylvia & Meyer, 2002:162).

The most important difference between two personnel systems is that they have different classification pattern. In public personnel systems around the world, classification systems are mostly two-fold: Job classification and rank classification. Job classification has been influenced by Frederick Taylor’s scientific management (Berman et.al, 2001:136), whereas rank classification is more intrinsic to administrative understanding of public organizations. Open systems based on job classification is more commercial personnel systems which is similar to private sector practice. As such in private sector, for example, it is possible to dismiss an employee if s/he becomes surplus or underperforms. On the other hand, closed personnel systems based on rank classification efficiency and profitability are not

taken into consideration when relationship between public personnel and the state is arranged (Tortop et.al.2010:224).

Job classification is prevalent, particularly in the US and in other countries such as Canada, Panama, Puerto Rico, The Philippines, whilst rank classification is primarily employed in Western European countries such as France and Germany (Nigro, 1959:84-85; Halloran, 1970:257). As will be elaborately analyzed in the second chapter, the European model has been adopted in Turkish public administration.

In rank classification, cadres/positions are vertically divided according to their skills and professions of those occupying them i.e., the vertical division is based on professions such as teachers, clerks, doctors, etc. On the other hand, there is also horizontal separation according to tenure of office and other academic achievements. Vertically and horizontally divided levels provide homogeneity in terms of recruitment, wage levels, retirement etc. (Tutum, 1979: 51-55).

Job classification, which is position/job oriented, is based on job analysis because it is influenced by scientific management. After a detailed investigation of a job, it is broken down into positions and then similar positions are classified (Nigro, 1959:85). In job classification terminology, position, which is the core concept for the job/position classification, means “the work consisting of duties and responsibilities, assignable to an employee” (U.S Civil Service Commision, 1970: 509). Even millions of positions may be described as filled, vacant/part-time or full-time (Nigro, 1959:85). Position, the smallest element of the organizational structure and abstract entity apart from the employee, is the main unit-of classification. (Halloran, 1970:25) Its focal point is “what is done” rather than “who does it”. Therefore, it is believed that this prevents subjectivity in the course of evaluating the individuals at work (Shafritz, et al. 2001:178).

Nigro (1959) states that classification is “the backbone of the personnel administration” i.e., it is a basic component of the whole process. Accordingly, each classification system also defines the type of its own understanding of staffing. As mentioned above, in open personnel system which is based on job classification

staffing begins with “job analysis” as such in private sector. It is rested on the idea of fitting people to jobs (Berman et al. 2001: 136). Hence, recruitments and appointments are systematically made according to specified cadres and positions. On the other hand, closed personnel system based on rank classification forms the basis for a person-oriented staffing pattern.

In the related literature, the concept of staffing usually refers to job-oriented staffing method which is based on detailed job analysis.⁶ In this study, in order to separate the understanding of staffing which is based on job analysis from the other, position-oriented and market-like staffing terms will be used.⁷ In other words, position-oriented or market-like staffing will refer to staffing practice of open personnel systems.

2.2.2 The Impact of “Scientific Management” on Public Personnel System and Staffing

It is clear that job classification and its position-oriented staffing pattern are businesslike, whereas the other identify with administrative structures. This point raises a question: What is the reason of the emergence of different types of classification and staffing practices in civil service systems? Put another way, why has the business-like staffing pattern been employed in the USA while the person-oriented model pertaining to public administration has emerged in the Europe?

⁶ There are also a few exceptions. David and Pollock (1957) use the term “program staffing” which refers to staffing understanding of open systems. They suggest this type of staffing for non-political positions in the US Federal Civil Service. On the other hand, they use the naming “career staffing” which refers to staffing understanding of career systems. Moreover, as indicated under the heading “the Concept of Staffing”, Phillips and Gully (2012) make separation between two different staffing understanding as job-oriented and talent-oriented staffing strategies. Similarly, Heneman et.al. (2000) staffing models are two-fold: The staffing based on person-job match and the staffing based on person-organization match. It can be said that staffing practice in job classification system is similar to Phillips and Gully’ position-oriented staffing and staffing model based on person job-match whilst the other resembles talent-oriented staffing and staffing model based on person-organization match.

⁷ In the third chapter “staffing norms practice in Turkish Public Administration” will be focused on. It is a sign of the transformation staffing understanding from person-oriented to job-oriented one based on detailed job analysis. Hence, to make an emphasis on this separation is inevitable for this study.

Since early 1800, the spoils system⁸ had been so institutionalized that, as Leonard D. White explained, all positions in the federal government were seen as the gift of politicians. (Cited in Peters, 2004:125) Up to 1900, it had been the most important barrier to a well-functioning US Government.

In his famous article “the Study of Administration” (1887), Woodrow Wilson claimed that administration should have been studied in order to discover, “first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, secondly, how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or energy”(1887:197). Wilson asserts that some problems arising from the spoils system such as inefficiency and ineffectiveness in public administration could be overcome by means of the distinction between administration and politics. According to him, “the field of administration is a field of business” and so, it should have been rectified from politics. Moreover, managerial principles and methods should have been adopted in the field of public administration in order to increase its efficiency and effectiveness. To put it briefly, according to the Wilsonian classical public administration, administration should have been free from politics while remaining close to the field of management.

Accordingly, the first step to separate administration from politics was the progressive reform movement in the US Civil service:

We must regard civil-service reform in its present stages as but a prelude to a fuller administrative reform. We are now rectifying methods of appointment; we must go on to adjust executive functions more fitly and to prescribe better methods of executive organization and action. Civil-service reform is thus but a moral preparation for what is to follow. It is clearing the moral atmosphere of official life by establishing the sanctity of public office as a public trust, and, by making service unpartisan, it is opening the way for making it businesslike. (Wilson, 1887:210)

Managerial principles which were blessed by Wilson had already developed and systemized as a result of a scientific management movement since 1900s. Along with

⁸ It means “the practice by which successful electoral candidates reward individuals for personal or political loyalty, and secure their continued cooperation during their term of office by awarding them public jobs.” (Klingner, 2008:1418)

the alleged increasing positive impacts of this movement on the private sector in 1910s and 1920s, scientific methods and techniques of scientific management were transferred to public administration in the direction of “Wilsonian paradigm”, on the grounds that they were not partisan practices but scientific (Akbulut, 2005:96-97). Undoubtedly, under the Taylorist principles, position-oriented staffing understanding had become the epitome of this movement in public administration. That is to say, market based managerial principles were carried out in prospect of creating objective public administration and raising efficiency in the US public administration (Akbulut, 2007: 74).

Adoption of scientific managerial methods in administrative structures subsequently affected “the way of staffing organizations”. Accordingly, job classification and the understanding of staffing practice based on job analysis were seen as a solution for problems arising from “the spoils system” and brought the idea of fitting people to jobs. Along with scientific management movement, job analysis became the instrument of selection of superior methods of performance, recruitment of those who could perform better and superior training. (Berman et al. 2001: 136). Let us look at the outcomes of the scientific job analysis of the U.S public administration.

Job analysis made the differences of the tasks explicit. Moreover, it divided the whole of the work into thousands of different jobs at dozens of different levels (ibid: 136). That is to say, as is the case in business organizations, specialization became prevalent in the US public administration. Thus, instead of position-person matching coinciding, employment of the right people for the right position - which is the one of the crucial point that Taylor frequently emphasizes - was guaranteed.

Moreover, formation of job descriptions in the US public administration, which is one of the products of job analysis, made work relationships more rationalized (ibid). That is to say, job description provided de-humanization of the positions by limiting employees’ movement area and strictly predefining what they do in the work hours in advance. Therefore, the merit based staffing model has taken the place of the spoil system by force of professionalism and neutrality. (Ingraham & Moynihan, 2003:175)

As well as the support of the opponents, the Wilsonian paradigm also received criticism. Undoubtedly, the most important criticism to “Taylorization of public administration” was made by Dwight Waldo in the early 20th century. As well as dichotomy of politics and administration, Waldo objected to the idea that there was no difference between administration and management. Accordingly, he denied that principles of scientific management were applicable to public administration. According to Waldo, both public administration and scientific management had positivist spirits. However, the public administration strove to edit political relationships on an objective or scientific basis. That is, it was based on political science. On the other hand, scientific management is focused on man’s economic life and, in particular, production on the scientific basis (Waldo, 1948:47). In other words, scientific management is concerned about economic efficiency i.e., Waldo emphasizes that administration and management, which are seen as physical sciences, are different academic fields. So, the methods of physical science are not suitable for many administrative matters. Instead of compelling a subject matter to use a method which is not amenable to it, it should be done so that “the nature of subject matter must define the method” (ibid: 191). Moreover, Waldo clearly expresses that physical science asks the question “what is the case?” while the problem of administrative matter is “what should be done?” Like other branches of social sciences, administrative studies are focused on humans being equipped with thinking and valuing. As Waldo states,

Administrative study, as any social science, is concerned primarily with human beings, a type of being characterized by thinking and valuing. Thinking implies creativeness, free will. Valuing implies morality conceptions of right and wrong. *It is submitted that the established techniques of science are inapplicable to thinking and valuing human beings* (p.181).

It is clear that adaptation of the methods of physical science to public administration would cause extermination of the values and aims peculiar to a discipline such as public interest, public ethic etc.. Moreover, managerial perspective requires mechanization and dehumanization of this field. It is inevitable that dehumanization of public administration has caused some crucial troubles, particularly in terms of

public personnel and staffing function whose object is the “human being”. His/her every movement is made mechanical. Hence, human beings in the workplace are inevitably isolated from morality, which is peculiar to him/her i.e., he does not need morality or other humanistic senses due to full mechanization. Undoubtedly, an efficiency-oriented staffing approach overweighs the senses, ideas and values of the human factor in the workplace.

The aforementioned statements of Waldo give crucial clues about potential problems which could emerge as a result of using market-like staffing methods in public administration.

Waldo also asserts that there is not only “one best way,” but there is also “one best man” in Taylorist management understanding:

Different tasks call for different qualities of inheritance and training. The theory of equality is no good; neither is any theory of moral fitness. Rather, for any given task there is, theoretically, one person, or at least a type of person, better suited by measurable qualities than others. There is “one man in ten thousand.” The chief task of a personnel agency is to find this man and, if his superiority is potential rather than immediate, train him – bringing together of the science and the properly selected and trained employee.” The case for the influence of scientific management upon public administration at this point is overwhelming. There is no doubt that the transition from the “negative and moral” to the “positive and scientific” attitude in personnel administration was due largely to scientific management (ibid, 59).

In other words, after the human factor in private work organizations applying the principles of scientific management in public administration has transformed public personnel into a unique cogwheel of a machine like the one in Charlie Chaplin’s ‘Modern Times’. Waldo indicates that, as a result of Taylorization of public administration, in the entrance to public services, technical knowledge and skills become so important that morality and humanistic values are not taken into consideration under scientific management. Undoubtedly, it is inevitable that this perspective negatively affects both public service delivery and those delivering them in the long-run. In order to increase economic efficiency, technical skills of the employees may be more important than their morality. However, it is impossible that “public interest” or “public ethic” is provided by those who lack moral and humanistic values, and it is clear that the adoption of the principles of scientific management in public personnel administration causes alienation of the personnel

since it limits them in specific positions; hence they are isolated from all public services and its moral dimensions. It is possible to say that “the right man in the right cadre, which is also the motto alleged modern strategic human resource management, reflects Taylorist mentality based on, Waldo’s saying, understanding of “one best man”.

Different understanding of staffing was developed in Continental Europe’s administrative structures, while it was discussed if managerial methods were applicable to public administration the USA. A strong understanding of career-based public personnel system and its staffing pattern, which consolidate a strong public servant ethos, were adopted in European public administrations. According to Aslan this difference arose from the lack of powerful production potential, violent class conflict and rapidly changing political regimes in Continental Europe. Therefore, the existence of strong bureaucratic culture and civil service systems were able to provide stability and sustainability of public services in the Europe (Aslan, 2012:134).

2.3. Factors Affecting Staffing in Public Sector After 1980s

The New Right is a broad concept which has social, political and administrative dimensions and symbolizing a comprehensive transformation (Aksoy, 1998:4). The impact of the New Right on public administration is two-fold: The first is downsizing the state and its field of activity. The second is to restructure the downsized state and public administration in the framework of market like principles and managerial approaches (ibid: 11).

Accordingly, it is possible to say that not only the changing understanding of public employment within the framework of downsizing the state but also new public management approach are chief factors modifying staffing practices in public sector. The tendency to decrease in staffing levels was appeared after 1980s, whilst market-like and efficiency-oriented perspective to staffing function was revealed with the

rise of new public management approach. Moreover, it is clear that managerial methods imported to public administration, such as strategic management and human resource management, have forced closed (career-based) personnel systems which are compatible with values of public sector to change.

2.3.1 Downsizing the State and The New Understanding of Public Employment

Downsizing the state was among the main indications of the rising capitalist economic ideology directly affecting political and administrative fields. Kerman proposed that four ways were used to downsize the state, which were, downsizing the state financially, downsizing the state as organization, downsizing the state as a center for authority of administration, and downsizing the state by reducing public sector employment (Kerman, 2006) In this heading, “downsizing the state by reducing public employment” and its impact on staffing will be focused on.

Since the 1980s, attempts to decrease staffing levels have been legitimized by means of overstaffing claims. The pressures of downsizing have come from international organizations, most notably from the World Bank. In reports by the Bank, it is possible to frequently encounter similar claims about the number of public personnel:

Civil services are frequently too large, too expensive, and insufficiently productive; (...) Civil services are too large in the broad sense that in many states the public sector is overextended, that is, it possesses too many agencies and organizations, charged with too broad a span of responsibilities; and in the narrower sense that too many of these agencies employ numbers of people excessive to requirements (Nunberg & Nellis, 1995:5).

As a result, in public administration, the issues such as cost containment, freezing recruitments, the use of a variety of methods to identify surplus public employees, encourage or require their resignation and so deeper cuts in the number of public employees and wage bills (The World Bank, 1991: x) were on the agenda after early the 1990s. It has arisen that Neoliberal economic perspectives and the value of administrative efficiency have compelled the public sector to “do more with less”

(Klingner 2006:12). Accordingly, this pressure has caused governments to follow cost-reductionist staffing policy aimed at doing more with less public personnel.

Government employment reforms in many OECD countries have been undertaken over the past few decades. The main objective of the reforms in the civil services has been to bring staffing practices of the governments into alignment with those of the private sector. Therefore, some issues such as the reduction of the number of public employees to reduce public expenditure and cope with fiscal pressure; abandonment of life-long career understanding; flexibility and contracting employment have all arisen of public personnel systems since the 1980s. Efforts to reform governmental employment are ongoing in many countries.⁹ Furthermore, it is inferred from the reports of international organizations that these studies have provided expected outcomes in many states and caused the transformation of their traditional staffing practices. Although it is known that there are considerable risks of the aforementioned reforms in the public sector, it is believed that reform efforts will provide economic efficiency.

As Cardona states, there has been the pressure on public administration define their core functions in cost cutting driven (Cardona, 2000:9). In order to downsize the number of staff, position-based and career-based public personnel systems have followed different courses (Cardona, 2000: 9). Cardona cited the OECD report based on a survey indicating the different methods used in the reduction of public employment in countries with person-oriented career systems and job-based systems between 1996 and 1997. According to the reports, in career-based systems, the programmes focused on determining surplus staff are applied to keep the number of public personnel under control¹⁰. Additionally, in these systems, public expenditure has been curbed by means of staff and salary freezes across the board. Cardona explains that the reduction of staff has typically been achieved through factors like natural attrition e.g. retirement in the countries mainly using career-based systems

⁹ For detailed information about the reforms, also see: Pollitt, C. and Bouckaert, G. (2011) *Public Management Reform: A Comparative Analysis*, (3rd Ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.88

¹⁰ Staffing norms practice (=norm kadro uygulaması) in Turkish Public Administration can be used as an example of these programmes.

such as Austria, Belgium, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Greece. Turkey can also be added to this list. Furthermore, in these countries, redeployment schemes have been applied in order to reduce staff, salary and recruitment freezes to reduce costs¹¹ (ibid: 9).

On the other hand, there has been a general tendency in the countries practicing position (job) based systems to be inclined towards “management-oriented” or “result-oriented” public service that includes specific targets. Unlike career-based structures, severance pay and other benefits have been used in the reduction of staff numbers in the UK, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark. When large-scale redundancies occur, redeployment schemes and other alternative solutions are preferred instead of dismissal (ibid). So-called voluntary approaches that offer severance pay are usually opted for on the grounds that involuntary dismissal is politically unfeasible. Additionally, it is clear that voluntary approaches help decision-makers to break the resistance of public personnel in the case of downsizing and privatization (Rama, 1999:1, Diaz, 2006:213-216).

With regards to the extent of the state’s downsizing policies, Britain can be considered as a good example of the ramifications that can arise from them. For instance, Rhodes (1994) calls the transformation in Britain public sector in 1980s and 1990s as “hollowing out the state”. That is, he claims that British state was eroded after the rise of Thatcherism in the 1980s. One of the instruments of this erosion was dramatic cut in the staffing levels. Rhodes expresses that a notable reduction in public employment for a significant proportion of the public sector was undergone in 1980s. He indicates that the total number of industrial and non-industrial civil servants decreased by some 24 per cent between 1979 and 1992, from 732 thousand to 554 thousand. (Rhodes, 1994:140)

¹¹ As i will mention in the third chapter of this study, in Turkey, new recruiting was frozen, particularly in stated-owned enterprises by recruiting fewer personnel than the number of retired personnel after 1990s. Furthermore, this was also guaranteed in the letter of intent presented to the IMF.

2.3.2 New Public Management and Neo-Taylorism

As well as downsizing the state policy, new public management (hereafter NPM) has resulted in the change of understanding of public sector staffing. Along with the rise of the NPM movement, the need for a new staffing method, which would be compatible with businesslike public personnel regimes and systems, has appeared.

There has been a tendency to see the rise of NPM as “paradigm shift” in mainstream literature. It is accepted that the alleged “new paradigm” can resolve the problems of the traditional bureaucratic paradigm, such as financial crises, the inflexibility of administrative procedures and decreasing public trust etc. (Pollitt et. al, 2007:1). Similarly, according to Hughes, NPM is a paradigm shift from “administration to management, from bureaucracy to markets (...)” (Hughes, 2003:256). More broadly, James D. Carroll (1998) implies that NPM is new paradigm “reducing and deregulating bureaucracy, using market mechanisms and simulated markets to conduct government action, devolving responsibility downward and outward in organizations, increasing productivity, energizing agencies, and empowering employees to pursue results, improve quality, and satisfy customers” (cited in Lynn, Laurence E.2006:180). On the other hand, some scholars have criticized and rejected that NPM is a paradigm shift. When NPM is taken into consideration in the framework of old discussions on the separation of management and administration, as well as public management school emerging at the end of the 1970s, NPM does not seem to be a paradigm which is completely different from the former (Üstüner, 2000:20) Hence, according to Üstüner, a new paradigm can be generated from an existing paradigm on the basis that it is external and critical of the one it originated from (ibid: 29)

If the definitions of NPM made by its proponents are taken into consideration, NPM has been legitimized through the assumptions about “the inadequacies of the

traditional model of administration”. Similarly, Osborne and Gaebler (1992 who are the pioneers of the NPM movement, put forward their thesis:

The kind of governments that developed during the industrial era, with their sluggish, centralized bureaucracies, their preoccupation with rules and regulations, and their hierarchical chains of command, no longer works very well. They accomplished great things in their time, but somewhere along the line they got away from us. They became bloated, wasteful, and ineffective. And when the world began to change, they failed to change with it. Hierarchical, centralized bureaucracies designed in the 1930s or 1940s simply do not function well in the rapidly changing, information-rich, knowledge intensive society and economy of the 1990s. (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992:11-12)

Hood claims that “the doctrinal components of NPM” would alleviate the problems of the traditional public administration model. In Hood’s articles, these doctrines are defined as “hands-on professional management in the public sector, definition of explicit standards and measurement of performance, the emphasis on output controls, and disaggregation of units in the public sector, competition in public sector, and adoption of private sector styles of management practice, greater discipline and parsimony in resource use.” (Hood, 1991:4-5) NPM, as well as physical change of public administration, brings with it a mental transformation. It has concentrated on creating more and more businesslike government.

Hood also proposes that the origins of NPM are based on the coalescence of two different ideas, which are new institutional theory and neo-Taylorism (new managerialism in the public sector) (ibid: 5). New institutional theory has caused the diffusion of a reform wave on the grounds that some ideas such as contestability, user choice, transparency and close concentration on incentive structures are introduced to administrative structures. On the other hand, Hood states that the other theoretical basis of the NPM is “Neo-Taylorism”. It has appeared on the grounds that, as well as a number of reforms, the introduction of private sector management techniques and practices would prevent inefficiency and ineffectiveness which are seen as main problems of old public administration (Larbi, G. A., 1999:4).

It may be claimed that Neo-Taylorism (new scientific management), which is closely related to the rise of the understanding of businesslike staffing in public administration, is nothing more than classic Taylorist understanding, even if it is labeled with the prefix “neo”. However, it is seen as new because it has started to be

used in public institutions instead of the private sector along with the rise of public management. That is to say, without taking into consideration idiosyncrasies of public administration, which is the main point emphasized by the opponents of managerial approach (Hughes, 2003:45), managerial practices and techniques, have somehow been imposed on public organizations (Üstüner, 2000:15-20). However, as mentioned in earlier topics, the rationale behind these techniques and practices such as human resource management, total quality management etc. is still same with those of scientific management: to increase efficiency and effectiveness. As Kearney and Hays state, managerialism represents “the triumph of the value of efficiency as embodied in business ideology and practice” for public administration (1998:43).

The use of Neo-Taylorist principles, techniques and methods in public administration after the 1980s is not surprising, because, as Üstüner emphasizes, as a result of New Right policies, while bureaucratic structures have been downsized by means of some policies and privatization in terms of quantity, a need for qualitatively stronger administrative structures has arisen (2000:25).

The claim is that “new managerialism sees management as centered around people where each person’s contribution is valued as part of the ‘team’” (Dowding, 1995:91) seems unlikely. As a result of the dominance of private management, some techniques and strategies such as performance measurement, pay for performance, productivity incentives, working under contract, part-time employment etc. have emerged and been adopted as the key components of public management in a number of developed and less developed countries. This means that all of them emphasize “temporariness” in public sector employment i.e., there is no stability in terms of payments, earnings depend on output and it is clear that a public employee can lose her/his job if the superiors think that she/he is an underperformer in this system. In addition to Dowding’s ideas, under NPM, exclusion from “the team” is an imminent danger. Also, it is possible to claim that these profit-oriented practices and techniques would inevitably cause a decrease in the quality of public service delivery.

It is apparent that a career system is not compatible with rationale behind NPM. For instance, contrary to NPM’s emphasis on “temporariness”, as mentioned in the

previous topics, career systems are based on life-long careers. In other words, it guarantees job protection in public employment, which is incompatible with the NPM influenced by private sector management. Another example is that proponents of NPM blame career systems in that these systems promotes public personnel to play safe instead of showing initiative (Keraudren & Van Mierello, 1998:43).

As a result of this incompatibility, according to Hays and Kearney public service careers have been “the most seriously affected victim of the reform” since understanding of career-based staffing, which was adopted in particular by traditional European civil service systems, has been disempowered by “potentially and pervasive pernicious attack on bureaucracy” (Kearney & Hays, 1998:41) NPM, which has been presented as a universal paradigm in globalized capitalism, is just a model underlying and providing global competition and global articulation by transforming personnel systems and public organizations of countries in the world (Güzelsarı, 2004:4).

These developments must have been particularly negatively affected career-based personnel system and its staffing pattern that is common in public administration.¹² It seems inevitable that this pattern would become more and more businesslike. As mentioned above, Hood (1991) outlines the doctrines of NPM. Here, reasons and consequences of the need for “businesslike staffing practice” in public administration might be explained in the framework of some doctrines of NPM specified by Hood:

Firstly, according to the NPM approach, staffing practices should be suitable for “*private sector styles of management practice*”, meaning it will consider efficiency and effectiveness principles rather than “*military style public service ethic*” and other specific characteristics and values of public administration.

According to the doctrines of NPM, understanding of staffing should be based on “*explicit standards and measures of performance.*” As mentioned in previous topics,

¹² Staffing norms practice (= norm kadro uygulaması) which I claim is neo-taylorist (position-based) understanding of staffing, may be exemplified. In the following chapters, the effects of NPM on traditional understanding of staffing in Turkish public administration, which is also person-oriented, will be analysed within the framework of staffing norms practice.

in a businesslike staffing pattern, which is position-oriented, cadres and positions, are explicitly defined through job analysis. As such, each cadre and other positions become measurable by clarifying their workload. Therefore, it may be expected that the control and discipline of public personnel will be provided. Of course, this also contributes to “output control” and measurability of performance of public personnel.

Furthermore, in staffing practices applied in private work organizations and position-based staffing patterns, it is aimed at choosing the right people as cadres and for other positions. This requires quantitative and qualitative determination of human resources or cadre/positions needed. In this model, qualitative and quantitative standards concerning cadres and other positions are explicitly defined through job analysis. Therefore, these cadres and positions can be occupied by, in the words of Waldo, “one best man” (Waldo: 1984:59)

What is more, according to NPM understanding of putting emphasis on “*greater discipline and parsimony in resource use*”, the number of human resources required is determined by taking into consideration “economic efficiency¹³” because this approach sees each cadre/position or employee as a cost element. This means that it is not surprising that businesslike staffing patterns tend to determine the number of cadres and positions by taking into consideration the motto “do more with less”, rather than the requirements of public services.

This may be a potential staffing pattern of NPM. It is not hard to say that understanding of businesslike staffing will take the place of staffing method peculiar to public administration in the coming years.

2.3.2.1 Strategic Management

Staffing practices employed in a work organization depend on the organizational design. In other words, in parallel with the organizational shifts, staffing methods are

¹³ Economic efficiency means “a measure of the ability of an organization to produce and distribute its product at the lowest possible cost.” (Law, 2009)

revised, and, if necessary, reshaped. In the 1980s, work organizations underwent a structural rupture. That is, traditional functional organizational structures have been tendency to be more flexible structures. As mentioned below, a strategic approach to management is a significant factor in this shift. Furthermore, even if flexible public organizations have not been widespread yet applicability of flexible models for traditional public bureaucratic structures has started to be discussed. Of course, the changes in terms of organization and its management have directly affected staffing practices in both sectors.

Traditional functional forms of organization emerged in the early 20th century, based on a concept of “centrally coordinated specialization” (Miles & Snow, 1992:58). Functional structures consist of departments staffed with a number of specialized experts, each of whom coordinately provides their own contribution to the whole organization. In order to achieve organizational goals, there must be full regularity and predictability in the course of using specialized skills and operating equipment, which is guaranteed by vertical integration and central control (ibid:58).

Miller describes the staffing process in functionally organized structures. As a result of specialization, the line of promotion and advancement is explicit and easily visible thanks to job descriptions, and the place of the jobs in the hierarchical line is completely clear. Therefore, employees can predict their future positions in event that they fulfill the requirements for promotion. Moreover, grouping people with similar backgrounds and qualifications, which provides “high degree of organizational cohesion”, is another deterministic reflection of staffing practice in functionally designed organizations (Miller, 1984:61). Traditional public organizations in Europe and their staffing methods can be given as the examples of functional organizational structure and staffing.

Since the 1980s, work organizations all around the world have been compelled to respond to an increasingly competitive business environment in order to ensure their own survival. In other words, centrally coordinated and highly specialized “functional structures” have started to be abandoned on the grounds that they are

inflexible (Miles & Snow, 1992:53). In the background of this shift, there is the rise of strategic management understanding.

The period after the 1980s became the era of the strategies in terms of management literature. This means that “strategy”/“strategic”, as Lyle says, has become a “buzzword” used for emphasizing the urgency and importance of a work (Lyles, 1990:363) over the past three decades. As Chaffee states, organizations must formulate their strategies in order to grapple with a rapidly changing environment (Chaffee, 1985:89). In other words, the importance of organizational strategies has inevitably been shown to raise “predictability” of the process which is frequently blurred by external/environmental factors. Of course, this new vision deeply impacts on the structure of organizations. More precisely, a conflict emerged between strategies formulated in accordance with dynamic external environments and traditionally centralized and functional organizational structures. Hence, the structures have been compelled to keep up with the strategies. This shift in the staffing paradigm can be explained with the Chandler’s thesis “the structure follows the strategy”.

Strategy can be defined as the determination of the basic long-term goals and objectives of an enterprise, and the adoption of courses of action and the allocation of resources, necessary for carrying out these goals. (...) New courses of action must be devised and resources allocated and reallocated in order to achieve these goals and to maintain and expand the firm's activities in the new areas in response to shifting demands, changing sources of supply, fluctuating economic conditions, new technological developments, and the actions of competitors. As the adoption of a new strategy may add new types of personnel and facilities, and alter the business horizons of the men responsible for the enterprise, it can have a profound effect on the form of its organization (Chandler, 1990:13-14).

This means that the strategies determined in compliance with the needs of a dynamic and rapidly changing environment entail “restructuring”. Briefly, organizational structure depends on organizational strategy. New structures aim to preserve the strengths of the old organizational structures while exterminating their weaknesses.

Along with the change of transitioning to a “strategic management approach”, like other managerial functions which are a part of organizational structures such as planning, budgeting etc., staffing function have also gained a strategic dimension . That is to say, staffing function inevitably underwent a rupture after the 1980s.

(Messmer et al., 2008:45). In terms of staffing function, this shift can be also explained by using Chandler's thesis. Strategic planning of an organization means that its goals and objectives are determined for a given period of time. According to Chandler's thesis, it is inevitable that these goals and objectives cause restructuring. Accordingly, along with the realignment of the organization, job requirements, job descriptions, staffing levels, the grouping/classification of the jobs are bound to undergo a change etc. (De Cenzo & Robbins, 1996:16). Miller also approves Chandler's thesis by stressing the importance of "specification of the qualifications, identification of the persons possessing those skills, and moving into the jobs should be guided by the organization's strategic plans and its overall staffing strategy" (Miller, 1984:58).

It is claimed that along with the restructuring movement, staffing function suitable for functionalist organizational structures became out of keeping with new organizational structures.

Table 2. Comparing Staffing Methods

Old Staffing Paradigm	Strategic Staffing
Think "job"	Think tasks and responsibilities that are keyed to business goals and enhance a company's ability to compete
Create a set of job "specs"	Determine which competencies and skills are necessary to produce outstanding performance in any particular function
Find the person who best "fits" the job	Determine which combination of resources-internal and external- can get the most mileage out of tasks and responsibilities that need to be carried out.
Hire only full time employees	Consider a blend of full time and temporary workers to meet variable workload needs.

Source: summarized from (Messmer et.al. 2008:45)

Strategic staffing means that the main determinant of staffing process is "staffing drivers," which are the external and internal factors affecting the way of staffing (Bechet, 2008: 45). Staffing drivers can be identified as changes in organizational focus, objectives and activities, changes in markets, technology, product mix, and

competitive positions, as well as projects, capital expenditures, business expansion or downsizing. Undoubtedly, all of them have some impact on the required skills and staffing levels. For instance, the changes in competitive positions of an organization may require generation of new positions, whereas decisions about downsizing or completion of a project can result in a reduction of staffing levels to reduce staff costs (ibid:46). That is to say, any shift in organizational focus, objectives and activities are likely to cause some alterations in required skills and staffing levels simultaneously. Undoubtedly, strategically staffing an organization is accepted as a vital part of strategic management, since it is responsible for strategically anticipating and then fulfilling the human resource needs of the organization in accordance with its mission and objectives (Heneman, 2000:6). As such, the new phrase “the right people in the right spot at the right time” takes the place of the old motto “the right people in the right spot”.

The phrase “at the right time” means that both functional and numerical flexibility inevitably became the main characteristic of new staffing understanding. That is to say, temporariness in staffing has replaced permanence and stabilization. For example, unlike the traditional functional organizational structure, matrix organizations are bound to follow temporary staffing process by nature. The necessary skills required for the current projects may not be needed on the next project (Miller, 1984:63).

To put it briefly, competitive environments and strategies formulated to account for its unpredictable effects have resulted in some shifts in staffing function similar to those in the other components of the organizational structure. Unlike staffing methods in functional structures, strategic staffing provides easily formable, flexible understanding of staffing in accordance with goals defined by strategies.

These developments will most probably affect the understanding of staffing in public administration. Today, it is possible to encounter some strategic management practices in public administration. In parallel with the aims of NPM, it is expected that the practices of strategic management will be prevalent in public administration. However, it inevitably conflicts with traditional understanding of staffing of the state,

as a strategic management approach demands more businesslike, flexible and strategic understanding of staffing. In other words, it is impossible that strategic staffing practice can be carried out within closed personnel systems based on rank classification and life-time career understanding since strategic staffing requires market-like personnel regime based on temporary/contracted employment which provides numerical flexibility and lateral entry to public service. To conclude, strategic management is one of the approaches to force the understanding of staffing in closed personnel systems to transform and to adopt market-like staffing practice.

2.3.2.1 Human Resource Management

Another approach affecting staffing methods traditionally practiced in public administration is “human resource management”. Broadly defined, human resource management (HRM hereafter) means “strategic and coherent approach to the management of an organization’s most valued assets- the people working there who individually and collectively contribute the achievement of its objectives.” (Armstrong, 2006:3) It goes without saying that this is also a theory imported from management discipline to public administration, as well as the emergence of new public management.

As Guest states, the reasons behind the rising interest in human resource management after the 1980s can be concluded as the search for a competitive advantage, the pursuit of models of excellence, the failures of classical personnel management understanding, the decline in trade union pressure depending on the changing economic and climate in the USA and the UK, changes in the workforce and the nature of work, and availability of new approaches to management (Guest, 1987:504). In other words, the underlying reason for the emergence of vast literature on HRM is the belief that more effective systems for managing human resources within the work organizations would provide improvement in the declining productivity of workers and the declining rate of innovation and benefit in the

industries (Devanna and others, 1984: 33). As Brown states, HRM articulated to “public management” as a result of the efforts to develop a systematic response to reform and restructuring process by means of obtaining greater staff and operational efficiencies while minimizing government expenditures (Brown, 2004:304).

Staffing as a managerial function has been directly affected by the transition from classical personnel management to the HRM movement. So, it should be re-designed according to its assumptions to a large extent. If one is to look at mainstream academic literature about HRM, it can be expected to provide a more and more humanistic understanding of staffing instead of the Taylorist point of view. HRM’s perspective of the human factor has determined the norms and characteristics of new staffing practices. However, a critical perspective that emerged in UK literature during the 1990s claimed that there are two distinct forms of HRM which are based on “opposing views of human nature and managerial control strategies” (Truss et.al, 1997:53).

A soft version of HRM (developmental humanism), which has been developed by scholars at Harvard School (Beer *et.al.* 1984) places emphasis on the “human”, which is to say it shows a human-oriented approach, treating employees as valued assets (Truss, et al. 1997: 54). In other words, this version of HRM sees employees assets of the organization and the key of organizational success since they add value to the organization through their creativity, commitment and skills. It accepts employees’ contentment and benefit as an important outcome (Guest, 1987:510). On the other hand, a “hard version” (utilitarian instrumentalism), which was created by Michigan School (Fombrun, et.al. 1984), put emphasis on “the close integration of HR policies, system and activities with business strategy” (Legge, 1995: 34). This means that they tried to propose a link between HR policies and business strategy (Wright,2001:701). It treats humans as a resource like any other means of production without attributing it any only as numbers with skills that need to be employed at the right price since it is accepted as “cost element” i.e., one of the expenses of doing business rather than a source of competitive advantage. (Gill, 2007:4)

When HRM's practices and its attitude to human factor in the work organizations are taken into consideration, it is claimed that the soft version is the rhetoric of HRM while the reality is reflected by the hard version to a large extent (see. Truss et.al, 1997 and Legge, 1995) This means that a critical perspective arises that humanistic principles of the soft version have remained unfulfilled and been overcome by principles of the hard version, which are more suitable for the needs of the capitalist mode of production. In my opinion, these claims can be confirmed by HRM practices and their effects on staffing policies in public administration. Both neoliberal policies like downsizing the state and management-based approaches like strategic management have been disadvantageous to public employees. So, the humanistic rhetoric of the soft HRM has been needed. However, in reality, the practices of hard HRM have tried to be employed in public administration to a large extent in accordance with neoliberal cost-reductionist downsizing policies and NPM approach. There is tendency in HRM to secure and retain those showing high performance to achieve desired outcomes of the organization. In other words, in this system, there is little or no commitment for ensuring job security of the staff showing low performance. That is to say, HRM approach is and should be based on workforce flexibility in order to practice performance management (Brown, 2004:307).

Unfortunately, there is much evidence indicating that the rules of hard HRM are increasingly used in the public sector. Hard HRM is likely to affect understanding of staffing when applied to administrative structures around the world. For instance, as mentioned in previous topics, job analysis, which has its root in Taylorist principles, is the indispensable part of market-based, job-oriented understanding of staffing. Job analysis in public administration, which is also represented as the first step to put the HRM practices into effect, is more likely to cause a transformation of the traditional career-based public personnel systems. This means that HRM brings the job-oriented staffing understanding instead of the person-oriented staffing system, particularly in European public administrations. Unlike the person-oriented method, a job-oriented staffing method does not promise guaranteed life-long careers for employees. Furthermore, in the job-based public personnel systems, job analysis was used in order to determine the number of positions/cadres (staffing levels) which

would “sufficiently fulfill the total workload” (as well as “necessary” qualifications and capabilities of those who would hold/occupy these positions). However, today, it can be said that its role has changed. It is shown that job analyses are used to determine “minimum staffing levels” in accordance with NPM and cost reductionist downsizing policies. Moreover, this is likely to cause an increase in the number of contracted employees, which can enable necessary numerical flexibility. On the other hand, the other practices of HRM, which are performance appraisal and pay-for-performance, are employed in order to increase efficiency of labour without increasing the number of employees. Instead, employees’ performances are kept under strict control by motivating them with promise appraisement and high pay. This means that it is possible to say that HRM practices in public administration overlap the assumptions of hard HRM which put emphasis on, as Storey says, “the quantitative, calculative and business strategic aspects of managing the headcount resource in as rational a way as for any other factor of production” (Cited in Legge: 1995: 35).

In other words, even if “modern” understanding of human resource management seems “humanistic” or “human-oriented”, as mentioned above, its main goal is still to increase the efficiency of labour. So, under these conditions, it is hard to say that understanding of staffing of alleged modern human resource management would place people, public services and those who deliver the public services at the fore.

To summarize, along with rising social and economic transformation in the 1970s and early 1980s, administrative structures and the practices in public administration were deeply affected. The downsizing the state policies and NPM movement caused public personnel systems to undergo a transformation. Moreover, the line between public administration and management has become indistinct and so, managerial methods and techniques such as human resource management, strategic management, performance systems etc., have been imported to public personnel systems.

This means that public personnel systems in the world have been undergoing dramatic change since the 1980s in the framework of downsizing the state policy. As mentioned above, its main consequence has been staff reduction. In other words,

staffing levels of the states have been decreased since 1980s. Downsizing the state through staff reduction accompanied precarity, that is, contracted employment. This way, staffing methods came close to managerial principles and focused on obtaining more and more efficiency with fewer personnel. It may be claimed that public employment may completely lose their privileged positions in the future since the states have been forced to adopt more and more market-like staffing understanding which sees each cadre i.e. each public employee as a cost element.

There have been some attempts to transform the career-based personnel systems based on job protection and life-long career. As Demmke cites from OECD report “the State of the Public Service” (2008), understanding of career-based systems have been replaced by position-oriented practices in OECD countries. Demmke also confirms that the transition from “career systems to post-bureaucratic (position system)” in his study which focused on “Civil Services in the EU of 27” (Demmke, 2010:7). According to an OECD survey, there is strong tendency to change their civil service status among the countries which participated in the survey. For instance, 20% of senior posts in Korean central government have been open for competition. (OECD, 2004:7). Furthermore, along with the reform wave, in civil service systems, the guarantee of employment has been reduced by means of adoption contracted employment i.e., temporariness has overcome permanence since the 1980s. For example, all lifelong employment in the Swedish Government administration (with the exception of very few positions such as judges) has been replaced by employment on a contracting basis. (ibid) It is also possible to give different examples to transformation of closed (career-based) public personnel system unique to public administration to market-like systems in the world. Of course, in this process, staffing methods inevitably got its share of this pressure to change. Undoubtedly, thanks to this transformation, governments can be easily get rid of surplus personnel.

Job-based personnel systems were not free from structural problems, particularly the position-based staffing system in the USA – the origin of the system– where the system had grappled with some problems since the end of the Second World War to early 1990s. These problems were first voiced by Wallace S. Sayre. In the article

which was written as the book review for Paul Pigors and Charles A. Meyers's book "Personnel Administration: A Point of View and a Method", Sayre states that the importance given to premises and techniques employed to reach some objectives in public personnel administration, such as eliminating patronage or adaptation principles of scientific management, goes beyond aforesaid purposes. Sayre labeled this situation as "The Triumph of Techniques over Purpose". Sayre stated that:

Personnel administration, then, has tended to become characterized more by procedure, rule, and technique than by purpose or results. In the public field especially, quantitative devices have overshadowed qualitative. Standardization and uniformity have been enshrined as major virtues. Universal (and therefore arbitrary) methods have been preferred to experiment and variety (Sayre, 1948:135).

Criticisms of the rigid and complex classification system in the USA had continued in the following years. For example, Van Riper affirms that some basic concepts like merit, tenure and political neutrality, were overshadowed by a number of techniques and procedures. (Van Riper, 1958:453) Halloran claims that position classifiers usually aimed at creating maximum number of levels which are possible to be accommodated within an organization instead of defining the minimum number of levels necessary to carry out the tasks (Halloran, 1970:259) i.e. increasing numbers of classifications (this means the increase in the number of public employees), inflexibility created by technical obsession, and classification rigidity were apparent problems in the US staffing model, which was a typical example of the position-based system. Although there were some attempts to correct the errors of excessive job classification, according to Berman et al. (2001) the major attempts started along with the rising human resources management era in the 1990s. Broader employee categories, more flexibility, less complex classification and technical simplification have been adopted in accordance with the assumptions of human resource management, although job analysis is still inevitable for both position based staffing practice. Therefore some concepts and practices used in the US civil service since the late 1980s and early 1990s, such as broadbanding, re-inventing government, simplification initiatives in personnel policies and manuals can be indicated as signs of the change in traditional staffing understanding.

The United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration issued a report called “Strategies for High-Quality Staffing in Public Sector” in 2003 (United Nations, 2003). It is focused on answering the question of how staffing practices and the resulting performance of human resources in public administration can be strengthened. According to the report, there has been an erosion of public sector human capacity in many countries. It also mentions the importance of developing an overall approach and long-term strategy to restore the pride and credibility of the public sector. If not, poor performance and negative image would likely force out the best employees and deter promising young graduates. As a result, efforts to staff the public sector with better performance would be wasted.

It is obvious that the report has addressed many important points. Undoubtedly, a staffing method giving opportunities to employ qualified personnel is likely to provide an advantage in terms of properly delivering public services. However, public administration has lost its own characteristics and closed to managerial field in recent years. As a consequence of this transformation, staffing methods has started to resemble the staffing practices in the private sector since 1980s. Since, understanding of market-like open personnel system has begun to take the place of career-based closed personnel systems in Continental Europe. This means that life-long career opportunities and strong job security in public administration will most probably disappeared in the coming years. It is known that permanency in public sector employment gave way to contracted employment in many countries. Along with downsizing the state policies, the number of permanent personnel has decreased, whereas outsourcing has become prevalent in public sector employment. That is to say, entrance to public service lost its privilege. Yet, as expressed in the report issued by the United Nations, “*the state can be a model employer, setting an example with good practices for others to follow*” (ibid: 8). It should be questioned if it is enough to adopt new understanding of staffing for attracting the best employees or young promising graduates under these conditions. It is known that these downsizing strategies and private sector values dominating public administration for last 30 years have reduced employee trust and compromised public personnel’s morale and commitment. Moreover, the public service has its own ethical understanding based

on the altruistic values of civic duty; social justice and compassion have been damaged by downsizing strategies. According to Feldheim the effects of downsizing public administration are primarily moral and, because of this, commitment to the public service values of social justice, civic duty, and compassion, and to organizational integrity based on these values should be renewed (2007:265), otherwise human resource erosion would become deeper and its reflection to public service delivery would inevitably be negative.

As mentioned in the second chapter, Waldo objected to managerial principles in Public administration approximately half a century ago. Today, not only in the USA, but also in the rest of the world, methods and techniques imported from management discipline have been transferred to public administration. Of course, some developments may have positively affected government's staffing needs such as new technologies or new approaches to staffing practices used in the private sector. However, keeping in mind Waldo's early ideas, it should not be assumed that staffing arrangements in the private sector can be applied in public organizations by ignoring fundamental differences separating public personnel administration from personnel management, especially since each of them is equipped with different cherished values. If their different characteristics are ignored, there would likely some conflicts between public personnel administration and personnel management in the private sector (Hays & Sowa, 2005:124). Hays and Sowa give some striking examples relating to this conflict. For instance, openness principle in staffing may be ignored in personnel management in the private sector; however, it is essential for the government staffing philosophy, or else merit principle would inevitably be damaged. Similarly, decentralization of staffing authority may not be expedient but instead jeopardize merit principle, since merit consideration can be ignored by those equipped with this authority as a result of bestowing a privilege upon their personal contacts and friendship (ibid:124).

Whether a method is applicable or not cannot be understood by observing its efficiency level. Its moral and ethical dimensions should be taken into consideration, particularly for staffing, where the human being is paramount. Considering this, new

staffing methods cannot be adopted and practiced only on the grounds that they provide efficiency. Therefore, it is crucial to generate a new understanding of staffing that is unique to public administration.

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, transformation of the understanding of staffing in Turkish Public Administration, which originated from continental European tradition, cannot be evaluated from the developments mentioned above.

In this period, staffing norms practice, which is a Neo-Taylorist staffing method based on job analysis, has started to be implemented with some “plausible” expectations, such as preventing inequality in personnel distribution and providing merit-based public employment in Turkish Public Administration. However, the idea is supported in this thesis that, instead of meeting these plausible expectations, staffing norms practice has, to a large extent, served other expectations e.g. “do more with less (personnel)”, downsizing public employment, contracted employment, abandonment of lifelong careers in public sector and transitioning to an open personnel system, and the use of managerial methods.

CHAPTER 3

STAFFING NORMS PRACTICE IN TURKISH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

In the second chapter, staffing norms practice (= norm kadro uygulaması) in Turkey will be discussed. There is no exact translation of it in English Literature. Due to this, in this study, “staffing norms practice” is used as a translation of “*norm kadro uygulaması*”. It is a concept unique to Turkey. Instead of “staffing norms practice”, Turkish scholars have also used different denotations such as “position norm analysis” (Sümer & Erol, 2003), “norm permanent staff application” (Akçakaya, 2008), job classification (Güler, 2005b:268) and “the works of determining standard positions” (Ömürgönülşen & Öktem, 2004).¹⁴ The first two denotations are not used in international literature. Moreover, they are incapable of explaining the concept. On the other hand, to say that “staffing norms practices means job classification” would not be true. As mentioned in chapter two, job classification is a comprehensive classification system associated with the US Public Administration. On the other hand, the use of “the works of determining standard positions” is very explanatory use but the concept of “staffing” may give the same meaning. Even though the word “staffing” is not usually preferred in related literature, Hayrettin Kalkandelen, who is the pioneer of this practice in Turkey, uses the concept of “staffing” as synonym with “*norm kadro uygulaması/düzenlemesi*” (Kalkandelen, 1976,: 22). In management literature, the concept of staffing usually refers to market-like, job-oriented staffing method of private sector. Hence, the use of “staffing norms practice” is preferred in this study due to the fact that it is a market-like and job-oriented staffing practice unique to Turkish Public Administration.

¹⁴ In the course of literature review, I did not encounter an article or other documents about staffing norms practice in English, so I scanned the abstracts of articles and theses in English. In other words, the denotations above have been obtained from the abstracts of an article and a PhD thesis. On the other hand, Güler (2005b) parenthetically uses “job classification” instead of “*norm kadro uygulaması*” in Turkish.

“Staffing norms” term means norms and standards regarding cadres and positions that must be obeyed over the course of staffing practice, which are also known as “norm cadre” and “norm position” (=norm kadro and norm pozisyon) in Turkish literature.¹⁵ Even if this usage is not also prevalent all around the world, contrary to other usages, the phrase “staffing norms” is used in human resource planning practices in the health sector, particularly in India and third world countries in North Africa. In this study, the phrase “staffing norms practice” will be used to mean the process to determine required human resources (or cadres/positions) in terms of quantity and quality by using alleged scientific methods in Turkish public administration. That is, it is an instrument for human resource and cadre planning which has been applied by some public institutions since 2000.

Turkish personnel system has been highly impressed by European career systems based on person-oriented closed career system (Güler, 2005b:212). Güler also states that rank classification first appeared in Turkish public personnel system, along with Law No. 1452, which adjusted the consolidation and equation of the salaries of public servants, in 1929¹⁶ (ibid: 214). Even if there have been a plenty of attempts to transform it to a position-based system since the 1950s, closed career system based on rank classification and the person-oriented (career based) staffing understanding has been protected to a large extent.

¹⁵ Kılıç also uses the phrase “staffing norms” instead of norm cadre (=norm kadro) in the abstract of his article. See (Kılıç, 2003)

¹⁶ The Law on Unity And Equality Of Salaries Of Public Personnel (Devlet Memurlarının Maaşlarının Tevhid Ve Teadülüne Dair Kanun)

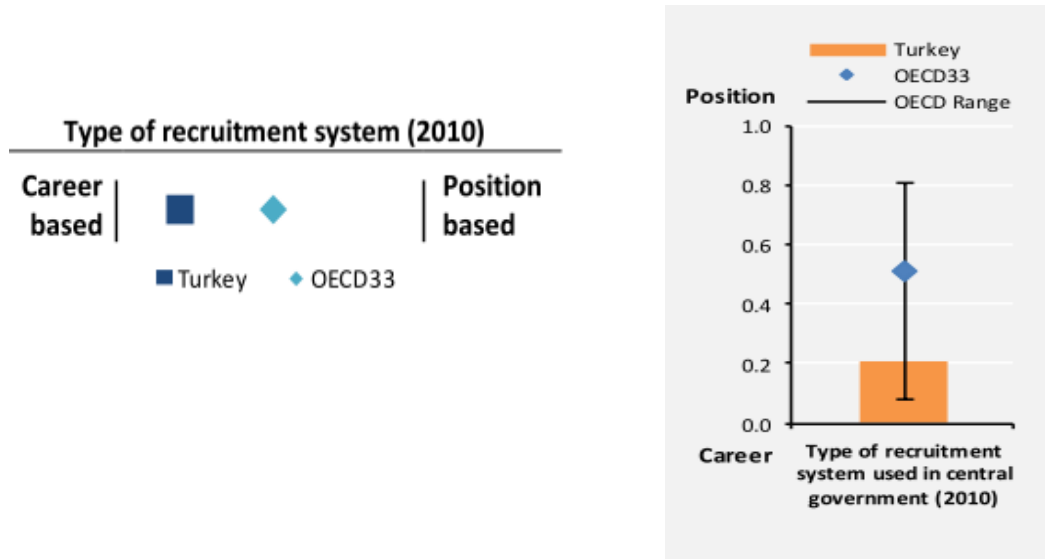


Figure 1. Type of Recruitment System in Turkish Public Administration

Source: OECD (2010) Human Resources Management Country Profiles

As seen in the graphics prepared by the OECD, the career-based (person-oriented) structure substantially outweighs the position-based recruitment model in Turkish public personnel system (OECD, 2012). Moreover, when taking into consideration the average of OECD countries, it can be inferred that a career-based system is dominant in Turkey, although understanding of position-based recruitment is widespread in many other OECD countries.

State Personnel Law No. 657¹⁷, which regulates public employment in Turkey, is based on three principles. In article 3 of the law which is comprised of paragraphs A, B and C, these principles are specified as “classification”, “career” and “merit”, respectively. These principles constitute the backbone of the career-based structure of Turkish Public Personnel System.

In paragraph A, the “classification” (= sınıflandırma) principle is defined. According to the Law, people are classified according to the requirements of the job and relevant qualifications. Instead of the job (position) classification, broad

¹⁷ 657 sayılı Devlet Memurları Kanunu

classification is employed in Turkish public personnel system¹⁸. As indicated in article 36, there are only ten classes, which are general administrative services class, technical services class, health services and allied health services class, training and education services class, attorneyship services class, religious services class, police services class, assisted services class, local authority services class and national intelligence services class. The second principle defined in paragraph B is “career”. On the basis of their seniority (=kıdem), personal record (=sicil) and professional competence, promotion of civil servants to top cadres within their classes is guaranteed through career principle. Career principle is guaranteed “job protection” to a large extent. The third principle defined in paragraph C of the article 3 is “merit”. The main objective of this principle is that the processes such as recruitment for public services, promotion, advancement within the classes and dismissals are carried out on the basis of “merit principle”.

Type of recruitment in the Turkish Public Personnel System is career-based to a large extent. That is, in the course of staffing, person and rank are taken into consideration rather than position. However, as mentioned above, with the aim to rationalize the rank classification system and staffing process, there have been a number of attempts to transform the career-based structure, which is based on understanding of person-oriented staffing, since the 1950s. These attempts first appeared in the reports of foreign experts. However, they encountered some important objections. After the 1980s, the need for rationalization of the classification system and staffing understanding were frequently emphasized in some legal documents, as well as in academic reports focused on reforming Turkish public administration and five year development plans. All of them underpin staffing norms practice. Therefore, in 2001, staffing norms practices, which is a position-oriented staffing method, officially

¹⁸ Understanding of classification of Turkish Public Personnel System has been always controversial. For example, Ergun (2004) criticizes that current system due to the fact that it is based on “broad classification and so, different professions and specializations are classified in the same class. According to Ergun, this prevents that public services are efficiently and effectively delivered since the current classification system makes recruitment and advancement of qualified personnel difficult. According to him, specifications of the services, their workload, difficulties and importance should be taken into consideration in a classification system. (Ergun, 2004:256) In other words, he indicates that position classification, which enables those duties, is broken into a number of specialized parts.

started to be employed in Turkish public administration. Today, it is being used in some public institutions. However, there are strong signs that it will probably be widespread in coming years.

There are two contrasting views on staffing norms practice. Proponents have very positive expectations of the practice, whereas opponents claim that staffing norms practice is an instrument to transform the career-based personnel system unique to public administration to position-oriented understanding identified with the private sector.

It is possible to say that staffing norms practice is a Neo-Taylorist method. As such, in contrast to mainstream literature analysing the practice from a micro (technical) perspective, I will try to analyse staffing norms practice and its impacts on Turkish public administration from a macro perspective in this chapter. The practice is not only a result of NPM but also its driving force. Beyond expectations such as equal distribution of staff, it also has important roles in terms of downsizing public personnel employment and the introduction of managerial practices.

In this chapter, these issues will be elaborated on and analysed.

3.1. Definition of Staffing Norms Practice and Its Technical Dimensions

Staffing is elaborately explained in the first chapter. Briefly, it means “the process of determining human resource needs in an organization and securing sufficient quantities of qualified people to fill those needs.” (Caruth & Pane, 2009:1) Moreover, “norm” is defined as an “accepted standard or a way of doing things that most people agree with”. (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, n.d) That is to say, staffing norms practice is based on setting “cadre/position standards” in a work organization.

These standards are obtained by means of re-organization (organizational analysis) and job analysis. Reorganization means “the restructuring of a larger organization without the formation of a new company” (Law, 2009) by taking into consideration

new organizational goals and changing external and internal conditions. As a result of restructuring of the organization, a new organization chart is generated. As a result, staffing norms practices are carried out in accordance with the new organizational chart (Bilgin, 2002:22). As a result of reorganization, staffing levels (the number of cadres and positions) may be decreased or increased.

As well as reorganization, “job analysis” is the essence of staffing norms practice due to the fact that it is a position-oriented staffing pattern.¹⁹ Job analysis is “the process of collecting information about the tasks a job requires to be performed and the knowledge, skills and abilities necessary to perform those tasks” (Cayer, 2004:60). Cayer states that job analysis identifies three points: the exact activities of the job, the conditions under which the job is performed and finally, the qualifications necessary for successful performance (ibid: 60). In addition to these points, the number of employees to perform the job is also determined through job analysis. In other words, job analysis clarifies the total workload in a public institution and required qualifications to complete the whole job. The data regarding the job is gathered by means of the observations of job analysts, questionnaires, interviews with employees and even time and motion studies, so the products of job analysis, such as job description and specification, are obtained.²⁰

As a result of job analysis, staffing norms (norm/standard cadres and positions) are generated.²¹ As Ataay also states, norm cadre, which means standardized place of duty, is a denotation which is unique to the Turkish public personnel regime (Ataay, 2002:211). Although the concept of “cadre” and “norm cadre” are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature and practice, there is subtle but important difference

¹⁹ Job analysis and its techniques are elaborated on pages 10-13.

²⁰ See for their definitions page 11-12

²¹ In Turkish public administration, the meanings of cadre and position are not interchangeable. The concept of Cadre or cadre or norm cadre means a place of duty assigned to permanent public personnel who have job protection. On the other hand, position and norm position means a place of duty filled by contracted public employees. For example, the concept of norm position refers to contracted health personnel in Law No. 4924, which is related to outsourcing of health personnel for public health institutions. See Eleman Temininde Güçlük Çekilen Yerlerde Sözleşmeli Sağlık Personeli Çalıştırılması İle Bazı Kanun Ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun, Article 2, Paragraph d.

between them. In a public administration dictionary published by the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and Middle East (IPATME hereafter), the concept of cadre and norms cadre are separately defined. According to the dictionary, cadre is a chart (=çizelge) which defines personnel who deliver the public services in terms of quantity, quality, and responsibilities. It is also stated that a cadre is generated with the aim to properly and constantly deliver the public services. It is a “place of duty” (=hizmet yeri) and legal instrument which link employees with public services. In the dictionary, it is also emphasized that a cadre is a part of job protection of civil servants (Bozkurt et.al. 2008: 125-126). On the other hand, according to the dictionary, in order to generate norm cadre, cadres must be standardized. The main characteristic of a norm cadre is that it is “unit of measurement” (=ölçü birimi) (ibid: 180-181). In the definition, there is strong emphasis on this characteristic of norm cadre.

That is to say, it is possible to say that norm cadre are an instrument of work measurement. The first step of work measurement is to break the job into specified tasks. In staffing norms practice, this is done through job analysis. Then, “the time” required for a “qualified employee” to perform “a specified task” at “a defined level of performance” is determined. As a result, work is made measurable. As discussed already, through studies on work measurement, Taylor achieved the aim of producing maximum output in the least amount of time by keeping the workers’ performance at the highest level.

Staffing norms practice makes cadres “units of measurement”. In parallel with the expectations from staffing norms practice, some can think that staffing norms practice quantitatively and qualitatively determine the need of cadres in accordance with total workload and, thereby enabling equal distribution of public personnel. However, this seems to be an optimistic point of view. In the light of developments in the last 30 years, it can be claimed that similar Taylorist rationale underlies staffing norms practice. That is to say, staffing norms practice can be used as an instrument of downsizing public employment through increasing efficiency of labour

and the adoption of other neo-Taylorist techniques in Turkish public administration, such as pay for performance. These issues will be discussed in the following pages.

As seen in Caruth's definition, staffing consists of two stages. In the first stage, cadre and position standards are quantitatively and qualitatively defined by taking into consideration the total workload and the required number of personnel with necessary qualifications who can deal with total workload in a determined time. Up to now, I have tried to briefly mention the first step.

The second stage of staffing is that the processes such as recruitment, selection, and promotion and performance evaluation are carried out by taking into consideration determined cadre standards. Therefore, it is expected that maintenance of sufficient quantities of qualified people is guaranteed.

In the fourth chapter, I will try to analyse whether staffing norms practices in Turkish Public Administration have met these expectations.

3.2. Historical Foundations of Staffing Norms Practice

Along with the rise of neo-Taylorism, a number of managerial practices started to be used in public administration along with the rise of the new public management movement after the 1980s. In this study, I claim that staffing norms practice is only one of these practices.

Its foundations were laid by reports by foreign experts who came to Turkey in the late 1940s. One of the most important aims of these reports was to recommend some precautions for increasing efficiency and rationality in Turkish Public Personnel System. In these reports, the importance of rationalization of then-current staffing practice was frequently emphasized.

Between 1980 and 2000, the need for rational staffing practices in Turkish Public administration was mentioned in some legal documents, academic reports focused on reforming Turkish public administration and five year development plans.

In this section, these early attempts to rationalize understanding of person-oriented staffing in Turkish Public Personnel System will be looked at and elaborated on.

3.2.1 Reports of Foreign Experts between 1940 –1970

Under this heading, some reports prepared by foreign experts will be addressed. These reports were submitted to the Turkish government between 1949 and 1962²². The reports were focused on the main problems in Turkish Public Administration, one of which was the personnel system based on understanding of person-oriented staffing. These reports generally pointed out that traditional rank classification system and its staffing understanding in public administration were insufficient. Another common point emphasized was that the insufficiency had arisen from irrationality of rank classification and its understanding of staffing unique to public administration. According to them, overstaffing, poor quality of public personnel, and the seniority system (= kıdem sistemi) were chronic diseases of the then-current system. In the reports, re-organization and job analysis with the aim of establishing a market-like staffing system were recommended. That is to say, “job classification” that originated from the US public administration was recommended on the assumption that “there was no need to “re-discover America”²³ (Güler, 2003b:15). In other words, it was seen as “universally acknowledged” and “non-contestable.”

The first, and maybe the most important report was the “Report on Rational Working Principles in Government Offices and Agencies”²⁴ prepared by Prof. F. Neumark in 1949 (DPB, 1963:2-38). Professor Neumark proposed in his report that overstaffing, imbalances in personnel allocation, inequality of payments, recruitment of unqualified personnel and overspending resulting from these items were the main problems of the Turkish public personnel regime. According to Neumark, the main

²² The reports prepared between 1949 and 1959 were compiled by State Personnel Presidency in 1963. (DPB, 1963)

²³ Actually, this was not surprising since most of the foreign experts came from the USA.

²⁴ Devlet Dairesi ve Müesseselerinde Rasyonel Çalışma Esasları (1949)

reason of these problems was that the importance of rational working principles was not grasped. For example, although some departments claimed that they suffered from understaffing, according to Professor Neumark, this problem had arisen from irrational working conditions and excessive red-taping in public administration rather than the lack of public personnel (ibid: 34).

Professor Neumark made some suggestions in order to overcome these problems. First of all, the principle of “few public personnel but sufficient payment” should have been adopted. In other words, few but more qualified personnel who would efficiently work could be employed and given high salaries. Secondly, job analysis, which has been seen as the main source-of rational working, was to be done in the all departments of Turkish public administration. (ibid: 29-30) Moreover, Neumark recommended the establishment of a special commission which could properly carry out studies on rationalization of work and reorganization (ibid: 4-6).

Irrationality in Turkish public personnel system was also discussed in the Report of the Barker Commission supported by the World Bank. Like Neumark’s report, the report of the Barker Commission generally focused on the problems of the Turkish administrative system. It was submitted to the President of the Republic, Celal Bayar, in 1951. The claims about staffing systems were the parallel with those of Professor Neumark. The Barker Commission emphasized that there were too many personnel in the governmental departments (ibid: 63). According to the report, the main reason for this problem was that job descriptions of the cadres were not generated. This caused crucial coordination problems. Moreover, another problem was that appointments were based on seniority rather than merit²⁵ (ibid: 63). Additionally, the Barker Commission complained that former state personnel law, which remained in force between 1926 and 1965, had not taken into consideration personnel efficiency

²⁵ Although both job classification and rank classification systems are called as merit systems, there is still a prevalent idea that merit is not considered in rank-in-person systems. On the contrary, Adal frequently emphasizes that the career system does not work without merit. Seniority is not a sufficient criterion for advancement on the career ladder so it should be supported by merit, otherwise it would damage the whole system. Adal even mentions that seniority also gained importance in countries adopting position classification since it was recognized that merit is also not a sufficient criteria on its own (Adal, 1968:170).

in the appointments and advancements. In other words, the report of the Barker Commission criticized the law on the grounds that it was based on protection of personnel regardless of consideration of their efficiency. In the report, it was suggested that Turkish public personnel regime should be reviewed entirely. Also, the importance of the establishment of a centralized organization responsible for personnel administration was strictly emphasized (ibid: 64).

James W. Martin and Frank C.E. Cush prepared a report on “the Establishment and Works of the Ministry of Finance”²⁶ in 1951. Undoubtedly, their most striking recommendation was that job classification based on understanding of position-oriented staffing must be adopted in Turkish Public Personnel System. (ibid: 74) According to them, there were a number of reasons for implementing this recommendation. For instance, according to the report, thanks to job classification, job descriptions and job specifications could have been generated. Recruitment of the right person for right job (or cadre) and merit-based appointment could have then been enabled.

According to Martin and Cush, three different ways might be used in the practice of the position classification system. (ibid: 80) First, job classification might be adopted by all public institutions and agencies, including general and annexed budget institutions at the same time. However, this could be difficult. Secondly, every ministry could conduct their own job classification process under the guidance of the Ministry of Finance. Third was that position classification in the departments could be arranged according to a pre-determined calendar.²⁷.

²⁶ Maliye Bakanlığı Kuruluş ve Çalışmaları Hakkında Rapor (1951) Although the report was prepared for the Ministry of Finance, the experts recommended that new personnel policy of the ministry of Finance be adopted by the entire public sector (ibid: 73).

²⁷ The advice of Martin and Cush on the subject was partly brought into practice almost 50 years later. As can be seen in other parts of the study, for the same staffing norms practice were planned to be carried out according to the agenda decided by the Ministry of Finance and State Personnel Presidency (SPP hereafter) and under their supervision.

Martin and Cush's recommendations were not limited to the transformation of the then-current classification system. Along with the position classification system, they also suggested a decrease in the number of public personnel. According to them, if a person was insufficient and underperformed, s/he should be dismissed in order to maintain personnel quality and prevent an interruption of public administration work (ibid. 92-93). At the end of the report, they made another suggestion, stating that there should be strong emphasis on "merit principle" based on the objective success of personnel. According to Martin and Cush,

A merit-based system must be adopted. The current system prevents public employees working with maximum efficiency. The State Personnel Law overlooks and retains employees who are inactive or less-active. Merit principle based on goodwill²⁸ ensures that personnel with sufficient educational background and showing maximum effort in conducting their task can be rapidly advanced to top positions. Therefore, the top positions of the career ladder would be free from lazy and uneducated personnel till the end of time (ibid: 103).

In another report, Leimgruber (1951) also mentioned similar problems in Turkish Public Personnel System. According to him, the main problems of Turkish public personnel regime were rank classification, overstaffing, strong job protection, salary system etc. Similar to other experts, he tried to infuse "managerial rationality" into public administration (ibid: 138-168).

Although there were important attempts to rationalize Turkish Public Personnel System and its understanding of staffing, "rationality of position-oriented understanding" was also questioned. In the 1950s, a commission was charged with analyzing the job classification system in the USA. The ramifications of the analysis were surprising because, even though the American position classification system was seen as consistent and rational in theory, the commission recognized that the US job classification system was far from the orthodox logic of position-oriented understanding. As a result of interviews undertaken with job classification experts, the commission determined that there was not to be a sharp division between employees and their positions (Mihçioğlu, 1958:150). In other words, it was almost impossible to find the "right man for a specified job". In his book, Mihçioğlu, who

²⁸ When taking into consideration the whole report, it is pointed out that goodwill means goodwill based on objective criteria.

was also a member of the commission, cited Eliot Kaplan, who was a lawyer in the USA:

Even if we look for employees who are qualified and skilled enough, we actually mislead ourselves because the methods of recruitment are not sufficient to achieve our goals. For this reason, employees have to receive in-service training. To conclude, practicing the classification of specified positions is more difficult than theorizing about it (Cited from Mihçioğlu, 1958:150).

Rationality of position-based systems was also examined by another commission studying carrying out a study on public personnel regime in 1963 (Devlet Personel Dairesi, 1963). In the commission's report submitted to the government it was emphasized that, contrary to the US experience, position classification could not successfully work in every country, as was the case with Japan, some countries had unsuccessful experiences in the transition from rank classification to position classification after Second World War. According to the report, the underlying reason of these problems was that every country had historical, social, economic and technical differences. In other words, the report emphasized that there was no guarantee that job classification or other position-oriented approaches would enable an efficient, fully rational staffing process and working environment in each administrative structure. Accordingly, in the report, potential problems were specified in the case that the job classification method was adopted in Turkish Public Personnel System. These problems can be summarized (ibid: 21-22):

First of all, in the job classification system, career advancement is considerably difficult. Contrary to rank classification, which is based on person-oriented understanding, diploma, seniority or experiences do not automatically provide career advancement. On the other and, high performance of a public employee or his/her ability to properly fulfill specific duties may enable them to advance on the career ladder. Moreover, career opportunities are very poor in job classification systems, and this causes formidable competition among employees. This adversely affects the motivation of public servants and causes discontent. Even if this system provides them with higher salaries than rank classification, "money" alone would not be sufficient to satisfy them.

Secondly, classification of each position is not easy. Practice of the position/job oriented system means that each cadre/position should be elaborately analyzed and determined. In order to properly analyze and classify a number of jobs, classification experts should be found and then employed, and then specified and standardized cadres should be filled by qualified public employees. That is to say, this system is not a budget friendly practice for governments, hence the position classification is not recommended for economically underdeveloped countries because of the lack of required human resources and its high cost. Job classification can achieve success on the condition that there are sufficient numbers of qualified personnel from different levels and professions such as technicians, expert, clerks etc. in public services. If anything, it would not be easy to find suitable personnel for vacant positions generated as a result of detailed job analysis studies. Of course, this means that education system should be adjusted according to its needs before the establishment of a job classification system.

Thirdly, in job classification systems, narrowly defined positions prevent career advancement of skilled and qualified people. Instead of them, top positions are usually filled by politicians and experienced employees from the private sector. It should not be forgotten that this system was born in the USA and, as such, its understanding of careers conforms to its own political, social and economic conditions. Moreover, narrow positions probably cause excessive specialization and even alienation. This would inevitably create a cold bureaucratic environment and the average public employee's lack broad perspective since they are confined to narrow job descriptions. In spite of not causing a problem for the USA, it would not be suitable for the countries aiming for national development by means of outstanding public personnel.

Fourthly, contrary to what is believed, adaptation of employees in their own position is more difficult in the job classification system because turnover is very prevalent. This prevents people from adapting. This is a handicap for the countries making

long-term development plans.²⁹ Job classification is not based on a flexible system. There are no alternatives for recruitment, payments, promotions etc. since every step of the staffing process is confined with strict rules. Inflexibility of the staffing process would prevent efficiency.

As a result, in the report, it is stated that the character of Turkish public personnel regime is suitable for the European career-based rank classification system. In the report, it is proposed that Turkish Public Personnel Regime should be based on the career system and it begins with rank classification (ibid: 23).

Hence, the report has been thoroughly explained why position classification is not suitable for Turkish public personnel regime. However, insistence on the adoption of position classification has continued in recent years. For example, in the report of the administrative reform advisory committee (1972), which is known as “Re-organization of the Administration: Principles and Suggestions”, the classification system regulated by law no. 657 was found to be insufficient. According to the report, classes had to be based on the concept of “occupation” as in the position classification system. Moreover, it was also suggested determination of the degree of difficulty and responsibility of the cadres. (İdari Reform Danışma Kurulu Raporu, 1972).

Under this heading, I have asked whether history of personnel administration repeats itself or not. Pressure for rationalization of the on Turkish public personnel regime has happened since the early 1950s. Even though the proponents of these attempts have been more numerous than the opponents, they have encountered some plausible reactions and barriers in practice. As known, under the name of Neo-Taylorism, the pursuit of rationalization of the person-oriented public personnel system re-emerged along with rising neoliberalism in the 1980s. What is surprising is, both personnel management system which is called as “obsolete” and alleged modern human resource management have been applied with the same scientific management

²⁹ Even if turnover was seen as a problem for Turkey in the 1960s for following planned development, today it has become more and more attractive along with the rising strategic management. It gives an opportunity to make some changes in terms of the positions and those filling them in the direction of rapidly changing strategies.

methods in order to rationalize their own staffing practices. This confirms my claims which I have supported in the second chapter. Although HRM seems like a humanistic management approach in theory, it could not move away from Taylorist management understanding.

3.2.2. The Pursuit of Rationality in Understanding of Staffing between 1980-2000

Up to the 1980s, there had been strong emphasis on “job classification”. As mentioned above, both foreign experts and other proponents of the system believed that the adoption of job classification was likely to resolve alleged problems of Turkish Public Personnel System since job classification, which is influenced by scientific management, promised full rationality throughout staffing practices. Up to the 1980s, there had been strong emphasis on “job classification”. As mentioned above, both foreign experts and other proponents of the system believed that the adoption of job classification was likely to resolve alleged problems of Turkish Public Personnel System since job classification, which is influenced by scientific management, promised full rationality throughout staffing practices.

After the 1980s, the importance of rationalization of staffing practice through detailed job analysis and the need for human resource planning in the public sector started to be frequently emphasized and mentioned in some legal documents, academic reports focused on reforming Turkish public administration and five year development plans. That is to say, the pursuit of rationalization in understanding of staffing was maintained after the 1980s.

It is possible to encounter some implications of the attempts to rationalize current staffing practices in some laws which were passed in the 1980s. For instance, one of them is a decree-law on General Staffing and its Method³⁰ No: 190 which still legally

³⁰ Genel Kadro Ve Usulü Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname

adjusts staffing regime³¹. The decree of law, which is still valid, was passed in 1983. According to article 6, cadres are generated by taking into consideration the results of “job analysis”, which is made in compliance with development plans and annual plans. According to Ömürgönülşen , decree of law No. 190 aims at structuring fairly comprehensive staffing policy which adjusts cadre procedures such as formation, cancellation, change, allocation and mobility of cadres. Moreover, it indicates that cadre procedures are systematically conducted through job analyses in future, although job analyses have not made any progress. However, Ömürgönülşen also states that the decree of law indicates that the government has planned to use modern managerial techniques in public personnel administration in the future (Ömürgönülşen, 1988:129).

Another example is Decree of Law No. 217, which regulates the establishment and the tasks of SPP³². In the law, it is clearly stated that State Personnel Presidency has been assigned to conduct studies on job analysis and standardization of cadres and titles. Even though it was not clearly stated on which principles and rules work analysis was supposed to be based, it was indicated in the relevant decree laws that work analysis will be utilized.

At the beginning of the 1990s, conflict between personnel-based and position-based staffing systems was ongoing. Furthermore, in the reports regarding re-structuring of Turkish public administration, there was strong emphasis on the establishment of a rational public personnel system based on job analysis and performance evaluation.

As well as legal documents, some academic reports aimed at re-structuring Turkish public administration put emphasis on the importance of rationalization of understanding of staffing. One of these reports is the General Report of the Research

³¹ Ömürgönülşen states that formation, cancellation, change, allocation and mobility of cadres are subject to a staffing regime (=kadro rejimi). It is formed by the type of classification system adopted in administrative structure of a country. For detailed information about staffing regime see (Ömürgönülşen, 1987:80)

³² Devlet Personel Başkanlığı Kuruluş ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname

on Public Administration³³ (GRRPA) issued by IPATME in 1991 (TODAİE, 1991). In the 8th section of the report, the problems of the Turkish public personnel regime were addressed and some recommendations were made (ibid: 199-210). Rank classification system was one of the important issues that was addressed within the report.

In the report, rank classification and its person-oriented staffing understanding were criticized. According to the report, the main reason of the problems was that cadres were not analyzed and standardized through job analysis. The lack of job descriptions, job specifications and any information about the optimal number of the cadres prevented human resource planning, balanced personnel distribution, merit-based recruitment and filling the cadres with right employees (ibid: 200). Furthermore, it caused overstaffing in the public sector. Briefly, in the report, adoption of position-oriented understanding of staffing was recommended in order to remove irrational practices in the Turkish Public Personnel System. I think that another important point emphasized in the report was about performance evaluation. According to the report, the lack of objective criteria, which are obtained through job analysis and making cadres “unit of measurement”, prevented evaluation and measurement of performance of the public personnel (ibid: 201).

Another report (1994) was prepared by Prime Ministry Administrative Development Presidency³⁴. The report focused on the “development of Turkish public administration”. Alleged problems arising from then current staffing system were handled in this report as well (T.C Başbakanlık İdareyi Geliştirme Başkanlığı, 1994:93-109) According to the report, the rational use of public human resource was one of the factors providing development of public administration. In the report, the importance of staffing process based on objective criteria was stressed.

Five-year development plans also put emphasis on the importance of rationalization in understanding of staffing. The overstaffing issue was first mentioned in 4th Five Year Development Plan included between 1979 and 1983. In the plan, it was

³³ Kamu Yönetimi Araştırması (KAYA)

³⁴ Başbakanlık İdareyi Geliştirme Başkanlığı

promised that overstaffing arising from political and social pressures (patronage and nepotism) would be prevented (4. Five Year Development Plan, 1974: 277). Moreover, in the 7th Five Year Development Plan (1996-2000), it was explicitly indicated that staffing norms practice would be carried out in the following years:

In the process of restructuring of the public sector, employment will be considered using efficiency, numbers, income level and quality of ways to restore it into a healthy system. There will be prepared 'workforce planning' to use human resources efficiently and fair employment to equip public administration with sufficient numbers of qualified staff. The staffing norms (norm cadres) will be prepared based on job analysis to increase efficiency and public workforce inventory will be deducted to compare the current situation to the ideal one (7. Five Year Development Plan, 1995: 119).

In the 8th Five Year Development Plan (2001-2005), there was strong emphasis on the importance of completion of staffing norms practice in Turkish Public Administration. In the plan, it was stated that staffing norms practices in the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Health had made progress. Accordingly, it was necessary that this practice be generalized in Turkish Public Administration (8. Five Year Development Plan, 2000:105,192). It was also guaranteed that staffing norms practice and reform in public personnel administration would complete (ibid: 106).

That is to say, after the 1980s, legal documents, reports on restructuring of Turkish Public Administration and five year development plans paved the way for staffing norms practice, hence it can be said that staffing norms practice is not a sudden decision. However, along with the developments after the 1980s, it has been recognized so that its role goes beyond human resource planning and equal allocation of public personnel. It has become an inevitable practice in order to downsize public personnel employment and to practice new managerial methods.

3.3. Staffing Norms Practice in Turkish Public Administration

In Turkish Public Administration, the most serious step for introducing staffing norms practice was taken with the Circular No. 1998/16 issued by the Prime Minister's Office in 1998. The circular was signed by Mesut Yılmaz, who was the prime minister of Turkish Republic at that time. According to the circular, it was imperative that staffing norms practice, as a new staffing policy, was adopted in order to reach macroeconomic objectives defined by the government on the grounds that it would enable "efficient" use of public human resources and "rational" public employment policy.

According to the circular, staffing norm practice was carried out under the supervision of a commission. The commission consisted of at least one member from Premiership, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Finance, State Planning Organization (SPO), State Personnel Presidency (SPP hereafter), State Auditing Board, National Productivity Center (NPC hereafter), one professor from IPATME and two academics determined by council of higher education. This commission was assigned with defining methods and main principles of the practice. Accordingly, public institutions and agencies would carry out staffing norm practice according to these principles.

According to the Circular, it was vital that public agencies and institutions made organizational and job analyses in order to generate their own job descriptions and job specifications. Finally, it was planned that public institutions should have submitted these documents to the Ministry of Finance and State Personnel Presidency on 31.05.1998.

However, only 38 public organizations were able to fulfill their job analysis studies and most of them were not based on scientific principles³⁵ (Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu, 2000:19). According to the report issued by SPO, there were two reasons for

³⁵ It is stated that job analyses in the State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) have been carried out under more scientific conditions (ibid:19).

the failure of the practice: The first was that the methods and principles determined by the commission were not implemented. The second was that adequate resources³⁶ for carrying out staffing norms practices were not allocated (ibid: 19). However, as an exception, Ministry of National Education (MNE) has been maintained staffing norms practice (ibid: 19).

The principles and methods which are followed in the course of the staffing norms practice in public institutions and agencies were decided in June, 2000 along with the Council of Minister's decision No 2000/1658. It was published in the Official Gazette No. 24266 in December, 2000. Thus, staffing norms practice was put into law by the 57th government under the presidency of Bülent Ecevit.

In the Council of Minister's decision, it was planned that the staffing norms model would be employed in the following areas: general and annexed budget administration, institutions established by law, surety funds, social security institutions, institutions supported by general and annexed budget administrations, special provincial administrations, municipalities and their associations, foundations and enterprises, state economic enterprises and their allied companies, public institutions that would be privatized and public banks. It was planned that this process would be completed between 2001 and 2003 in compliance with the calendar made by the SPP and the Ministry of Finance.

According to the decision, there were two reasons to adopt the staffing norms system. These were stated as efficient use of public resources and delivery of public services with sufficient numbers of qualified personnel. "The sufficient number" can vary according to total workload in different organizations.

In 2001, a Prime Ministry Circular No. 2001/19, under the title "the effective use of public resources", was issued. The aim of the circular was to indicate the ways of saving money in public institutions and agencies. Under the "employment and administrative structuring topic", it was demanded that public institutions and agencies quickly put into practice staffing norms practice. Through staffing norms

³⁶ In the report, there is no information as to the type of the resource.

practice, it was expected that surplus number would be transferred to other departments suffering from a lack of personnel.

In July, 2001, another Prime Ministry Circular No. 2001/39 including a calendar was issued. It was then put into effect after being published in the Official Gazette No. 24459 in 2001. As mentioned above, this calendar was scheduled by the SPP and the Ministry of Finance. According to this calendar, it was projected that relevant institutions and organizations would complete their staffing norms practices between 2001 and 2003. The calendar consisted of eight different periods, each of which included different public organizations.

In the second part of the circular, there were some instructions indicating how staffing norms practice would be implemented and what kind of process would be followed during this practice. According to the circular, staffing norms practices in public institutions and agencies were to be carried out by IPATME, NPC and scholars who were experts on this issue.

In the circular, how staffing norms would be implemented was mentioned. The staffing norms process consisted of two levels. The first level was “organizational analysis”. It was stated that, as a result of organizational analysis, some departments could be terminated, combined, changed or re-established. The second level was that in which job analysis and job evaluation were fulfilled in every department of the organization. By means of job analysis, description of cadres/ positions (job description), the qualifications of the personnel who would occupy these cadres/positions (job specification) and the necessary number of norm cadres/positions for every department were defined, all of which would complete the staffing norms process. It can be inferred from the decision that staffing norms practice was seen as fully technical process, as was the case with the US type of job-oriented staffing model.

Along with the new arrangement published in the Official Gazette No. 25329 in December, 2003, some important and also minute changes were carried out with the Council of Minister’s Decision no 2000/1658.

In the first version of the decision, it was stated that, as mentioned above, it was planned for the staffing norms model to be employed in: general and annexed budget administration, institutions established by law, surety funds, social security institutions, institutions supported by general and annexed budget administrations, special provincial administrations, municipalities and their associations, foundations and enterprises, state economic enterprises and their allied companies, public institutions which would be privatized and as well as in public banks. However, along with the alteration of the decision, public institutions which are planned to be privatized and public banks have been exempt from this practice.

According to the new version of the decision, aforementioned public organizations could have their standard positions and cadres determined by IPATME, NPC and scholars who were experts in this field. Furthermore, the public organizations could determine their own standard cadres and positions under the supervision of these institutions and charge their own personnel with responsibility during the process. Along with the change in 2003, the statement in the first version, “staffing norms practice of public organizations can be made by institutions which are subject to private law”, was removed.

The third was about staffing norms practice in local governments. In the first version of the decision, it was expressed that staffing norms practice would be undertaken by metropolitan municipalities, while in the other municipalities it would be done by the Interior Ministry according to a calendar prepared by the SPP. In provincial special administration, it was planned that it would be done by the Interior Ministry. Along with the restoration in 2003, important changes were made in terms of staffing norms practice in local governments. First of all, institutions and enterprises established by municipalities were incorporated into staffing norms practice. The second alteration regarding local governments, which was very important, was that staffing norms practice would be carried out by Premiership and the interior ministry according to a calendar defined by the State Personnel Presidency. Moreover, unlike the first version, standard cadres and position would be defined by taking into consideration population, socio-economic development and tourism potential of the municipalities.

The alterations made in 2003 were partly ceased the staffing norms practice in Turkish Public Administration. In article 8 of the first version of the decision, it was intended that staffing norms practice would be completed between 2002 and 2003, which was outlined in the calendar prepared by the State Personnel Presidency and the Ministry of Finance. In the new document, it was planned that the practice would be finalized first in the public institutions decided by the State Personnel Presidency and the Ministry of Finance. Then, according to outcomes of the first experience, other public institutions and agencies approved by the SPP and the Ministry of Finance would start their staffing norms practice in the period of the eighth five-year development plan. Another calendar would also be made for second process.

Transitory article 1 indicated that staffing norms practice was interrupted to a large extent in 2003. According to the article, public institutions and agencies which had already started staffing norms practice before the regulation could continue and complete it. Conversely, “the other public institutions and agencies which had not started staffing norms practice” were not to begin without determination of the new calendar by the SPP and the Ministry of Finance.

Some tasks regarding determination of standard cadres and positions such as job analysis, job description and identification of staffing levels were assigned to the State Personnel Presidency with decree law no. 190 about General Cadre and Its Procedures, decree law No. 217 about The Establishment and Tasks of State Personnel Presidency, development plans and annual plans. Accordingly, in order to make staffing norms practice, it was stated that a “staffing norms handbook” should be prepared by the State Personnel Presidency. The staffing norms handbook, or the staffing guide, was a document indicating standardized, optimal needs of cadre and position of a work organization. It also signified equal distribution of these cadres and positions among the different departments of the work organization. Of course, norms indicated in the handbook could be revised and changed in accordance with the changing needs and strategies of an organization (Kalkandelen, 1987:111).

Therefore, State Personnel Presidency prepared and published the “staffing norms handbook” in order to explain levels used in the course of identification of staffing norms and to guide public institutions and agencies.

As was stated in the introduction of the handbook, if there were surplus and unqualified personnel in public administration, it was stated that public interest (=kamu yararı) can be provided on the condition that public services are more than expenditures. This means that there was emphasis on the overstaffing and unqualified personnel problems in Turkish public personnel regime. It was hoped that staffing norms practice would solve these problems and increase efficiency and effectiveness. As well as an introduction, the handbook consisted of six parts titled as, respectively, organizational analysis, job analysis, job description and identification of staffing levels (the number of positions and cadres). These phases were explained from a businesslike point of view and by using technical terminology.

I would particularly like to evaluate the “determination of staffing levels” part of the handbook. Methods which were proposed to be followed while determining the staffing levels and their qualities are very surprising since these were “time and motion studies”. As broadly explained in the first chapter, time studies were invented by Frederick Taylor in the 1900s with the purpose of increasing efficiency of labour. The method was based on measuring the shortest time to do a task by keeping workers under close control. On the other hand, motion study was invented with the same purpose by the Gilbreths. It was based on the finding the fewest motions to do a task. Therefore, it is possible to achieve maximum efficiency of labour i.e. maximum output by means of minimum number of workers.

Actually, there is a serious contradiction since these inhumane methods recommended in the staffing norms handbook are main instruments of “scientific management”. So, this naturally brings the question whether Taylorism is still alive in the 21th century. On the other hand, staffing norms practice is presented as an instrument of human resource management that is said to be a humanistic approach. Undoubtedly, norm cadres and positions identified by means of Taylorist methods indicated in the staffing norms handbook would not underpin a soft human resource

management approach³⁷. In other words, contrary to what is believed, human resource management practices such as staffing norms practice, performance management, pay for performance etc. may have overtones of hard human resource management.

3.3. 1. The Restructuring of Turkish Public Administration and Staffing Norms Practice

As mentioned above, a new regulation on staffing norms practice published in the official Gazette No. 25329 in 2003 caused some important and also minute changes in the process of staffing norms practice. Additionally, along with this regulation, staffing norms practice in public institutions, which had not yet started their own staffing norms practice up until then, was partially suspended.

It was said that staffing norm practice was partially suspended because reform and the restructuring of Turkish Public Administration came on the agenda at the beginning of April, 2003. A draft was presented to GNAT on 29 December 2003. After some alterations, the Draft Law on the Fundamental Principles and Restructuring of Public Administration³⁸ No.5227 was adopted by the General Assembly of the GNAT in 2004. However, it was partially vetoed by the president of the republic Ahmet Necdet Sezer, on the grounds that some articles violated the constitution.

The draft was known as the “gigantic restoration project” of Turkish Public Administration (Uluğ, 2004:25). It was based on the new public management approach and indicated a rupture from Weberian rational bureaucratic understanding and the practices coming from Continental Europe tradition (Al, 2004:3).

³⁷ Differences between soft and hard human resource management were explained in the second chapter.

³⁸ Kamu Yönetiminin Temel İlkeleri ve Yeniden Yapılandırılması Hakkında Kanun

Even though the draft caused suspension of the staffing norms practice, it was compatible with the principles and general characteristics of the Draft. In other words, this suspension did not mean complete renunciation from staffing norms practice but it may be seen as temporarily “freezing” the practice, since staffing norms practice was carried out in accordance with Law No. 3046 about the establishment and tasks of the ministries, and the draft would have overruled the law if it had been enacted. This means that staffing practices completed according to law No.3046 would have been outdated. However, after a gigantic restoration and restructuring process, staffing norms practice was likely to continue in public institutions.

As Güler asserts, it was planned that this draft would be “solid” and “the first inclusive step” for other reforms (Güler, 2004: 4). Undoubtedly, reform in public personnel regime based on Law No. 657 (State Personnel Law) was one of the important steps of restructuring movement in Turkish Public Administration.

In a publication prepared by Premiership with the aim of promoting the draft, it was expressed that the public personnel regime was in a deep crisis. (Dinçer &Yılmaz, 2003:101) It was claimed that there were some basic problems such as the lack of merit principle; employment and wage structure which were not based on performance; inefficient wage differences; overstaffing and unbalanced personnel allocation; complicated regulations about personnel regime etc. were the essence of the problem.

Along with the public personnel reform organized in accordance with the draft, it was intended to make the transition to staffing norms practice in all public institutions, adaptation of performance-based payment and flexible working conditions. Additionally, it was also expressed that it would determine fundamental duties in the public institutions. Then, the rest of the duties would be privatized (Dinçer & Yılmaz, 2003:159-161). In other words, sub-contractors would be legitimized in the state. Therefore, the public personnel regime would be rescued from an alleged crisis.

In parallel to this aims, the draft law aiming to the abolishment of the law no. 657 and transformation of public personnel regime was prepared but it was not put into practice. Unlike Law No. 657, it included career principles suitable for flexibility, merit principle based on performance standards and performance evaluation as well as staffing norms practice. Contracted personnel were counted as a fundamental type of employee in the public administration (Aslan, 2012: 607).

To conclude, if it had been enacted, The Draft Law on the Fundamental Principles and the Restructuring of Public Administration would have been the “beginning” rather than “end” for staffing norms practice. The staffing norms practice based on market principles would be more and more functional since, along with the enactment of the draft, the substructure of both staffing norms practice and other managerial instruments such as performance-based payment, flexible working conditions and employment of contracted personnel would have been set up. Therefore, dismissal of employees being surplus as a result of staffing norms practice would be possible.

3.4. The Views on Staffing Norms Practice

In Turkish Public Administration, there are two perspectives that are in favor of and opposed to the use of managerial approaches in public administration. In other words, as a managerial method, staffing norms practice has been supported while criticized at the same time. In this part, these points of views will be elaborated on under the topics “expectations from staffing norms practice” and “criticisms” to this new method.

3.4.1. Expectations of Staffing Norms Practice

Early studies emphasizing the importance of staffing norms practice were made by scholars who specialized in the managerial field in the 1970s. Their expectations of

staffing norms practice were related to managerial concerns such as increase in efficiency or establishment of managerial rationality in public administration. After the 1980s, staffing norms practice also gained a political role as a managerial instrument. It was supported by various actors from international organizations to capitalist class since it was expected that identification of staffing norms would make a contribution to downsize the state by diminishing the number of public personnel.

From a technical point of view, there were two main expectations of staffing norms practice. The first one was to determine the number and qualities of vacant and occupied cadres and positions in public agencies and institutions. The second was to define requirements and prerequisites for occupying the cadre and positions (Bilgin 2002:21). However, expectations were not limited to these two.

Kalkandelen, who first brought up the determination of staffing norms in public administration, outlined expectations of staffing norms practice as follows (Kalkandelen, 1976:28-30),

- Staffing norms practice makes job titles clearer and standardized. Therefore, procedures concerning public personnel become easier.
- It serves to establish understanding of management using objective principles. Patronage and nepotism would be prevented. Of course, this gives personnel a feeling of trust in the course of recruitment, position exchange, promotion etc., which would also increase efficiency and effectiveness of them.
- It serves to establish equal pay for a system of equal work since determination of norm cadres also serves to make job evaluations that indicate the difficulties and responsibilities of the job, so objectivity in a payment system can be enabled.
- It serves to determine the need of personnel in terms of quantity and quality.
- Staffing norms practice serves to determine personnel expenses and therefore the budgets of the organizations are realistic.

- It serves to recruit suitable personnel with required qualifications for specific cadres.
- Thanks to staffing norms practice, the need for education of the personnel can be easily determined. Additionally, it rapidly provides reliable statistics regarding personnel.
- It enables evaluations of performance of personnel
- It provides promotions of personnel according to merit.

Even though around 30 years have passed since Kalkandelen's statements, expectations of staffing norms practice are still kept up-to-date in mainstream public administration literature. In many other studies on staffing norms practice, similar expectations are repeated.³⁹

It is expected that staffing norms practice, like job classification, would prevent patronage and random understanding of employment (Ergun, 2004). Ergun states that, as long as determination of norm cadres is not properly fulfilled, the needs of personnel can't be defined. Otherwise, according to Ergun, this directly served the purpose of those who have political power since they can use public employment as political and economic instrument to solve the problem of unemployment (ibid, 251). This means that if staffing norms practice is not properly implemented, public employment based on "merit principle" does not properly materialize. Instead, public personnel would be employed randomly or according to political preferences of those in power. Similarly, Timur et al. express that staffing norms practice and the determination of standard positions would protect administrative practices from subjectivity and political pressures (Timur, et al. 2003:301).

In a report of research on "public reform" issued by Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TIBA), attention is drawn to the same issue. As a result of the research, there is a consensus that inefficient public employment arises from a lack of merit principle, clientelism in the course of recruitment, and because positions

³⁹ See also (Bilgin, K.U.; Aytürk, N. 2003 ; Demirkıran, M., 2003)

in public administration are seen as a solution for the problem of unemployment. As such, making an examination for entrance to public services job analysis and staffing norms practice are seen as the first steps for merit based employment in public administration (TÜSİAD, 2002:197).

It was also mentioned that staffing norms practice makes cadres and positions a unit of measurement. The answer to the question “what is measured by means of cadres and positions?” is, “efficiency of labour”. In other words, one of the main expectations from determination of norm cadres is an increase in efficiency of labour. Timur analyzed the effects of staffing norms practice on efficiency of labour in his article “the Effects of Staffing Norms Practice and Job Evaluation on the Efficiency of Labour” (Timur, 1986). According to Timur, even if the shortest time to do a job can be determined, doing a job in the shortest time is not likely to be possible because of time loss arising from “negative” attitudes of personnel and the problems that negativity can cause e.g. starting the job late, working slowly and carelessly. Due to time loss, efficiency of labour would decrease. However, according to Timur, loss of time can be prevented by means of staffing norms practice:

Staffing norms practice positively affects the efficiency of labour. In staffing norms practice, first of all, all of the jobs made in order to achieve the goals of organizations are determined by means of job analysis. Then, standard time to do a job is found by adding necessary tolerance shares. Next, taking into consideration the standard time, each personnel is given as much work as is required to fill their entire day. If there are personnel who cannot be given enough work, which is to say they are surplus to requirements according to the workload, they would be prompted to transfer to other departments of the same organization or to leave the job. Therefore, efficiency of labour would be increase since services would be delivered using less output of labour (ibid: 163).

As is seen, Timur explained the staffing norm process by means of managerial terminology. Timur had a completely Taylorist (explained in the first chapter) point of view. Like Timur, Taylor saw human beings as lazy. According to him, natural and systematic soldiering was the most important barrier to an increase in efficiency of labour. As was discussed in the first chapter, Taylor made time studies, which are still important for job analysis in order to prevent loss of efficiency arising from, as mentioned above, negativity and problems that it can cause e.g. late arrivals, laziness, etc. The Gilbreths also tried another job analysis method known as motion studies.

As a result of these analyses, efficiency of labour⁴⁰ was increasingly managed. What we can conclude from Timur's statements is, staffing norms can be perceived as a Taylorist instrument employed in order to increase efficiency of labour.

Even if it is not explicitly stated, the main expectation from staffing norms practice in Turkish public administration was to increase efficiency along with following employment policy preventing overstaffing and an increase in public employment. Therefore, budget deficiency of the government would be diminished by decreasing cost of public personnel (Ömürgönülşen & Öktem, 2004:253), (Timur et al. 2003:299-300). Particularly after the 1980s, as a result of rising neoliberalism and its downsizing state policy around the world attempts to rationalize European public personnel systems unique to public administration gained speed. It is not surprising that staffing norms practice has been seen as an important instrument by mainstream literature, practitioners and the governments in Turkey since, in accordance with Timur's statements above, it has been expected that determination of norm cadres would raise surplus value and, as a result, public services would be delivered by the minimum number of personnel working with maximum effort and performance.⁴¹

Accordingly, prime ministry circular (no. 2011/12) about "the effective use of public resources", dated March 27, 2001, reflects the expectations of the rule-makers concerning staffing norm practice: "More efficiency and more rationality in work with fewer personnel will be the central, essential principle in coming years."

Job analysis, which is the first and the most important step of staffing norms practice, is also inevitable for applying other methods for bringing rationalization into work organizations e.g. performance evaluation, total quality management and establishment of quality standards, human resource management, strategic management etc. As a result, staffing norms practice can be recognized as the

⁴⁰ In recent years, it has been seen that the term performance has been frequently used in understanding of public management instead of efficiency of labour. What is surprising is that even if performance is one of the most popular terms of modern managerial approaches like strategic human resource management, it clearly reflects Taylorist rationality.

⁴¹ If it is supported by other popular rationalization methods such as pay for performance, it would be inevitable to increase in efficiency of labour in public administrations

precursor of not only staffing understanding based on market rationality but also aforementioned popular managerial approaches. This means that it has been expected that staffing norms practice could enable managerial methods to be practiced in public administration. However, in order to apply managerial approaches in public administration, staffing norms have to be strategically identified in accordance with “strategic staffing understanding”, which was explained in the first chapter. In other words, if staffing norms practice is employed in a career-based personnel system relying on job protection, adaptation of so-called modern managerial methods (particularly strategic management and plans) would not be enabled.

As a result, staffing norms practice are not practices to evaluate based on just technical dimensions. As was seen, even though whoever supports staffing norms practice see it from a management perspective, staffing norms practice are an important managerial tool which can create important results for personnel and public employment. In another word, the expectations of practices and possible results of it need to be looked at from a macro perspective; otherwise you can have an overly optimistic assessment.

3.4.2. Criticisms

As mentioned above, staffing norms practice has received support from scholars and specialists in the field of management since the early 1970s. They have handled the issue only in terms of its technical dimensions. Other academic studies such as masters and PhD dissertations have usually approached staffing norms practice from a similar perspective as well. Most of them⁴² define staffing norms practice as an instrument of modern human resource planning.⁴³

⁴² In the database of the Council of Higher Education (KHE), there are a few PhDs and master theses with almost same name. e.g.), *İnsan Kaynakları Planlamasının Bir Aracı Olarak Norm Kadro Uygulaması* (Akçakaya, 2008), *İnsan Kaynakları Planlama Aracı Olarak Norm Kadro Uygulaması:İzmir Konak Vergi Dairesi Müdürlüğü Örneği* (Ak,2013), *Kamuda İnsan Kaynakları Planlaması Çerçevesinde Norm Kadro Uygulamasının Analizi*, (Özdemir, 2010), *Kamuda İnsan Kaynakları Planlaması Olarak Norm Kadro* (Engin, 2008).

There are also scholars⁴⁴ opposed to staffing norms practice. Unlike the proponents who focus on the technical dimension of staffing norms practice, those opposed to it have brought attention to its role in the restructuring process in public administration and question the feasibility of applying staffing norms practice to public administration.

Güler asserts that there are two aims of staffing norms practice which are close and far priority is, as frequently repeated, to quantitatively and qualitatively determine the need for public personnel in public institutions and agencies. (Güler, 2005b:268) Therefore, organizational structures would be changed and overstaffing and imbalance in allocation of personnel would be eliminated. Due to this, according to Güler, the staffing norms structure is a technical instrument of downsizing the state policies. Its secondary objective is the transformation of the career-based personnel system, which is unique to public administration, to job classification based on market rationality. This attempt would cause contract-based employment in public administration in countries like the USA and Canada, and direction of public employment by financial performance audit tools instead of decisions made in the center (ibid: 269).

According to Demirci (2006), the applicability of staffing norms practice to public administration is not possible since it has been generated by methods and practices of management discipline, which contains assumptions that aren't suitable for public administration. Even if it could be put into practice, it would not provide efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of public services and not solve the problems of public employment. Similar to Güler's ideas, Demirci also asserts that, since the

⁴³ I think that this perspective of seeing staffing norms practice as an instrument of human resource management is quite controversial. In the chapters 2 and 3 of this study, it is frequently emphasized that staffing norms practice is based on Taylorist understanding. However, proponents of human resource management claim that this practice has brought a completely different approach to personnel management. According to them, it is a humanistic and human-oriented managerial method. That is to say, to evaluate staffing norms practice as an instrument of human resource management causes controversy. This brings the minds the issue explained in the first chapter as to whether humanistic and human-oriented approach of alleged soft human resource management is just rhetoric or not.

⁴⁴ Opponents of staffing norms practice are usually scholars presenting left-wing orientation.

1950s, staffing norms practice has been the instrument of transformation of traditional career-based staffing system on which Turkish Public Personnel System is based. Along with the practice of this new staffing system, it has aimed to adopt job classification practiced in the US public administration instead of the career system (2006:9-11).

Özoğlu claims that staffing norms practice is a consequence of transformation undergone in the public personnel regime in recent years. The Market-friendly state began to regulate the public personnel regime in the 1980s. Accordingly, public employment has been forced to undergo a transformation process (2003:54-55). According to Özoğlu, it was planned that public personnel who are not deliver essential public services will be transferred to contracted positions and protected cadres will make narrow as much as possible.

Accordingly, public employment has been forced to undergo a transformation process. According to Özoğlu, it was planned that public personnel who didn't deliver essential public services would be transferred to contracted positions and the number of protected cadres would be decreased as much as possible. Therefore, job security would only be possible for a small section of total public employment. Using this point, Özoğlu claimed that staffing norms practice was preparatory work for this new employment model. It has been planned to compile detailed information about labour process in public administration by means of staffing norms practice. So, establishment of the new model will be easier due to staffing norms practice.

In parallel to main argument of this study, Erdoğan claims that staffing norms practice is a new instrument for downsizing the state. According to her, while norm cadres are determined, the real requirements of the country have not been taken into consideration. (Erdoğan, 2003: 16)

Staffing norms practice in local governments has encountered serious criticisms. Central to these criticisms is the idea that practice of this new staffing method in local governments causes proliferation of outsourcing (=taşeronlaşma) in public administration. Tezsezer (2010) claimed that staffing norms practice in local

government has changed the outlook on delivery of public service. Furthermore, it caused a deep change in labour relations i.e. the privatization movement that grew with globalization after the 1990s has also affected local governments. In local governments, services have been privatized on the grounds that it would provide minimization of costs and prevent shortages of resources. According to Tezsezer, staffing norms practice paves the way for subcontracting, which is the most common method for privatization of services in local governments. Indeed, this claim has gained strength because of the articles of law that focused on giving public services to sub-contractors (Tezsezer, 2010). Canman also stated that these new regulations aim at structural adjustment of the market economy and to define public personnel management and employment in the context of neoliberalism. Accordingly, reducing the number of personnel has been planned by means of staffing norms practice in local governments, especially in municipalities, and it paves the way for outsourcing. These developments indicate that the public character of local services have undergone an irreversible radical, negative transformation. (Canman, 2006:18)

Local Government Research, Guidance and Education Association (LGRGEA hereafter) discussed staffing norms practice in public organizations. It criticized this practice in a general way and particularly in terms of local government. According to LGRGEA, staffing norms practice has been discussed by different political powers. However, none of them explained what staffing norms practice means, or what is the underlying motive of this practice is. Political powers should focus on the question of whether; a) they have aimed for the determination and standardization of positions by using staffing norms practice, or b) to establish a system similar to the US personnel management and staffing system. According to LGRGEA, staffing norms practice reflects a neoliberal, globalization-based understanding. Today, there is a deep contradiction between liberal, market-based municipalism and social municipalism organized for social needs in the public sphere. According to LGRGEA, staffing norms practice is an instrument of the first one and is the locomotive power which would transform the current employment system and work order in local government. LGRGEA asserted that staffing norms practice is not an ordinary change. On the

contrary, it is a practice of premeditated management and employment philosophy which serves liberal market municipalism (YAYED, n.d).

Staffing norms practice is criticized both on a central and a local level. As concluded above, central to their criticisms is the idea that staffing norms practice would transform the traditional career-based system. This would provide public personnel job protection and life-long careers in the US system, which is based on understanding of position-oriented staffing and employment logic of the managerial field. Of course, this also means a change of public service perception.

3.5. The Status of Staffing Norms Practice in the Transformation Process of Turkish Public Administration

As mentioned above, the attempts to transform career system started along with the report of foreign experts in the late 1950s. However, these attempts encountered some obstacles, so understanding of position-oriented personnel system could not take the place of career-based understanding in Turkish Public Personnel System.

After the 1980s, as a consequence of changing economic policies and the changing role of the state, attempts to rationalize staffing re-emerged under the name of “staffing norms practice”. Therefore, staffing norms practice cannot be seen only as a technical issue which can be isolated from social, economic and political conditions.

The expectations from staffing norms practice were outlined in the previous chapters. However, the role of staffing norms practice is not limited to these expectations. It is possible to say that it also has other important, more subtle functions in the transformation process. Staffing norms practice can be seen as important step in order to:

- downsize the state by reducing public employment
- pave the way for the use of managerial approaches in public administration

As Üstüner stated, downsizing state policy, which has been adopted along with the rise of the new right movement and neoliberal policies, also caused the minimization

of the bureaucratic structure of public administration. However, this does not mean “decrease in quality and effectiveness of public administration”. On the contrary, even if minimized in terms of quantity, it needs more effective and stronger structures in order to grapple with the transformation process (Üstüner, 2000:25). There are two important roles of staffing norms practice in downsizing the state while its quality and effectiveness increase. First of all, as was explained before, the main role of staffing norms practice is to downsize the state in terms of the number of personnel while filling the vacant positions with those who are the most suitable and qualified. By doing so, it is planned that the efficiency of labour can reach the maximum level. This means that introducing staffing norms practice would enable an increase in quality and effectiveness as well as downsizing by reducing personnel expenditures while benefitting from maximum efficiency of labour. Determination of norm cadres, or making them “units of measurement”, is one of the crucial and indispensable practices in order to ease the transformation process. In other words, by means of alleged scientific job analysis methods and staffing norms practice, personnel reduction in Turkish Public Administration has been legitimized for years.

Secondly, along with the staffing norms practice - as a neo-Taylorist method - it has aimed to pave the way for the introduction of other neo-Taylorist managerial methods. These include; strategic human resource management as a part of a strategic management approach, performance evaluation and total quality management in public administration. Staffing norms practice is seen as the first step to introduce these managerial methods. Applicability of these methods would prevent inefficiency and ineffectiveness, which would be likely to emerge along with the policies for downsizing of the state. However, it should be added that it is almost impossible to combine the traditional career-based staffing system with these methods, as this would also mean the transformation of the public personnel regime. In other words, it is expected that new practices such as numerical flexibility, contracting, performance appraisal etc. would take over the public personnel regime.

In the next two chapters, the roles of staffing norms practice will be scrutinized.

3.5.1 Downsizing the Public Sector Employment

As known, the New Right and Neoliberal policies were officially adopted along with the 24 January economic decisions in 1980. Correspondingly, with the rise of Neoliberalism in Turkey, public administration started to be seen as a “hump on the back” (Güler, 2003b: 12). As a result, the policies devoted to downsizing the state took the place of welfare state policies.

In the early phases of neoliberalism in Turkey, a number of state economic enterprises (SEE hereafter) were privatized and, as a result, the producer role of the state ended under the aegis of international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank. These attempts were also supported by organizations representing capital owners in Turkey such as Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TCEA) and Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TIBA) . As well as privatization, attempts to downsize the state with policies continued in different ways.

The adoption of new understanding of staffing based on job analysis has been supported by international organizations, economic organizations representing capital owners and mainstream scholars on the grounds that there has been “overstaffing” in Turkish public administration. However, these claims have not reflected the reality, neither in the past nor today.

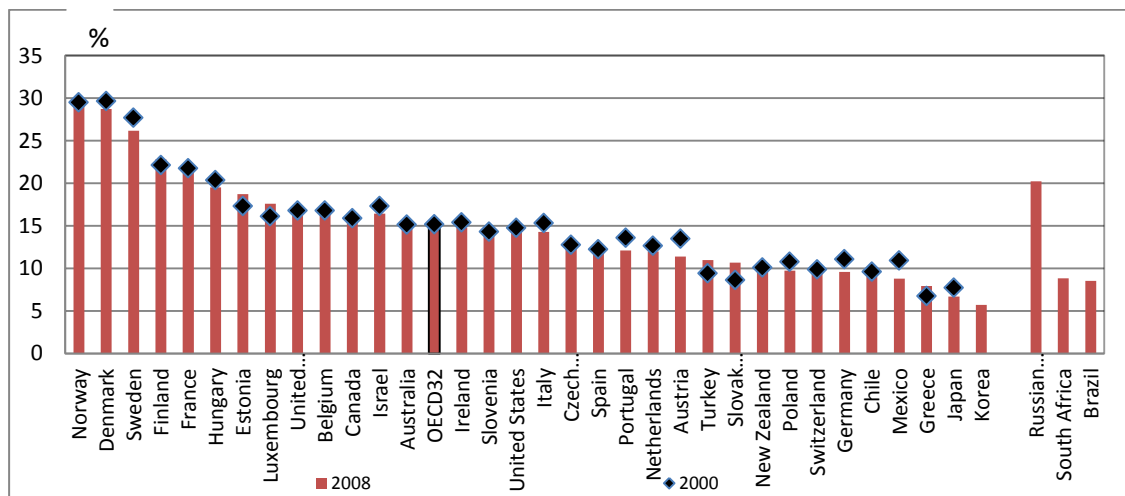


Figure 2. Employment in General Government as a Percentage of the Labour Force (2000 and 2008)

Source: OECD (2011), *Government at a Glance 2011*, OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/gov_glance-2011-en

As seen in the table, in Turkey, the employment in general government is very low compared to those of other countries and OECD average. Moreover, when poor labour force participation rate in Turkey is taken into consideration, low rate of employment in Turkish public sector becomes more and more visible. On the other hand, it is known that there are deep imbalances in terms of allocation of public personnel country-wide.

The relationship between efficiency and staffing norms practice was mentioned in previous sections. In this section, it will be emphasized that staffing norms practice, which is compatible with rational understanding of the market, is seen as the instrument of reducing the number of alleged surplus public personnel in Turkish Public Sector. In order to clarify the role of staffing norms practice in downsizing the state, policies imposed by international organizations and organizations representing capital owners in Turkey should be looked at. In various reports and statements, there is strong emphasis on reducing public employment numbers, although the table above refutes claims about overstaffing. Accordingly, staffing norms practice is presented by the Turkish Government as a solution to the problem of “overstaffing”.

After the 1990s, public personnel employment in Turkey was shaped by the articles stipulated in the project credits of the World Bank and Standby adjustments of the IMF (Güler, 2003a:18). It can be said that the justification of staffing norms practice is clearly seen in the parts of these documents focusing on public employment.

Use of credits given to Turkey by the World Bank has focused on the structure of Turkish Public Administration (ibid: 21). One of the important projects aimed at regulating Turkish Public Administration is “Public Financial Management Project” (PFMP) signed with the World Bank in 1995. Briefly put, one of the aims of the project was to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of expenditure and personnel management.

According to the main report, there were substantial overstaffing problems in Turkish Public Personnel System because of poor information about control over personnel expenditures. Additionally, staff quality and performance were low due to the inadequate wage structure, weak career incentives, and inefficient procedures. As a result, according to the report, staffing in Turkish Public Sector increased uncontrollably and irrationally in 1990s (The World Bank, 1995a:16). It can be derived from the report that each cadre was seen as a cost element in Turkish Public Sector by the World Bank. According to the report, cadre management was insufficient in the personnel cost control since it did not take into consideration budgetary constraints. Moreover, according to the report,” the cadres were not appropriate tools to reach the objective of stabilizing the number of civil servants and wage bill” (ibid: 17).

In another report (The World Bank, 1995b), adoption of a position/post management system was recommended. This would maintain records of the authorized posts/positions for government agencies, of authorizations to fill vacant positions, and of appointments to permanent positions. (ibid: 10) According to the report, these systems are “essential for the Government to regain control over civil service employment.” Effective control requires a post management system that ensures all fresh recruitment is against appropriate and budgeted positions.

It is clear that the position management system and the personnel information system almost have the same objectives with staffing norms practice. In other words, the function of staffing norms practice overlaps those of the position management system. Briefly, according to the report, employment of public personnel should depend on appropriate and budgeted positions. In order to do this, standards concerning staffing should be objectively defined. It is possible to say that these reports paved the way for staffing norms practice in Turkish Public Administration.

The Turkish government reported plans and attempts concerning re-structuring of the public administration to the IMF quarterly between 1999 and 2008. As such, in the World Bank report, public employment was one of the most remarkable points in the letter of intent prepared by the Turkish government and presented to the IMF. Some examples of the promises and implementations in the letter of intent are given:

- Personnel expenditures would be decreased in 2000 (...) (9 December 1999).
- The policy of hiring up to a maximum of 15% of retired personnel in the state economic enterprises (SEEs hereafter) would continue (18 December 2000).
- Personnel costs would be strictly limited. Public service and public sector hiring would be kept to a minimum (20 November 2001).
- The critical phase of major employment reductions and branch closures in Ziraat and Halk was almost complete. (...) Between April 2001 and June 2002 they had reduced staff numbers by 26,000 (30 July 2003).

These examples from letters of intent clearly demonstrate that staffing policy in the 2000s was established based on employment reduction in Turkish public sector. Furthermore, a letter of intent presented on 5 April 2003 indicated the place and the role of new staffing norms practice in public administration reform:

We will reform public administration. In particular, we will complete a functional review of government by July 2003. The primary objectives of this review are to restructure the public management in a citizen and sector oriented manner, accelerate the decision-making process by simplifying public organizational structure, and reduce public expenditures. To follow up on this, by end-2003, the Council of Ministers will adopt a civil service reform strategy. *This strategy will include: establishment of norms for personnel positions; introduction of objective recruitment and promotion criteria; streamlining of the job ladder; and simplification of the compensation system.* (Emphasis added)

That is to say, in the letters of intent presented between 2003 and 2008, the attempts concerning reduction of personnel expenditures had continued.

As mentioned before, organizations representing capital-owners in Turkey supported downsizing of the state's policies. At the beginning of the 2000s, TCEA, which is one of the supporters of neoliberal economic policies, recommended that economic activities of the state should be limited in accordance with the principle of a "minimum but effective state". Moreover, it also supported adoption of total quality management in public administration, practice of an efficiency program, expenditure reform and acceleration of privatization (Pirler, 2001). The following was said of the situation:

Today, programs which increase efficiency have been applied in the public administration of developed countries. However, Turkey has had not this kind of instrument yet. By providing the contribution of National Productivity Center, an efficiency program should be employed in Turkish public administration. (...) It should be aimed at delivering public services with as possible as minimum number of personnel but those who are highly qualified. It can be enabled to achieve this aim by practicing of efficiency and effectiveness program in public administration. Turkey has to establish new system eliminated political and anti-merit preferences. In the departments, the need of personnel in terms of quantity and quality should be defined by means of job analysis, job descriptions and staffing norms practices. On the other hand, chaos in public employment should be eliminated by legislative arrangements" (İlter, 2003).

İlter also indicates that understanding of result-based public service should be adopted and job protection in law no. 657 should be removed. It can be easily concluded from İlter's statements that he sees staffing norms practice as one of the instruments used in implementation of neoliberal policies, the adoption of businesslike understanding of staffing and downsizing the state.

Like TCEA, TIBA handled the public employment issue with research on “Public Reform”. According to the report of the research, there is “relatively” high overstaffing in public administration and what is important is inferiority and low performance of public personnel. This arises from irrational and inefficient employment policy that is not based on merit principle. According to report, staffing norms practice, that is, determination of the need of cadre and job descriptions through job analysis is the first step to solve these problems. (TÜSİAD, 2002:197) It can be said that both international organizations and national organizations representing capital-owners in Turkey see staffing norms practice as an instrument of the transformation of the public personnel regime in Turkey and, as a result, downsizing of the state.

To conclude, during budget discussions in 2001, Sümer Oral, who was the Minister of Finance between 1999 and 2002, stated that staffing norms practices in Turkish Public Sector had been accelerated with the aim of the efficient and effective use of public human resource (TBMM, 2001). When taken into consideration the developments aforementioned, it is clear that the statement of the Oral was not a coincidence. This is the reflection of the idea that each cadre is a cost of production. Hence, staffing norms practice is a concrete consequence of the pressures on “downsizing the Turkish Public Sector”.

3.5.2. Its Relationship with Other Neo-Taylorist Techniques

As is known, the new public management approach served to transfer managerial techniques such as strategic management, performance management, total quality management etc. to public administration after the 1980s. (Akbulut, 2007:78) The rupture of classical administrative tradition means that the adaptation of these managerial techniques is important so that the downsized and weakened mechanisms of the state can efficiently perform. In other words, the methods transferred from the

managerial field to public administration are seen as main elements enabling a “minimal but effective state”.

The new public management movement has also penetrated Turkish Public Administration for the same reason and it has deeply affected its traditional structure and administrative methods. In terms of public personnel policies, there have also been some important developments, particularly last 30 years. As well as adoption of competitive market conditions and privatization movements, some techniques and managerial approaches such as strategic human resource management, performance evaluation, total quality management, etc. have been attempted in Turkish public administration tradition without questioning their cultural relativism and suitability (Üstüner, 2000:15-20, Ömürgönülşen, 2003:29). These techniques and approaches have taken the place of traditional personnel administration in the world, and Turkish Public Administration has tried to adopt them since the 1990s.

Along with the rise of new public management, understanding of staffing in Turkish Public Administration has undergone some changes e.g. staffing practice has started to gain more market like characteristics. The first concrete step to alter traditional understanding of staffing, which is career-based and a person-oriented method, was done with staffing norms practice at the beginning of the 2000s. It is clear that this practice is one of the neo-Taylorist methods employed for improving efficiency and effectiveness in the use of public human resource. As has frequently been stated, staffing norms practice provides a new staffing model that is suitable for the ideals of the private sector since it is compatible with management understanding obsessed with rationalization and efficiency. In addition, it may enable the practice of other managerial (neo-Taylorist) methods in the Turkish administrative system.

One of these methods is “strategic human resource management”. In the first chapter, it was explained what both strategic management and human resource management are, and that they have been the most popular managerial methods desired by Turkish Public Administration. Strategic human resource management can be considered as a reflection of both of them. The OECD has supported “strategic human resource management” in that this practice gives governments the chance to align their

workforce. The most important reason why OECD has encouraged governments to employ strategic human resource management practices is that it enables them to have more strategic and efficiency-oriented workforce planning. Therefore, governments can have “the right number of people with the right skills at the right place.” Therefore, it is believed that due to strategic human resource management practices, governments can increase their efficiency, responsiveness and quality in service delivery (OECD, Workforce Planning and Management, n.d.).

When compared with the traditional career-based system in Turkish public administration, staffing norms practice is more compatible with strategic human resource management. Unlike the traditional system, it brings a job-oriented approach to staffing and efficiency to the fore. Staffing norms practice procures necessary information by means of job descriptions. Therefore, it is enabled to put more and more strategic objectives in terms of human resources. Furthermore, the level of success to meet strategic objectives becomes visible. That is to say, introduction of staffing norms practice in Turkish public administration would make an end of “blood incompatibility” between career-based rank classification and strategic human resource management.

Moreover, staffing norms practice will most likely be more compatible with strategic staffing in case of the adoption new public personnel regime based on numerical flexibility and contracting. In this system, the need for human resources can be also altered according to changing missions and objectives of organizations. It is clear that permanency of career-based understanding of recruitment is not suitable for the spirits of strategic management practices.

As well as strategic human resource management, staffing norms practice also paves the way for the adoption of other neo-Taylorist methods which are performance management and total quality management. It is possible to say that there is an “organic bond” between staffing norms practice and these methods.

Performance management is one of the main instruments of human resource management. Attempts to adopt performance management in Turkish Public

Administration accelerated with the “restructuring of public administration” movement carried out by the 59th government at the beginning of the 2000s. Even if it is not prevalent in Turkish Public Administration, today, some instruments of performance management such as pay for performance, performance evaluation etc. are currently used in some public organizations. It is expected to be more and more prevalent in public administration in the near future.

Performance evaluation is based on comparing the quantity and quality of the tasks conducted by personnel and job standards defined in advance. According to Güler staffing norms practice is pre-requisite for “performance evaluation” system (2005b:296). Staffing norms practice is performed in order to find the necessary number of human resources - in other words cadres/positions - with required qualities. It procures job descriptions and job specifications, which provide measurements necessary to evaluate performance by means of various job analysis methods. Therefore, average workload per position and employee standards, job standards and performance objectives come into focus. Performance of the employees is assessed in relation to what extent these objectives are reached. In other words, confirmation of to what extent these objectives have been accomplished by the employees is made (ibid). Bilgin calls this system as “staffing according to individual performance”. According to him, staffing norms practice is the most concrete consequence of human resource planning based individual performance. (Bilgin, 2004:79-82)

To put it briefly, as long as staffing norms practice is not implemented and workload per cadre and position is not measured, performance management and its evaluation would almost be impossible.

Performance management requires a change in the position/cadre regime. Undoubtedly, staffing systems should be strategic and flexible in order to properly carry out performance management mechanisms. In other words, it is almost impossible to use the instruments of performance management within a person-oriented career system based on job protection. It entails a transition to work order based on a factory system that allegedly included scientific job analysis methods.

(ibid: 296) Therefore, staffing norms practice establishes a suitable ground for implementation of the instruments of performance management, or else it would not work properly in a traditional career-based staffing system providing lifelong employment, not when the principle “survival of the fittest” is valid in the performance system. Undoubtedly, the fittest are those who deliver outstanding performances. In the system, underperformers are bound to be eliminated. Of course, this elimination is not possible in the career system.

Total quality management, which is another new managerial method that Turkish Public Administration has attempted to adopt, is seen as a “panacea” for inefficiency problem. In recent years, the emphasis on the word “quality” has seriously increased in both theory and practice (Yıldırım, 2000:260). It is known that there have been some attempts in Turkish public organizations - the Industry and Trade Ministry (its old name), the Turkish General Staff, the Gendarmerie General Command, and the old Social Insurance Institution to practice total quality management techniques.

It is stated that total quality management is a long-term practice, so it is recommended that public organizations obtain “ISO (International Organization for Standardization) 9000 Certification” as the first step the practice of total quality management. It includes “various aspects of quality management and contains some of ISO’s best known standards.” It is claimed that “the standards provide guidance and tools for companies and organizations who want to ensure that their products and services consistently meet customer’s requirements, and that quality is consistently improved.”⁴⁵

Like staffing norms practice, ISO 9000 is a technical system. ISO 9000 practice aims to define work processes by means of job descriptions and job analysis and, as such, continuous improvement of these processes would be possible. It is also stated that staffing norms practice should be seen as the first step of the transition to ISO 9000 standards, or these two practices should be seen as parallel processes (Aydın, 2004:

⁴⁵ ISO 9000 - Quality management (n.d.) Retrieved September 23, 2013 from [Http://Www.Iso.Org/Iso/Home/Standards/Management-Standards/Iso_9000](http://Www.Iso.Org/Iso/Home/Standards/Management-Standards/Iso_9000).

222). Accordingly, Aydın suggests that forms used during staffing norms practice be compatible with the forms of ISO 9000. Therefore, along with the budget allocated by public organizations for completing staffing norms practice, studies on ISO 9000 would be subsidized at the same time. Furthermore, trained teams employed for the establishment of the new position-oriented staffing model would also be used for ISO 9000 work, and staffing norms practice would provide convenience in terms of time and money (ibid: 222-223).

Nohutçu (2003:251) also points out that “position planning” should be made in order for total quality management practice in Turkish Public Administration to succeed. According to him, some problems such as the lack of human resource planning, overstaffing, employment of incapable personnel, nepotism and patronage, were also counted among the reasons for the need of staffing norms practice, prevent total quality management (Nohutçu, 2003:251).

To conclude, in this chapter, it is claimed that staffing norms practice is a neo-Taylorist method. It has been seen as an instrument of downsizing Turkish public sector. Undoubtedly, the most visible function of staffing norm practice in Turkish Public Administration is to control and restrain the number of public personnel. However, it can be said that Law No. 657, which was formed within the framework of the person-oriented career system, prevented staffing norms practice from properly serving its purpose of removing surplus personnel who have job protection. It is clear that, as a managerial technique, staffing norms practice conflicts with the career-based personnel system. If The Draft Law on the Fundamental Principles and the Restructuring of Public Administration had been put into practice staffing norms practice would probably have been more widespread in Turkish Public Administration. This is considering that the draft was intended to take the place of Law No. 657 and based on a more market-like personnel regime based on flexibility, contracted-employment and performance evaluation (Aslan, 2012:607). Abolishment of current State Personnel Law has been frequently discussed in recent years. If it occurs, the effects of managerialism on Turkish Public Administration are likely to be more visible. Therefore, it is important that potential consequences of neo-

Taylorist methods, such as staffing norms practice on public personnel and public service delivery, be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER 4

A FIELD STUDY ON STAFFING NORMS PRACTICE IN TURKISH PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

In this chapter, staffing norms practice will be analyzed from the perspectives of scholar practitioners who specialize in the practice, and the personnel from human resource departments of selected public institutions and public service unions. Using case studies and contributions of the interviewees, I will try to compare and contrast expectations from staffing norms practice and its consequences.

4.1. Previous Studies on Evaluations and Views of the Practitioners on Staffing Norms Practice

In public administration literature in Turkey, there are only a few sources providing feedback and evaluating its consequences, whereas, as mentioned before, there are a number of documents and inquiries investigating staffing norms practice in terms of its technical dimensions⁴⁶. In this part, it will only focus on the studies aimed at evaluating the issue and looking at its consequences.

One of these sources was written by a staffing norms practice project team consisting of academics from Hacettepe University. In this article, Hikmet Timur, who was the project coordinator of the team, and the rest of the team specified and evaluated the problems which were encountered during the staffing norms studies in a conference proceedings (Timur et.al. 2003:306-308). According to

⁴⁶ As mentioned before, there are a number of master theses and PhD dissertations about staffing norms practice. Some of them also have case studies focused on the staffing norms practices in National Education Ministry and Municipalities. However, these cases are analyzed in terms of technical dimensions of the practice. That is, I use the phrase “technical dimensions” in the mean that they problematize, for instance, how job analysis was practiced in X municipality etc.

them, there are both general and technical problems about the practice. General problems are specified as follows:

The first problem was a “lack of coordination” in staffing norms practice. The project team stated that if a pre-commission consisting of MPM, IPATME, public service unions, Turkish Labour Agency (TLA) and the Ministry of Labor had been established, staffing norms practices in different public institutions and agencies could have been conducted in a coordinated manner. However, there was no coordination among public organizations as staffing norms practices were carried out.

The staffing norms practice handbook published by the SPP was found to be insufficient by the project team members in terms of pointing out general procedures and principles of the practice. According to them, if these procedures and principles had been determined with project coordinators before starting the project, the projects would have been properly conducted. If a coordination and advisory committee that keeps in touch with projects members via the internet had been established by SPP, staffing norms practice could have been conducted with better coordination.(ibid:307)

Another problem expressed by the project team was related to job descriptions. According to them, before starting the project, SPP should have determined job titles common for public institutions e.g. secretary, telephone operator etc. and their job requirements. Moreover, job descriptions and specifications of some positions could have been outlined. If those had been done, there should have been harmony among different project teams.

It was claimed that staffing norms practice could have been started in public institutions that had overstaffing problems, and cost of personnel could then be significantly reduced in these institutions. It was also expressed that other problems arose from allocating insufficient resources to public institutions for staffing norms practice. (ibid)

As was also mentioned, other problems encountered during staffing norms practice were technical issues. Briefly, the project team claimed that the survey questions were not suitable for determining job descriptions and job requirements, which made it difficult to efficiently and effectively conduct staffing norms practice. An example of this is how the SPP forced public institutions to conduct the same survey, even though the tasks and positions were different in every public institution in terms of their structure and necessary qualifications. The last problem mentioned in the article was related to uncertainty in determining the number of the personnel (ibid).

The author of another study evaluating staffing norms practice gave feedback about the practice and recommended a new staffing model for mosques ⁴⁷ (Kılıç, 2003). Central to this study was the idea that the new staffing model generated by SPP was not applicable for each public institution. According to the author, for example, the same staffing method could not be used in Petroleum And Chemical Inc. which had been an industrial production public institution until it was privatized in 2007. Nor could it be practiced by Presidency of Religious Affairs because of their structural differences. The author recommended that, instead of forcing public institutions to use the same staffing principles, more flexible methods should be used for each institution according to_ the generic framework formed by SPP (ibid: 252).

In another study ⁴⁸(Ömürgönülşen & Öktem, 2004), which criticized mainstream approaches of staffing norms practice, it focused on the attitudes and roles of public unions and public personnel with regards to staffing norms practice. Interviews with executives and representatives of the public service unions and

⁴⁷ The author was also a practitioner from Hacettepe University and this article was created in light of the experiences of the author in Turkey's Presidency of Religious Affairs.

⁴⁸ This study mentioned above had an influence on shaping this thesis. As mentioned in the abstract of the article, this study was done in order to move the issue beyond its technical dimensions. Both of them are aimed at filling the same gap in public administration literature. However, in this thesis, it is also intended to enlarge the scope of the study. As well as attitudes of public service unions, evaluations and point of views of human resource departments of the public institutions that somehow experienced staffing norms practice and practitioners have been taken into consideration. This thesis aims to renew and elaborate Ömürgönülşen and Öktem's article which was written in 2004.

public employees were carried out, and they looked at the different statutes discussed in this study and tried to analyze their attitudes about staffing norms practice. As well as interviews, it also benefitted from collecting and scanning official publications of public unions in different political spectrums, as well as criticisms found on web sites concerning public employees.

Before mentioning the findings of the inquiry, important points expressed in the article (ibid) should be looked at. Criticisms were made about “current administration understanding” adopted in the course of staffing norms practice. First of all, as they indicated in the article, “modern participatory administration understanding” has been ignored to a large extent by mainstream literature on staffing norms practice (ibid: 252). The attitudes of the public unions to staffing norms practice were not taken into consideration. However, it is important to consider the opinions and contributions of the public unions about not only staffing norms practice but also other administrative methods adopted. Another important point to address is the idea about staffing norms practices as a privatization-based administrative approach. According to the authors, it was aimed at decreasing public employment and transitioning to flexible employment by means of staffing norms practice, although it was claimed that its function would be the determination of cadres and positions in terms of required quantity and quality to properly deliver public services. However, as a result of staffing norms practice in public institutions, cadres and positions were usually reduced by around 10-20%, while the needs of new cadres and positions occurring as a result of technical analysis were ignored (ibid: 254).

According to the study, contracted personnel and temporary workers employed in public institutions feel particularly anxious because of the unknown consequences of staffing norms practice (ibid: 256). On the other hand, there are various points of view expressed by public unions with different ideologies. Public unions having leftist ideologies approach to the practice negatively, whereas others have more positive attitudes (ibid: 256-260).

According to the authors, the problems regarding public personnel employment in Turkish Public Administration are so deep. Hence, a new staffing practice adopted. However, the main message of the article is that the ideas of public personnel and public unions should be taken into consideration while a new administrative method is adopted (ibid: 260-261).

4.2. The Purpose of the Field Study

I mentioned before that there are very few studies that have been carried out about the results of the staffing norms practice, even though it has been in place for over ten years in some public institutions of Turkish Personnel System. Therefore, it is predicted that it will be more widespread in future.

Due to this, it is necessary that feedback be provided for future practices. The purpose of the field study is to point out the impacts of staffing norms practice on public service delivery and the public labour process. Moreover, it aims to question whether the expectations of staffing norm practice have been met or not.

4.3. Methodology and Justification of Cases

The study uses the in-depth interview method. In-depth interview aims to “learn about some aspect or event of the world from the viewpoint of the “native” or interviewee” (Brower & Jeong, 2008:827). Hence, with the aim of evaluating the results and different aspects of staffing norms practice from different viewpoints, interviews are three-fold:

1. practitioners who are experts in this area and who use and implement the system;
2. the personnel who work at human resources departments of public institutions,

3. the executives of public service unions.

This chapter was written using some documents that were taken from public service unions and their websites, as well as some notes from the interviews. The interviews were made between February and November of 2013.

First of all, evaluations and views of practitioners about staffing norms practice by means of interviews are looked at. Four scholars were interviewed, three of whom were from different project groups focusing on staffing norms practice in public institutions, and one practitioner from the SPP. One of the project groups consisted of scholars from the department of business administration, while the others were scholars from the department of public administration. Practitioners will be labeled as practitioner A, B, C, D and E⁴⁹.

Over the course of the interviews, general questions were posed to practitioners about the practice and information was acquired about their experiences and ideas, as well as problems they encountered.

Interviews questions were aimed at generally questioning the practitioners' points of view about staffing norms practice, their objectives and the underlying reasons for carrying out the practice. The questions addressed to the practitioners were:

- What do you think about staffing norms practice in public institutions? Is it applicable to public administration?
- What are the possible and known benefits, and aims of this practice?
- Which processes were followed during the practice? Were they scientific?
- Why was staffing norms practice interrupted in 2003?
- Under what conditions can staffing norms practice be applied in public institutions i.e. what are your recommendations for making staffing practice work?

⁴⁹ Except from Practitioner A, the characters were randomly codified. A represents the practitioner who was a non-academic.

In the second part of the field study, staffing norms practices in eleven public institutions from different levels were addressed. Staff and administrators from these public institutions who are working in the human resource departments and who have a good grasp of staffing norms practice were interviewed. As well as these interviews, I also interviewed a Deputy who participated in staffing norms practice in the administrative organization of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

A few short questions were asked to the interviewees. These questions were primarily intended to learn about details of staffing norms practice in the public institutions. Whether expectations from the practice were met was also questioned.

The questions asked to the staff and administrators were:

- What aims did you have for when using staffing norm practices in your institution? Has this practice provided any solutions or caused any problems with personnel?
- How did you decide the numbers of employees you need in your institution? Do you carry out staffing norm practices according to scientific principles?
- When staffing norm practices were completed, was there a surplus of personnel or a requirement for new employees?
- In your institution, do you still use staffing norms practices? If yes, what are the problems you have encountered? How can you develop the practices?
- Do you think staffing norm practices are also applicable in other institutions?

I addressed the institutions that stopped using staffing norms practice, as well as the public institution which have been somehow using it since 2000. I organized this part under three topics and categorized them according to the levels and types of public institutions. These categories are public institutions at central level, public institutions at local level and state economic enterprises. These categories consist of the Ministry of National Education (MNE), the Ministry of Health (MH), the former Ministry of Forest (MF), the Turkish National Police (TNP), The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) at central level; Çankaya Municipality, Etimesgut

Municipality and Disaster and Emergency Management Directorates (DEMD) at local level, Atatürk Forest Farm (AFF) the Post and Telegraph Organization Incorporated Company (PTO), Turkish State Railways (TSR) the last three of which are state economic enterprises.

During the interviews carried out in public institutions, I observed that the interviewees usually had a tendency to put emphasis only on the technical aspects of staffing norms practice rather than its social, political and economic ramifications. Moreover, as covered in the next headings, they relied on staffing norms practice carried out by them. Hence, they have explained and evaluated the practice from the perspective of a practitioner⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ I can say that interviewees employed in municipalities mentioned the disadvantages of the practice as well as its advantages; unlike others i.e. I think that they showed a more objective approach. This may be because the norms cadres were determined by central administration, not by themselves.

Table 3. Staffing Norms Practice in Some Public Institutions and Agencies

Public Institution	Starting Date	Is staffing norms practice still valid?	Is there a specific regulation for staffing norms practice?	Public Service Unions ⁵¹ which were interviewed or benefitted from their reports and other documents
MNE	1999	✓	✓	Eğitim-Sen Türk Eğitim-Sen
MH	1994	✓	✓	SES Türk Sağlık-Sen
MF	2002	X	X	X
TNP	Started in 2002 re-started in 2007	✓	X	X
GNAT	2012		X	X
Çankaya Municipality	2006	✓	✓	X
Etimesgut Municipality	2006	✓	✓	X
DEMD	2009	✓	✓	X
AFF	2002	X	X	X
PTO inc.	Started in 2002 Re-started in 2003	✓	X	Haber-Sen ⁵² Türk Haber-sen
TSR	Started in 2002 Re-started in 2010	Determination process of cadres is still continuing.	X	BTS Türk Ulaşım-Sen

Source: Interviews

This encouraged me to do interviews with public service unions in order to also evaluate consequences of the practice from the perspective of public personnel who are the subject of this new staffing method. I interviewed 6 public service unions with left-wing and right-wing preferences. As such, regarding public institutions, I used questions that were intended to get information about the process and the

⁵¹ Eğitim-Sen, SES, Haber-Sen and BTS are public service unions which are subject to KESK (The Confederation of Public Workers' Unions). They have left-wing orientation. On the other hand, Türk Eğitim-Sen, Türk Sağlık-Sen, Türk Haber-Sen and Türk Ulaşım-Sen are public service unions which are subject to Türk Kamu-Sen (The Confederation of Turkish Public Personnel's Union). They have right-wing orientation.

⁵² I did not interview with Haber-Sen and Türk Sağlık-Sen but used some documents published by them.

consequences of staffing norms practice. I also benefited from the reports and other documents published on the unions' websites.

I observed that among selected public institutions, there is no single type of staffing norms practice. Each public institution has carried out staffing norms practice in different ways. This is not surprising since they have different characteristics according to type of public service, the number of personnel, organizational structure and size etc. Different practices naturally bring different results. So, to find the results of staffing norms practices, several public institutions and their organization at different levels were included in the study. In particular, among the institutions that carry out staffing norms practices, the institutions that are widespread around the country and have high numbers of employees were chosen for the study.

4.4. Interviews with Practitioners

Over the course of the interviews, it was observed that the practitioners had strong and positive beliefs about the applicability of staffing norms practice in public institutions. They generally believed that it would provide efficiency and effectiveness to public administration as long as practices are in accordance with its rules and scientific methods. For example, "Practitioner D" stated that staffing norms practice should absolutely be adopted in public administration since it is a necessity for effective and efficient public administration. Additionally, he stated that public administrators should adhere staffing norms practice in order to make administration more accountable. However, according to him, public institutions should want to adopt this practice on its own accord instead of regarding it as a legal obligation. If it is faithfully and voluntarily practiced by all public institutions, a public personnel pool could be established and, as a result, surplus staff could be transferred to other institutions where the number of personnel is insufficient (Interview with "Practitioner D", September 2013).

It is understood that none of the practitioners questioned applicability of staffing norms practice, which is a staffing method directly transferred from private sector to public administration. It was observed that all practitioners ignored the difference between administration and management. “Practitioner B” even stated that, *“management is management, that is, there is no difference among management of hospitals, public institutions and factories.”* (Interview with “Practitioner B”, August 2013). “Practitioner B” also claimed that staffing norms practice is applicable to public administration but it may not be a suitable for every profession in different public institutions. He gave the following example: *“For example, job analysis might not be possible to scrutinize the tasks of a judge. Of course, it cannot be said to a judge, “you must dispense justice within six months”* (Interview with “Practitioner D”, September 2013). According to him, staffing norms practice should be adopted as much as it can be. He claimed that, in Turkish public administration, the number of positions and cadres who are not suitable for this staffing method is almost 10% of the entire workforce.

All of them claimed that staffing norms practice is beneficial for public institutions. “Practitioner A” claimed that staffing norms practice enables personnel suitable for the job to be employed, that is, the principle “right man in the right job”. Furthermore, according to him, it provides a rational wage structure, job protection for civil servants and an objective promotion system. He also added that, thanks to staffing norms practice, the effect of political authority on public employment would be diminished. The reason for this is that, in the face of political pressure for new public employment, there would be the right to say that new employment is not suitable and needless according to our total workload. (Interview with “Practitioner A”, February 2013). Practitioner D, as mentioned above, said that staffing norms practice increases accountability thanks to cadres and positions defined according to the needs of the institutions, whilst practitioner E expressed that adopting it would provide efficiency and effectiveness since it helps to define the number of personnel with necessary qualifications. He also mentioned that determination of the workload and defining

the number of cadres according to the workload provides public institutions with the results that their cadre demands from the Ministry of Finance. Practitioner D thought that cadre demand based on scientific data is likely to easily persuade the Ministry of Finance to provide necessary numbers of personnel to relevant institutions.

It can be inferred from the interviews that staffing norms practice is seen as “an element of downsizing the number of public personnel”. Practitioner B claimed that staffing norms practice enables the aims of public institutions to be reached by using minimum resources. “Resource” refers “human resource”, which is the subject of staffing norms practice. He also added that “cadres and positions are some of the instruments to control public expenditures since more cadres and positions would mean more public expenditures”. He also told an anecdote that he experienced during the course of staffing norms practice in a public bank:

After staffing norms practice had been completed, the president of the Bank said that he was not strong enough to adapt this new staffing method to the Bank. Afterwards, I reported the findings of the staffing norms practice in the Bank to the administrative board in a meeting. They asked what they would do with surplus personnel showing up as a result of staffing norms practice. In response to this question, I said that you must primarily decide whether you are a charity organization or a business organization, because the main responsibility of business organizations is to survive, and this can be made possible only by reducing expenditures (Interview with Practitioner B, August 2013).

Similarly, practitioner E implied that, as a project group, they recommended public institutions where they carried out staffing norms practice. Their first move was to reduce the number of their personnel, and then to resolve imbalanced personnel allocation among the departments. (Interview with “Practitioner E”, November 2013).

Contrary to this, “practitioner A” stated that it was not aimed at reducing the number of personnel by means of staffing norms practice, but instead at resolving the problems arising from an imbalance in personnel distribution. Moreover, he did not agree that there is overstaffing in Turkish Public

Administration. Conversely, according to him, there is service failure due to insufficient numbers of personnel.

It can be inferred from the interviews that all practitioners think that staffing norms practice is a scientific method, and that they followed a scientific process in the course of the practice. It can be also said that staffing norms practices in public institutions were completed with intent by the scholar-practitioners. For instance, “practitioner D” pointed out that they carried out staffing norms practice in one of the biggest public institutions country-wide in 2002. In order to complete it, 660 institution employees and a project group consisting of approximately 15-20 persons were employed, as well as a contact person in each province of Turkey. 35 computer operators entered data for 3 months. The practitioner also expressed that job descriptions were made for all of the positions. A detailed report consisting of approximately 60,000 pages was prepared. However, he regretted to add that the reports are still waiting in the storages of the institutions.

At this point, a crucial question must be raised. Why could staffing norms practice not become prevalent and gain continuity in Turkish public administration even though a big effort was made? As indicated above, the reasons as to why staffing norms practices were interrupted in 2003 were asked to the practitioners as a core question. Four main reasons were given by the practitioners. They are as follows:

- Government reshuffle in 2002 and changing political preferences.
- The lack of legal infrastructure and career-based staffing system as the central component of Law No.657
- Negative reactions and resistance coming from public institutions, their personnel, public unions and leftist ideology.
- Reluctance of the SPP to carry out staffing norms practice in public institutions.

Firstly, it can be said that there was a consensus on the idea that the government reshuffle in 2002 negatively affected the process of staffing norms practice. As is known, staffing norms practice was carried out when Justice and Development Party (JDP) government took the place of the coalition government. As inferred from the interviews, although studies of practitioners on the new staffing model in public administration were appreciated and even supported in appearance, it is thought that the new government abstained from the new method because new job descriptions and their requirements were not likely to fit with the qualifications of public personnel candidates whom the new government planned to employ in public administration. It is thought that political influence may prevent staffing norms practice from being implemented sufficiently. It is also thought that the changing relationship between the IMF and Turkey also affected the process of staffing norms practice. As mentioned in the first chapter, in order to guarantee Turkey relief from its debt, the IMF had forced the Turkish government to decrease the number of public personnel, which was to blame for high public expenditures. One of the practitioners claimed that the coalition government was influenced more by the pressure of international organizations, but Justice and Development Part (JDP) government remained distant to their policies, one of which was to decrease the number of public personnel. According to him, the JDP also demonstrated its own intent by paying off Turkey's debts. Another practitioner implied that staffing norms practice was not completed due to abandoning downsizing of the state's policies in recent years.

Secondly, most practitioners thought that legal ground was insufficient in order to undergo staffing norms practice. For instance, practitioner B asserted that Civil servants Law no. 657 is a barrier in front of the staffing norms practice. According to him, it ties both practitioners and administrators' hands. Extermination of surplus cadres is impossible. He emphasized that the question of why staffing norms practice does not work in public administration, unlike in the private sector, should be asked. He gave the following example, *"Let us suppose that there are currently five administrators in a department of a public*

institution. As a result of staffing norms practice, it may be confirmed that the required number of the administrators should be only three.” (Interview with “Practitioner B”, August 2013) He complained that in such a case it is not easy to get rid of redundant personnel because of law no. 657.

To further elaborate on this, it was implied by the practitioner that strong job protection in Law no. 657, which is central to the statute law and career system in Turkish public administration, prevents the new staffing model from working properly. A similar problem was also stated by another practitioner. He claimed that staffing norms practice is not suitable for current legal ground. As a result of staffing norms practice, *“we cannot say to public personnel that we decided to move you from one place to another. Even if that was said, he/she would come back his/her first place by petitioning”* (Interview with Practitioner D, September 2013).

In the previous chapter, it was claimed that it seems as though staffing norms practice was concluded along with The Draft Law on the Fundamental Principles and the Restructuring of Public Administration that had come on the agenda at the beginning of April, 2003. The Draft could have been the beginning for staffing norms practice rather than end if it had been enacted. Under the circumstances, the statements above confirm this claim since the draft law based on restructuring of public administration, by removing law no. 657, would make legal ground suitable for the practice of the new staffing model.

Most practitioners mentioned negative reactions and resistance coming from public institutions, their personnel and public unions as the third barrier in front of the practice of the new staffing method. It was pointed out that the main reason underlying this resistance was that they rejected doing the same job with fewer staff, so there was a tendency to pay no attention to staffing principles imposed by practitioners as scientific.

Practitioner C mentioned some resistance they encountered during staffing norms practice. For instance, as a project group consisting of 15 members, they

carried out staffing norms practice in a public institution organized country-wide over a six month period. As a result of use of the “*scientific staffing method*”, they obtained the optimal number of cadres but, as practitioner C stated, “*They of course objected the optimal number of cadres*”. Instead, the institution insisted on their approval of the number of cadres that was more than 70% of recommended optimal number “(Interview with “Practitioner C”, August 2013).

Practitioner E stated that the administrations supported them over the course of staffing norms practice, whereas public employees and public unions objected. He stated that the personnel of public institutions with active roles in the staffing norms practice attempted to interfere with the practice in order to prevent their department being axed, that is, they tried to gain advantage. However, he complained that there are redundant departments and cadres in public institutions since, according to Law No.3046; it is possible to be established as a head of a department on the condition that there are three branch offices. And so, as though it is possible to carry out the same job with two branch offices, a job is comprised of three branch offices in order for a person to be established head of a department (Interview with “Practitioner E”, November 2013).

Some practitioners also mentioned that they encountered resistance coming from public unions and leftist ideology. Practitioner D stated that “*leftist ideology sees staffing norms practice as a fad and so does not support.*” Even if people with leftist ideology objected to policies of the IMF, he thought that the IMF was not doing the wrong thing. He pointed out that the IMF only said that the required number of personnel should be scientifically defined in order to prevent overstaffing, which is one of the black holes of the budget. According to him, “*this (staffing norms practice) is not concerned with rightist or leftist.*” (Interview with “Practitioner D”, September 2013)

The fourth reason, as stated by some practitioners, is why staffing norms practice could not properly work is because of reluctance by the SPP to carry out staffing norms practice in public institutions. One practitioner implied that practitioners in the SPP did not adequately believe in staffing norms practice,

whereas the other expressed that the SPP avoided sending reports generated by practitioners responsible for staffing norms practice to the Ministry of Finance. This was done on the grounds that it didn't have a sufficient number of personnel scrutinizing the reports that consisted lots of pages.

4.5. Staffing Norms Practice at Central Level

After 2003, some public institutions did not continue to carry out staffing norm practice, whereas others have adopted it as new staffing method. For instance, staffing norms practice was carried out in the old Ministry of Forests and the old Ministry of Environment in 2002. Both ministries received support from universities in order to properly carry out staffing norms practice. The interviewee, who was personnel of the former the Ministry of Forests, expressed that thousands of surveys were done in almost provincial directorates and every department of the Ministry (interview with a personnel formerly employed by the Ministry of Forests, March 2013). Even if staffing norms practice was completed, it could not be put into action alongside combining the ministries in question as the Ministry of Environment and Forests in 2003⁵³.

On the other hand, some institutions have somehow carried out staffing norms practice since 2000. Consequences and its performance to meet expectations will be evaluated through selected cases mentioned above.

4.5.1. The Ministry of National Education (MNE)

Undoubtedly, the Ministry of National Education (MNE hereafter) is the most experienced public institution in terms of performing staffing norms practice. Early

⁵³ Ministry of Environment and Forests was also divided two administrative structures as Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning and Ministry of Forest and Water Works in 2011. Decree law about their structures and tasks was published in Official Gazette dated of 4th July 2011.

studies on staffing norms practice were started in 1990, and the most serious attempt to perform the practice in the MNE were issued by the Regulation on Norm Cadres of Head Teachers and Teachers who Work in Educational Institutions and Schools Subject to MNE ⁵⁴, which was published in Official Gazette No. 23782 in 1999. The interviewee stated that the regulation made has not remained the same. It has been revised according to changes in the systems and changing needs. He also argued that the last alteration to the regulation was made as result of 4+4+4 education policy (interview with the personnel of the MNE, February 2013). The regulation was revised three times in 2003, 2011 and 2013 respectively.

The regulation was issued on the grounds of ending the imbalance of teacher cadres, providing equality of opportunity in education by enabling equal distribution of public human resource and extermination of nepotism in teacher appointments (Keskin & Demirci, 2003:29). According to the first article of the regulation, the MNE has aimed at defining the optimal number of head teachers and teachers in the public educational institutions⁵⁵ through staffing norms practice. This means that if the number of teachers is more than the determined optimal number, they would be appointed to public educational institutions where the number of teachers is not enough to perform educational activities.

The interviewee proudly emphasized that the success of the staffing norms practice completely belongs to them. He also expressed that academicians who specialized in the practice were assigned to carry out staffing norm practice in MNE at the beginning. However, then, by receiving opinions of the SPP and the Ministry of Finance, it was essentially carried out by the MNE. As expressed by the interviewee, first of all, a correction chart for current staffing norms of the schools was issued. It was sent to provincial directorates of national education and then head teachers. Afterwards, a module was prepared by the MNE Independent Communication Association (ICA) and it was filled in the using the data coming

⁵⁴ Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına Bağlı Okul ve Kurumların Yönetici ve Öğretmenlerinin Norm Kadrolarına İlişkin Yönetmelik

⁵⁵ The interviewee stated that it is planned to start staffing norms practice in the main body of the Ministry.

from head teachers. Accordingly, the number of cadres was determined in the public educational institutions (interview with the personnel of the MNE, February 2013). Importantly, the number of cadres was determined according to the demands of schools, instead of the demands of ministers or high profile managers like it was in past. This is an apparent indicator that there was coordination between schools and the MNE over the course of staffing norms practice.

The interviewee stated that the aim of staffing norms practice is twofold: to provide efficient and effective staff allocation by preventing over-concentration of the MNE personnel in the schools, and to deliver public service by way of a sufficient number of qualified personnel. Moreover, he also argued that these aims have been accomplished by 90% and need for teachers and their course load has been determined through staffing norms practice (Interview with the personnel of the MNE, February 2013).

Practitioner A, who was a formerly employed in SPP, stated that staffing norms practice in the MNE has been able to prevent over-concentration of teachers in the schools which are centrally located. Surplus teachers have been distributed to schools that suffer from a lack of teachers. He also expressed that before staffing norms practice was carried out in the MNE, employment of teachers was careless. He gave the example that it was possible to recruit 20,000 geography teachers even though only 10,000 were needed, whereas 40,000 English teachers could be recruited while the real need was 70,000 (Interview with “Practitioner A”, February 2013). It can be inferred that there is a need for a systematic staffing method determining cadres of the MNE in terms of quantity and quality in order to provide public employment based on a plan.

However, Staffing norms practice in the MNE has been criticized. The most important criticism is about criteria used in the determination of the number of teacher cadres. According to the Regulation Concerning Norm Cadres Of Head Teachers And Teachers Who Work In Educational Institutions Subject to the MNE, although cadres defined for head teachers and their deputies are determined in accordance with the number of the students in a school, the cadres defined for

teachers are determined according to weekly course hours or the number of classes (for classroom teachers).⁵⁶ Public service union executives are opposed to criteria used in the determination of norm cadres for teachers. According to them, as with determination of head teachers' cadres, the number of students must be taken into consideration. They have claimed that the current method does not show an approach considering those getting the public services and it ignores public interest.

Data on student-teacher ratio issued by OECD confirmed the ideas and criticisms of the public service union executives about criteria used in the determination of teacher cadres. For instance, at primary school level, the average class size⁵⁷ is 26.3 in Turkish public education institutions, whereas the OECD average is 21.3. (OECD, 2013:374) At secondary school level, on average, there are fewer than 14 students for each teacher in OECD countries, but, on average, there are 18.7 students for each teacher in Turkey (ibid: 376). According to the information obtained from executives of public services unions, there is no standard class size in Turkish public educational institutions.

In an interview with members of Eğitim-Sen⁵⁸, they expressed that cadre shortages in the MNE arise due to fact that the number of teacher cadres are determined in accordance with weekly course hours or the number of classes. In other words, the number of students is not taken into consideration.

For example, if 60 students are put in one class, the need for teacher cadres would be 50,000. However, if there were 24 students per each teacher, the cadre need would be approximately 350,000. We think that the need for teacher cadres is at least 300,000 in Turkish public educational institutions in the event that classes consist of ideal number of students. Therefore, both problems of teacher candidates who are not appointed will be solved and quality of public service will be increased (Interview with Eğitim-Sen Executive, June 2013)

⁵⁶ See Norm Cadres of Head Teachers and Teachers who Work in Educational Institutions and Schools Subject to MNE in the Second Part

⁵⁷ Class size was calculated by dividing the number of students enrolled by the number of classes i.e. it indicates there average number of students in a classroom.

⁵⁸ Eğitim-Sen, which is short for the education and science workers' union, is a public service union of the left, whereas Türk Eğitim-Sen is a teacher's public service union of the right.

A Türk Eğitim-Sen executive emphasized the similar concerns. Moreover, he also purported that although auditors of the MNE calculate the need for teachers according to the lowest level necessary, the MNE has employed a number of teachers that is fewer than that defined by the auditors (Interview with Türk Eğitim-Sen executive, 2013) It might be inferred from these claims that staffing norms practice is used as an instrument for keeping public employment under control and doing the best job with minimum personnel.

According to main principles of the Regulation Concerning Norm Cadres of Head Teachers and Teachers who Work in Educational Institutions and Schools Subject to the MNE⁵⁹, training and education services must be carried out with necessary and sufficient numbers of personnel. Additionally, class sizes should be the same as international norms. Under the conditions mentioned above, it is doubtful whether main principles of staffing norms practice have been provided.

It is expected that staffing norms practice provides employment of personnel specifically suitable for the job. That is to say, it requires that specific requirements defined in cadre descriptions should overlap with a background in education and other qualifications of those occupying these cadres. It is thought that the staffing norms process, which provides job descriptions and specifications for each cadre makes recruitment and promotions transparent. This is usually seen as the problem of administrative cadres, which do not need any specialization. However, although staffing norms practice was carried out for years in these fields, it is possible to encounter similar problems in terms of teacher cadres. For instance, the interviewee from Türk Eğitim-Sen expressed that, along with the new education policy 4+4+4, five years of primary school decreased to four years. Therefore, it is known that approximately 40,000 teachers became surplus to requirements. The point expressed by Türk Eğitim-Sen executive is important:

⁵⁹ See Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına Bağlı Okul ve Kurumların Yönetici ve Öğretmenlerinin Norm Kadrolarına İlişkin Yönetmelik, Article 5, Paragraphs a and e.

After 4+4+4 policy, in order to decrease the number of teachers becoming surplus to requirements in their school, these teachers were given an opportunity to change their own field of specialization. As a result, for instance, some surplus class teachers became Turkish language teachers (...) Teachers who were forced to change their fields due to norm cadre pressure want to go back to their own area of expertise. (Interview with Turk Eğitim-Sen Executive, June 2013)

This means that these teachers were moved from their field of specialization which they made great efforts to enter for years due to the pressure of staffing norms practice. Undoubtedly, this would inevitably decrease the quality of education and cause teachers lose their enthusiasm for the job. On the other hand, the interviewee also stated that they had believed that staffing norms practice may be helpful in terms of equitable distribution of teachers to educational institutions throughout Turkey.

4.5.2. The Ministry of Health (MH)

The second case of this section is staffing norms practice in the Ministry of Health (MH hereafter). Staffing norms practice was started in the MH in 2002 according to the calendar issued in 2001. Scholars and staff from the MH participated in determination of norm cadres. Although cadre standards were defined from nurses to doctors, staffing norms practice could not have been brought into action.

However, determination of norm cadres in the MH dates back to the 1990s. A regulation named as the Ministry of Health Provincial Organization Bed and Cadre Standards⁶⁰ was published in the Official Gazette No. 22093 in 1994. It is apparent that the phrase “cadre standards” has been used as synonym for “norm cadre”. With this regulation, the maximum number of cadres was generally determined according to the aims of public services, and the types and the number of beds in health institutions situated at a local level. According to the database of the Official

⁶⁰ Sağlık Bakanlığı Taşra Teşkilâtı Yatak ve Kadro Standardları Yönetmeliği

Gazette, this regulation had been changed again and again. It was then completely repealed in 2013.⁶¹

Today, according to current regulations⁶² on the appointment and transfer of health personnel, distribution of cadres and position of health personnel is arranged according to “staff distribution charts⁶³”. Staff distribution charts are a workforce planning method indicating countrywide allocation of health personnel according to their job titles and branches. Allocation of health personnel (i.e. the number of cadres and positions in health institutions subject to the MH) is determined in compliance with some criteria such as the number of consultations, medical capacity of equipment, population etc.

I have recognized that the interviewee was worried about rapid changes in the regulation since there are lots of variables affecting the number of norm cadres. The interviewee said the following about the situation: *“For example, when new equipment is bought a hospital, its cadre standards must be rearranged. So, determination of norms is very difficult for our institution. It must be easier in factories and private enterprises.”* (Interview with the personnel of the MH, February 2013)⁶⁴

The interviewee claimed that staffing norms practice in the Ministry has been based on scientific principles. The required number of health personnel is determined via job analysis:

⁶¹ See “The regulation on the cancelation of bed and staffing standards of the Ministry of Health’s provincial organization (“Sağlık Bakanlığı Taşra Teşkilatı Yatak ve Kadro Standartları Yönetmeliğinin Yürürlükten Kaldırılmasına Dair Yönetmelik”), published in Official Gazette No. 28697 Interview with the personnel of the MH was arranged before the abolishment of this regulation.

⁶² The regulation of the Ministry of Health on Appointment and Rotation (Sağlık Bakanlığı ve Bağlı Kuruluşları Atama ve Yer Değiştirme Yönetmeliği). It was published in Official Gazzete No.28599, in 2013. Moreover, in 2012, it was also put into action a regulation adjusting cadre standards of administrative services in provincial organizations. The regulation was also revised three times within the same year. Their cadre standards are determined in accordance with the population of the province.

⁶³ Personel dağılım cetvelleri

⁶⁴ Interviewed in Turkish Institute of Public Hospitals in Ankara.

We know the time period allocation for every health service activity, which is how many minutes a job takes and the number of incoming patients to public health institutions. So, we divide the entire workload into eight hour shifts for each employee, which are legal daily working hours. Therefore, the number of norm cadres is obtained. (Interview with the personnel of the MH, February 2013)

The interviewee stated that the changing number of beds and specific needs of provinces are taken into consideration in the determination of health personnel requirements in terms of quantity and quality. He gave this example: *“there must be more cadres for internal medicine specialists in health institutions located in Zonguldak due to the fact that the main source of living is mining.”* With that, he emphasized that requirement has been the main principle adopted over the course of staffing norms practice.

I asked the interviewee if, as a kind of staffing norms practice, the staff distribution chart practice has contributed to equal allocation of health personnel working in public health institutions. He stated that the practice has of course helped to prevent personnel imbalances in public health institutions. However, he also emphasized that the number of health personnel defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) has still not been reached. However, he believed that it would be reached by 2023.

According to public service unions, the problems which have been experienced in the field of education have been experienced in the field of health in terms of determining the need for health personnel according to as possible as lowest level. For example, Türk Sağlık-Sen⁶⁵, which is another public service union with right wing ideology, appealed a case to the Council of State in order to have staff distribution charts cancelled. In lawsuit petition, it was claimed that norm cadres prepared within the framework of staff distribution chart were out of proportion with the scope of health services. It was also claimed that according to old regulation of cadre standards, personnel shortage was over 100,000. Nevertheless, the number of

⁶⁵ The Union of Employees Working in the Field of Turkish Health and Social Services (Türkiye Sağlık ve Sosyal Hizmet Kolu Kamu Görevlileri Sendikası.). It is a public service union acting in the health services. It has a right-wing orientation.

cadres was decreased by approximately 50% with the new regulation. According to the public service union, therefore, artificial surpluses had been generated.

In the lawsuit, they also claimed that requirements were not taken into consideration when staffing norms practice was carried out. The public service union used the following example to support their case:

In a period when tuberculosis cases increased, the number of cadres in tuberculosis dispensaries decreased as much as possible. The number of total norm cadres in Ankara, which had been 342, was reduced to 94. (Türk Sağlık-Sen, 2006)

If this claim had any truth to it, this means that cadres had not been determined by taking into consideration needs of society and the public interest, even though staffing norms practice had been carried out.

As such in the field of education, the health service has also experienced a similar situation in terms employment recruitment of the personnel specifically suitable for the job, which is one of the main expectations of staffing norms practice. According to claims of a Health and Social Services Laborers Union (SES)⁶⁶ executive, along with the transition to a family medicine system, practicing physicians were employed as family physicians. He emphasized that family medicine is a specialized field and requires a six-year education program. However, practicing physicians were transformed into family physicians with a one-week certification program (interview SES executive, July 2013).

With staffing norms practice, cadres determined to be specialized would be occupied by those who have merit and the necessary educational background. However, it is seen today that cadres are determined, as a result of abruptly changing public policies, quickly and carelessly. It is not surprising that this kind of practice is far from increasing public interest.

I will now give a general evaluation of staffing norm practice by using experiences from the MNE and the MH. It is clear that these institutions, which have large

⁶⁶ It is a health workers' public service union with a left wing orientation.

numbers of personnel, should adopt staffing method which is suitable for planning public employment⁶⁷. It is apparent that current staffing norms practice cannot allow a fair number of excess staff. While staffing norms practice has been applied in order to preventing over-concentration of surplus personnel in health and education institutions, personnel shortages becoming more apparent along with determining cadres and positions have been ignored. Unfortunately, public services are delivered by insufficient numbers of personnel. Determination of cadres and positions according to criteria ignoring the benefit of those getting public services reinforces this problem. This can be interpreted as staffing norms practice being an instrument limiting public employment. Another important problem is that there is no coordination between faculties training health or education personnel and Ministries while cadres and position of ministries are determined through staffing norm practice. In other words, cadres are determined without taking into consideration the number of graduate students from these faculties or their specialties. So, this means that faculties would continue to train, as public service union executive call them, the “idles of future” and unfortunately, problems concerning public employment then continue.

4.5.3. Administrative Organization of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT)

The last case of this section is staffing norms practice in the administrative organization of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT hereafter). In

⁶⁷ One of these institutions is Turkish National Police (TNP). Studies on staffing norms practice started in 2002. By receiving academic support, job analysis and determination of the workload for every rank were made in each province but it could not be put into action. However, the interviewee stated that cadre standards determined by scholars are not used. However, the interviewee from TNP stated that along with the TNP's own initiative, staffing norms practice was unofficially re-started and implemented in 2007. It was also expressed that staffing norms practice in the TNP has been “attentively” carried out even though there are almost 1300 different job titles. The interviewee emphasized that “we have departments all around Turkey and our workload is very heavy. We analyzed the jobs of which workload can be measured. (...)From crime scene investigation teams to frogman, job descriptions have been elaborately made”. (2013, interview in TNP) This case indicates that human resource planning is inevitable for large public institutions.

article 33 of the Law on the Administrative Organization of the GNAT⁶⁸ No. 6253, it is enacted that staffing norms practice would be carried out in the administrative structure of the GNAT. It was also pointed out that the quantity and quality of the administrative staff were to be defined by the bureau of the assembly by taking into consideration principles of staffing norms practice. Staffing norms practice in its administrative organization⁶⁹ was started with the help of IPATME and it was completed in March, 2012. As a result of the practice, it was determined that the original number of staff was 4228, whereas its optimal number should have been 2728. In other words, it means that 1520 personnel were surplus⁷⁰. As a result of staffing norms practice, 30% of administrative personnel of the GNAT were intended to be removed⁷¹.

The practices of staffing norms practice came to sudden conclusion. On March 29th, 2012, Tanju Özcan, who is deputy of Bolu and secretary member of the bureau of the assembly, attached an annotation to the item in the decision text concerning acceptance of staffing norms practice. As a result of it being accepted, he sued the Council of State to stop to the execution of staffing norms practice in the administrative organization of the GNAT. Afterwards, staffing norms practice was stopped.

The reasons for his objection are important in terms of questioning whether staffing norms practice guarantees objectivity and public interest under all circumstances. Özcan emphasized that staffing norms practice carried out in the administrative organization of the GNAT was contrary to “public interest”, since, according to him,

⁶⁸ Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanlığı İdari Teşkilatı Kanunu.

⁶⁹ Staffs that were employed in the service of the deputies and who worked in political party group were accepted from staffing norms practice.

⁷⁰ TBMM’de bin 520 personel fazlalığı var (March, 9, 2012) *Sabah Gazetesi* Retrieved April, 11, 2013 from <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2012/03/09/tbmmde-bin-520-personel-fazlaligi-var>

⁷¹ TBMM yüzde 30 küçülüyor, bin 520 personel başka kurumlara gönderilecek (March, 8, 2012). *T24*, Retrieved April, 11, 2013 from <http://t24.com.tr/haber/tbmm-yuzde-30-kuculuyor-bin-520-personel-baska-kurumlara-gonderilecek/198859>

the number of surplus personnel was not determined by taking into consideration scientific or objective criteria. According to Özcan, the changes were directed at personnel of a certain age: *“Being personnel for twenty years does not mean that she/he is inefficient. On the contrary, young personnel may also be ineffective.”* (Interview with Tanju Özcan, April 2013)

Özcan also stated that staffing norms practice in the administrative organization of the GNAT was political. In other words, it was not a coincidence to choose surplus personnel from those being retired since they were not recruited during the period of ruling party. He also added: *“Up to the suspension of staffing norms practice, 750 employees of 1250 retired because of threats and pressure.”* According to Özcan, staffing norms practice is a method seeing personnel as just a “number”, “not as human beings”⁷². This last statement of Özcan brings to mind that staffing norms practice may compatible with hard HRM which approaches employees as just a factor of production.

4.6. Staffing Norms Practice in Local Governments

In this part, staffing norms practices in the municipalities and Provincial Disaster and Emergency Management Directorates (PDEMD hereafter) are taken into consideration.

4.6.1. Municipalities

Staffing norms practice came onto the agenda in municipalities as a result of local government reform after the 2000s. According to article 49 of Municipality Law No. 5393, article 21 of Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 and article 17 and 22 of Local Administrative Unions Law No. 5355, staffing norms practice was carried out

⁷² Norm kadro mahkemelik oluyor (April, 11, 2012). Anadolu Ajansı, Retrieved April, 11, 2013 from <http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/s/45050--norm-kadro-mahkemelik-oluyor>

in local governments. On the basis of these articles, a decree aimed at regulating staffing norms practice in municipalities, their subsidiaries and local administration unions⁷³ was issued in 2006. As seen in article 5 of the decree, the main criterion considered in the determination of norms cadres is population of municipalities.

According to article 1 of the decree, the aim of staffing norm practice in local governments is fourfold: Effective and efficient use of public resources, equitable distribution of local public services, increase in quality of public services which are delivered by municipalities, and employment of necessary numbers of qualified personnel.

There exist some important criticisms about staffing norms practice in local government. According to the Local Government Research, Guidance and Education Association⁷⁴ (LGRGE), staffing norms practice in local governments has resulted in four main consequences: (YAYED, n.d.):

Firstly, according to LGRGE, employment of permanent public personnel and workers has been limited and even decreased through staffing norms practice. As mentioned above, the number of cadres and positions was primarily defined according to population of municipalities. This number cannot exceed the upper limit determined by means of staffing norms practice, whereas it is possible to employ a total number of personnel that is fewer than maximum limit. Furthermore, if the current number of public personnel is more than the number of norm cadres defined through staffing norms practice, surplus positions and cadres are frozen. That is, when personnel leave the job due to various reasons, their positions are eliminated. Furthermore, employment of temporary workers is also limited. LGRGE interprets this limitation as “an act paving the way for proliferation of outsourcing”.

⁷³ See the fundamentals of norm cadre standards and principles of municipal and local administrative units (Belediye ve Bağlı Kuruluşları ile Mahalli İdare Birlikleri Norm Kadro İlke ve Standartlarına İlişkin Esaslar). It was transformed with regulation that was issued in Official Gazzette No. 26442, in February 22, 2007.

⁷⁴Yerel Yönetim Araştırma Yardım ve Eğitim Derneği (YAYED)

Secondly, according to LGRGE, staffing norms practice has caused to “the privatization of local public services”. Article 19 of the decree, with the title “outsourcing of services”, ordered that public services which must not be delivered by civil servants and other public personnel were to be outsourced⁷⁵. According to LGRGE, with this article, the articles of municipal law no 5393 have been violated. This means that local public services have been released to the market day by day.

Thirdly, according to LGRGE, it seems that if democratization of and authorization for local governments are supported staffing norms practice indicates that it is just an illusion since principles and standards concerning staffing norms have been determined by central government. As seen in article 49 of Municipality Law no.5393, general principals and standards about cadres and position are defined by the Ministry of Interior and the State Personnel Presidency, while only some changes, such as changing the names of positions and cadres can be made by municipal council. This is a contradiction of “localization principle”.

Last but not least, according to LGRGE, staffing norms practice forced municipalities to employ contracted personnel. As known, article 49 of municipal law No. 5393 enables the municipalities to employ contracted personnel:

“The municipality may employ personnel by contract in conformity with the norm positions to use in environmental, health, veterinary, technical, legal, social, economic cultural and art, data processing and communication, planning, research and development, educational and consultancy services; to hire specialist physicians, veterinarians, lawyers, engineers, analysts and programmers, architects, midwives, nurses, technicians, experts etc.”

This is also re-emphasized in article 21 of the decree of the council of ministers about staffing norms practice in municipalities. According to LGRGE staffing norms practice will raise contracted employment in local governments since the level of contracted employment was an exception in the past.

In an interview with Mahmut Seren (Seren, 2006: 43-45), who is former vice president of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK), he

⁷⁵ As a result of the arrangement of the regulation in 2011, this article was cancelled.

criticized staffing norms practice in municipalities. According to him, along with the decree regulating staffing norms practice in local governments, the number of municipal workers and civil servants has decreased to a large extent since 2006. Therefore, municipalities have been compelled by local public services to outsource i.e. municipalities have been made to keep up with marketization. He also complained that cadres have been determined by central administration according to the decree. In other words, neither municipalities nor their councils have any right to speak about determination of cadres i.e. they have been bypassed in the process. According to Seren, this clearly contradicts the statements of localization frequently repeated since the early 2000s (ibid).

In order to analyze staffing norms practice in local government, two interviews were carried out with municipality personnel employed in the human resource departments of the Çankaya and Etimesgut Municipalities. I will try to present and evaluate the statements of interviewees by taking into consideration expectations and criticisms.

I have observed that the main outcome of the staffing norms practice in municipalities is personnel shortage. Both interviewees complained that staffing norms practice forced their municipalities to deliver local public services with fewer personnel. They also stated that lack of permanent personnel forced municipalities to employ contracted personnel or to deliver public services by means of subcontractors. The interviewee from the human resource department of the Çankaya Municipality stated that they had already suffered from personnel shortage even before staffing norms practice because their municipality boundaries are very large. He thought that their public service delivery was furthered bothered along with the introduction of staffing norms practice. He has also stated that they needed new technicians, lawyers, and municipal police. However, because of the excessive limitations of determined norm cadres, they could not employ necessary staff as permanent personnel. Instead, they have been employed as contracted personnel or subcontractors (Interview with personnel of Çankaya Municipality, June 2013)

The interviewee from the Etimesgut Municipality stated that staffing norms practice initially indicated that there was overstaffing in some departments. However, he has also emphasized that determination of cadres according to population causes some crucial problems, particularly in municipalities with less population.

The population of Etimesgut Municipality is approximately 450,000. However, we have only 70 municipal police. This is a common problem of all municipalities since it is a local public service which cannot be subcontracted. However, outsourcing for private security guards has been allowed for the municipalities. Today, services delivered by municipal police can be delivered by private security guards to a large extent. Instead of this, municipal police cadres could have been increased from 70 to 170, even if our need is at least 200 municipal police, both staff can be employed as permanent and our municipal police shortage problem can be solved (Interview with personnel of Etimesgut Municipality, October 2013).

The interviewee also said that staffing norms practice cannot balance distribution of municipal personnel, in other words, cannot achieve the aims.

As well as statements of the interviewees, the Mayor of the Çankaya Municipality Bülent Tanık claims that along with staffing norms practice, it is aimed at transforming municipalities to companies based on market understanding.

“For years, it has been frequently said that municipalities unfairly employ redundant personnel. By hiding behind this claim, it is aimed at downsizing the state through promoting marketization and outsourcing. We deliver local public services to 2.5 million people living in Çankaya by means of very limited number of cadres. Our human resources, which were already insufficient in the past, have been made more and more insufficient.(...)”⁷⁶

Tanık also emphasized that they cannot provide staff renewal due to staffing norms practice. Moreover, he demanded an increase in the number of cadres of municipal

⁷⁶ Norm Kadro Halkın ve Çalışanın Aleyhine. (February, 17, 2013). Retrieved December, 11, 2013 from http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/oku.php?yazi_id=17971

personnel. According to him, necessary arrangement enabling employment of one hundred personnel in return for two hundred retired personnel should be made⁷⁷.

Both interviewees implied that determination of cadres and positions of municipalities by central administration contradicts with the localization movement that started in the early 2000s because, according to article 49 of Municipal Law No. 5393, the number of cadres is determined by the Ministry of Interior and the SPP. They express that Municipal council has the right to change the name of titles, whereas formation of new cadres by the council is not possible.

To summarize, the results of staffing norms practice in municipalities have been personnel shortage, proliferation of subcontracting and centralization, and these results confirm the criticisms. Under these conditions, it is difficult to say that expectations from staffing norms practice - equitable distribution of local public services, increase in quality of public services which are delivered by municipalities, and employment of personnel with necessary qualification in necessary number - materialized. As a result, expectations about staffing norms practice have become much smaller.

4.6.2. Provincial Disaster and Emergency Management Directorates (PDEMD)

In the last case of this section, another staffing norms practice in the Provincial Disaster and Emergency Management Directorates (PDEMD hereafter) will be addressed. The reason why this case is analyzed under the part of local governments is that these directorates, which are located in 81 provinces, are within the scope of provincial special administration and subject to the governor⁷⁸. Governors are responsible for administrations of the directorates. However, the Prime Ministry the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (DEMP hereafter), which was established in 2009, has been held officially responsible for

⁷⁷ Tanık: "Norm Kadro Çifte Standarttır". (August, 27, 2010). Retrieved December, 11, 2013 from http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/oku.php?yazi_id=7607

⁷⁸ See The Law on Organization and Tasks Of Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency, Article 18 (Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun)

carrying out staffing norms practice in PDEMPD in order to provide standardization in the determination of the cadres for them. This is despite these directorates being subject to the governor in terms of other activities such as appointment of personnel to determined cadres. Interviewees from the DEMP, who carry out staffing norms practice, say that they did not take any support from academic institutions in the course of staffing norms practice. A regulation on staffing norm practice in the provincial Disaster and Emergency Management Directorates was made by the DEMP in 2009.

It is possible to say that staffing norms practice carried out by the DEMP is better model than the practice in municipalities. Interviewees from the DEMP's human resource department pointed out that they placed probably of disaster in the provinces to forefront while determining norm cadres. That is to say, the charts of norm cadres are determined according to disaster risk in the provinces. They also expressed that the opinions of the provinces about cadres was received and then charts were revised (Interview with DEMP personnel, March 2013). For example, in some provinces, there was a need for lawyers because of ongoing cases arising from former disasters. Directorates located in these provinces demanded lawyer cadres and then the DEMP, instead of directing them to contracted employment, generated cadres which were suitable for occupation by lawyers. This example indicates that the central body responds to the cadre needs of provinces and they are not bypassed (Interview with DEMP personnel, March 2013).

They also purported that, unlike the general approach in Turkish public administration, cadres for engineers are elaborately and specifically determined without taking into consideration increases in the number of cadres. For instance, there are cadres for meteorology engineers in Black Sea, and chemical engineers have specific cadres in places with nuclear risk. They have claimed that, therefore, employment based on merit is guaranteed and patronage is prevented to a large extent thanks to rigid job descriptions in the directorates (Interview with DEMP personnel, March 2013).

It can be said that staffing norms practice carried out by the DEMP is more suitable for public administration. It is sensible for the requirements of the provinces. Instead of reducing the staff costs, it has focused on the needs of directorates when comparing and contrasting with staffing norms practice in municipalities.

4.7. Staffing Norms Practice in State Economic Enterprises

In this part, staffing norms experiences in three SEEs, which are Ataturk Forest Farm (AFF), Turkish State Railways (TSR) and Post and Telegraph Organization Incorporated Company (PTO inc.), will be looked at. Also, a few interviews were done with public service union from the communication and transportation sector.

Undoubtedly, market-like methods and principles most used in the SEEs have been the “main subject of the privatization movement” (Güler, 2005a:121). So, this entails that SEEs must be managed in according to conditions of the market economy. Therefore, as a managerial method, the attempts to adopt staffing norms practice in SEEs are not a coincidence.

4.7.1. Ataturk Forest Farm (AFF)

As a result of the Council of Minister’s decision No 2000/1658 of June 2000, staffing norms practice was carried out. As a result of the Council of Ministers’ decision No 2000/1658, staffing norms practice was carried out in Ataturk Forest Farm (AFF hereafter). At the end of the practice, unpublished reports consisting of three volumes, which are organizational reports, a job description handbook and a staffing norms guide, were prepared by the project team.⁷⁹ The main purposes of staffing norms practice in AFF were stated as the efficient and effective use of public resources, increase in organizational effectiveness and efficiency, providing

⁷⁹ The interviewee did not want to share the reports with me. Therefore i was only able to skim these reports quickly. Hence, it should be stated that information about AFF is based on unofficial data.

employment which is suitable for cadres/positions, and determination of the number of necessary personnel according to workload. As a result of staffing norms practice in AFF, it is stated that overstaffing at the rate of approximately 8% was shown. In order to deal with surplus personnel, it was recommended to distribute them to other departments, and that new employments, which would be made to replace retired personnel, would be limited to 50%. In addition to this, as a result of organizational analysis in AFF, it was recommended to transform AFF into a private company subjected to AFF Foundation whose president of the board of trustees would be president of the Turkish Republic due to fact that privatization of AFF is legally impossible because of its heritage. It is also stated that transformation of AFF to a company subjected to private law sanctions and the subsequent conversion of civil servants and public workers' statuses to contracted employees would increase efficiency.

Although studies concerning staffing norm practice were completed, neither staffing norms practice nor related recommendations were put into practice. The AFF personnel who was interviewed stated that staffing norms practice was not carried out since the optimum number of personnel was calculated as near as the current number of AFF personnel (Interview with AFF personnel, November 2013).

It can be derived from the recommendations in the reports that new staffing methods in public administrations and staffing norms practice in the Turkish Administrative System have important roles in the transformation (marketization) process of public institutions. Hence, staffing norms practice might be seen as an instrument for preparing public institutions for market-like management understanding. Moreover, in compliance with understanding of efficiency of the market, staffing norms practice is carried out with the purpose of doing the most work with minimum personnel in the name of efficient and effective use of public resources. This is rather than other supposed expectations like increasing public interest, decreasing inequality in the distribution of personnel etc. It is thought that staffing norms experiences in Turkish State Railways (TSR) and Post and Telegraph Organization Incorporated Company (PTO) may be good cases to confirm these claims and to

observe the role of staffing norms practice in the process. This is of particular interest since they are SPPs that have undergone full-scale organizational transformation⁸⁰ in recent years and become more and more market-like organizations.

4.7.2. Turkish State Railways (TSR)

The interviewee employed in Turkish State Railways (TSR hereafter) stated that the first attempt to carry out staffing norms practice in TSR, as an academic study, started in 2002. As a result of the practice, it appeared that there wasn't an equal distribution of the personnel among departments and services areas. For instance, there was overstaffing in TSR general directorate in Ankara, while other areas suffered from personnel shortages. However, staffing norms practice performed by scholars was not brought into practice after determining cadres and positions. The interviewee said that staffing norms practice in TSR has been re-started without getting any support from universities. The human resources departments said that they aim to transform staffing norm practice into a practical form, thus "the organization will be prevented from hiring 5 employees when only 4 employees are needed. " Also, if they manage to use the cadre registration system, the transfers between units of institutions will be more transparent. According to the interviewee, even if scholars are approached to carry out the practice scientifically, staffing norms practice should be carried out by TSR personnel who know better about the institution and the structure of its human resource. The interviewee also pointed out that they have necessary number of personnel that can fulfill the tasks without denial of services. He added that, along with the law concerning liberalization of the

⁸⁰ In March, 2013, the Law concerning liberalization of the Turkish Railways No. 6461 was put into action in the scope of restructuring of TSR and marketization of railways. Even if TSR is still subject to SEEs law, fourth affiliated cooperation has been established and so TSR has been divided into two parts as a substructure and an upper structure. Undoubtedly, therefore, TSR gained more and more market-like characteristic. Similarly, former General Directorate of Turkish Post has become an incorporated company (PTO inc.) that is, it was purged from SEEs statute along with the Postal Services Law No: 6475, which was put into force on May, 2013. In the first article of the law, it is emphasized that one of the aims of the law is to give PTO Inc. a more competitive characteristic.

Turkish Railways No. 6461, retirement is promoted by means of retirement bonuses up to 40%. Furthermore, new employments are limited to 10% of the number of retired personnel (Interview with TSR personnel, July 2013). According to TSR statistics, the total number of personnel had been decreased from 35,141 to 31,857 between 2008 and 2012 (Turkish State Railways Annual Statistics 2008-2012, 2013:11).

On the other hand, the Union of the Employees of United Transportation⁸¹ (BTS hereafter) issued a report questioning whether staffing norms practice in TSR is signal of marketization and privatization (BTS, 2010). In the report, it was emphasized that staffing norms practice is a natural consequence of reports prepared by foreign companies⁸² under the control of the World Bank. In these reports, as far as can be seen from BTS's report, the main purpose frequently repeated is downsizing the state and privatization. It is recommended that the number of personnel in TSR be decreased under the assumption that high efficiency of labor can be enabled by means of minimization of the number of personnel. According to a report, as a result of staffing norms practice completed in 2010, a personnel decrease of 7.5% is projected. According to BTS, new cadre and positions charts serve for marketization and proliferation of subcontracting, both of which are the instruments of neoliberal policies. In other words, staffing norms practice opens the services delivered by TSR to the market and paves the way for proliferation of subcontracting. According to reports prepared by foreign companies, the organizational structure of TSR should be changed and railways sector in Turkey should be re-structured. Another report issued by Türk Ulaşım-Sen⁸³, which has a right-wing orientation, confirms BTS's claims:

⁸¹ Birleşik Taşımacılık Çalışanları Sendikası. It has left wing orientation.

⁸² According to the Report, these companies are Booz-Allen & Hamilton, CANAC, EUROMED and R&H.

⁸³ Public service union of workers employed in transportation works. It has right-wing orientation

“So you know, the restructuring process of TSR was started in 1995. Over the course of 17 years, many reports by organizations such as Booz Allen Hamilton, CANAC, EUROMED and EU were prepared. The reason for preparing these reports was to transform TSR into a modern institution that is more efficient and effective. To achieve this aim, the number of employees was reduced to begin with. (...) Under the name of restructuring, the number of employees was reduced by half, and subcontractors and external contracted services are now used intensively. (...) To conclude, the present situation is far from what was aimed for and all that has been done is increasing the workload for employees throughout the 17 years” (Türk Ulaşım-Sen, 2012)

In the interview done with a BTS executive, he also put an emphasis on personnel shortage:

“TSR have enough bureau staff but there is a deep technical personnel shortage. This problem is frequently put into words by the general directorate. For instance, some stations should be opened 7/24 and work at least 3-4 shifts. However, it is usually not possible due to personnel shortage. For example, there is a serious personnel shortage in manoeuvre services. There should be 4-5 people who deliver this service under normal conditions. However, either 2-3 people deliver the service or stations are closed. (...) New staffs are not adequately employed instead of retired personnel. Today, it is not only positions of the upper structure such as ticket agents, conductors, etc. that have been outsourced, but also positions of substructures that deliver main services of TSR. (Interview with BTS executive, June 2013)

As a result of public service unions’ claims, it is possible to look at staffing norm practice in TSR as one of the instruments of privatization and downsizing the state policies. In other words, it is not expected that staffing norms practice is independent from these policies.

4.7.3. Post and Telegraph Organization Incorporated Company (PTO)

The last case of this topic is staffing norms practice in Post and Telegraph Organization Incorporated Company (PTO hereafter). From what could be learned from the interviewee employed in PTO, the first staffing norms practice in PTO was carried out by scholars in 2002, as it was in TSR. In order to determine the norm cadres in terms of quantity and quality, interviews and surveys were done all around Turkey. As a result, norm cadres of all of the offices of the general director, general directorate, central directorate and other departments subjected to them were determined. Job descriptions and titles were defined and their workloads were arranged. When a report prepared by scholars was analyzed, it could be seen that

“the number of tasks for each title in a year” to “how many minute it takes” was elaborately defined by means of the Taylorist practices. The interview argued that approximately 100 folders were sent to the SPP; however, the SPP remained unresponsive and then was not approved due to the arrangement issued in official Gazette in 27.12.2003. Therefore, staffing norms practice carried out by scholars in 2002 was never put into practice in the PTO. However, after 2003, staffing norms practice was re-started without getting any support from universities and it has been still maintained (Interview with PTO personnel, July 2013).

In order to understand the role and function of staffing norms practice, a very brief explanation of the workload calculation process in PTO centers would be beneficial⁸⁴. The interviewee expressed that, in PTO centers, which serve in the fields of post, bank and logistic services, norms cadres are defined according to workload. According to some formulas, workload calculations had been made by controllers up to 2012. The interviewee stated that workload calculation has been made through computers since 2012. By means of data obtained from computer systems, PTO general directorates can observe how many tasks are completed in a day. Also, the time spent per task is calculated. Then, by taking into consideration this data, the number of norm cadres is determined in accordance with how many employees can be given a total workload. This process can be interpreted as “a modern version of Taylorist job analysis based on close observation of workers”, which was elaborately explained in the second chapter. Both of them are based on same aim: to obtain maximum efficiency of labour under close control of the superiors.

The General Directorate of Post and Telegraph Organization was transformed into an incorporated company by breaking away from the SEE statute in 2013. As a result, “making a profit” has become its priority target. Human resources have become one

⁸⁴ As well as statements of the interviewee, I have benefited from documents obtained from the Media Communication and Postal Employees Union (Haber-Sen). In the scope of the right to apply for information, in 2013, Haber-Sen requested information about methods followed over the course of staffing norms practice. At the request of Haber-Sen, The General Directorate of Post and Telegraph Organization General Directorate notified Haber-Sen about the methods by sending a detailed report explaining the staffing norms practice process in PTO Centers.

of the most important means of production used in order to reach this target. (PTO Annual Report, 2013:142). Accordingly, the interviewee hinted that the number of norm cadres has been calculated by cost and profit. As such, in the private sector, workload per cadre is determined by taking into consideration the maximum workload that can be done by an employee. In other words, the aim of staffing norms practice in PTO Inc. centers is to determine the number of cadres with the purpose of doing the most work with minimum personnel in the name of efficient and effective use of public resources rather than to increase public interest. Undoubtedly, this is a natural consequence of transforming PTO Inc. into an “incorporated company”. When taking into consideration the increase in workload of the PTO Inc.⁸⁵, it is clear that personnel shortage will also increase more and more in the coming years.

The results of profit-based staffing norms practice also appeared in the interview with Türk Haber-Sen⁸⁶ executive and in their documents published on their website.

In 2012, Türk Haber-Sen informed the general director of PTO about complaints coming from its members with written notification (Türk Haber-Sen, 2012). The large parts of these complaints consisted of personnel shortage arising from staffing norms practice carried out by the PTO. For instance, it was complained that deliveryman and personnel in the PTO centers cannot use their employee personnel rights such as annual leave. So, the union demanded that norm cadres should be started all over again. However, the PTO general directorate did not respond to their demand.

In 2011, by order of the PTO general directorate, staffing norms practice was carried out in order to determine norm cadres of technical personnel employed in regional directorates. According to the notification, the results of staffing norms practice were not reliable, because opinions of regional directorates were not received.

⁸⁵ In the interview with PTO personnel, he mentioned that tasks of PTO centers increased from approximately 30-40 to over 200 in recent years. In PTO Inc. centers, as well as its core business, banking services such as invoices of payment of the pensions etc. have been performed (Interview with PTO personnel, July 2013).

⁸⁶ It is a public service union acting in the sector of communication, paper and media-press. It has right wing orientation.

Accordingly, norm cadres of technical personnel in regional directorates were determined without taking into consideration their current tasks and workload. As a result, the number of norm cadres was not properly determined for some job titles, whereas some other titles were completely ignored. (ibid)

The Türk Haber-Sen executive claimed that determination of deficiency in cadres was not intended when staffing norms practice was carried out in PTO. Instead, as with efficiency understanding of private sector, it was aimed at determining the minimum number of personnel who could do all of the all tasks. According to him, as a result of personnel shortage, significant increases in employment of outsourced staff were seen in PTO⁸⁷. (Interview with Türk Haber-Sen executive, July 2003)

In the case of PTO, I have also observed that staffing norms practice is a prerequisite for adopting other neo-Taylorist management methods. For instance, the relationship between managerial methods and staffing norms practice can be recognized in the course of total quality management practices in PTO. The interviewee stated that there should be job descriptions and job titles of a work organization in order to get TS EN ISO 9001:2008 the Quality Management System Certificate⁸⁸, which is one of the instruments of total quality management. He also emphasized that staffing norms practice has enabled determination of job descriptions and job titles in PTO and therefore, the ISO 9001 certificate was received in 2005⁸⁹. I have also noticed that staffing norms practice in PTO has paved the way for performance evaluation

⁸⁷ According to data obtained from PTO, there is a great increase in the number of outsourced staff. The number of them was only 1438 in 1997, whereas the number of outsourced employees reached 9087 in 2013. Moreover, as the interviewee from Türk Haber-Sen also emphasized, data indicates that PTO had subcontractor staff perform its core jobs such as mail delivery, courier services, etc.

⁸⁸ ISO 9001 is defined as a certificate which sets out and checks the standards and requirements for a quality management system. It is based on a number of quality management principles. On the web site of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), these principles are specified as leadership, involvement of people, process approach, system approach to management, continual improvement, actual approach to decision making, mutually beneficial supplier relationships. It is also claimed that the ISO 9001 certificate helps ensure that customers get consistent, good quality products and services, which in turn brings many business benefits. (www.iso.org) That is to say, it is a standardization certificate generated in accordance with the main premises of the managerial field.

⁸⁹ In an annual report of PTO, it is stated that PTO obtained ISO 9001:2008 Quality Management Certificate for the purpose of increasing quality in bureaucratic procedures and besides increasing the quality of services of PTO (PTO Annual Report 2012, 2013:22)

and management practice. In the 2012 annual report of PTO, it was stated that a performance evaluation and management system project were started in order to evaluate employees' achievements and behaviors, and to move their performance in the direction of PTO's aims. (PTO Annual Report, 2013:144). Binali Yıldırım, who is former Minister of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communication, clearly pointed out that performance based payment system would be adopted in PTO (Gülümhan, 2011). As indicated in the third chapter, in order to measure the performance of an employee, workload per cadre should be exactly known. As explained in the third chapter, staffing norms practice makes each cadre a "unit of measurement". In other words, it has provided data to measure performance of the employees. Therefore, employees doing more than their daily workload can be rewarded, whereas others would probably encounter negative consequences of the performance system.

The proponent of staffing norms practice claimed that it provides merit based personnel management. However, I recognized that public service union members have some reservations as to whether appointments have been made in accordance with merit principle or not. For instance, the BTS executive implied that norm cadres are not allowed to make unacceptable employee demands on his/her appointment. On the other hand, if an employee is politically well accepted, the norm cadre chart is not considered." (Interview with BTS executive, June 2013) Türk Haber-Sen also claimed that in PTO there have been personnel appointments by way of some politicians and public service unions (Türk Haber-Sen, 2012). These claims and reservations indicate that staffing norms practice could not persuade public service unions and personnel about objectivity in recruitments and appointments.

In this chapter, staffing norms practice has been analyzed from the perspectives of scholar practitioners who specialize in the practice, the personnel from human resource departments of selected public institutions and public service unions. Observations are as follows:

- I asked interviewees if there was overstaffing or personnel shortage that showed up as a result of staffing norms practice. Almost all answer the

question in the following manner: “Staffing norms practice found that some departments of our institution had been overstaffed, whereas the other departments had suffered from a lack of personnel.” Particularly practitioners and the personnel working in human resource departments of the public institutions believe that staffing norms practice is indispensable for planning public employment. Both personnel of human resource departments and the practitioners support staffing norms practice and they claim that they are scientific. But institutions generally trust themselves to carry it out instead of academicians. In many institutions, staffing norms practices were carried out by academicians in the early 2000s. After that, they used staffing norms practices again without academic support.

- Both the practitioners and the employees from human resources departments of public institutions who I interviewed in the scope of this study emphasized that staffing norm practice is a “scientific method”.
- I have recognized in the field study that expectations from staffing norms practice are threefold: “scientific determination of the staff requirements (i.e. cadres and positions) in terms of quantity and quality”, “efficiently and effectively use of public human resource” and “equitable allocation of public personnel”.
- It should be expressed that public service union executives are not completely opposed to staffing norm practice even though it seems like they approach the practice negatively. They specifically emphasized that there is need for staffing putting public interest and rights of public personnel at the fore. However, they think that current staffing norms practices have no concern for either the public interest or rights of public personnel. Moreover, public service unions representing SEEs’ employees see staffing norms practice as an instrument and a preliminary of privatization.
- Aside from office jobs, staffing norms practice has been utilized more in technical areas, which produce concrete results. As the measurability of them increases, staffing norms practice is used more effectively.

- Abrupt policy changes result in radical alterations in cadre requirements. As a result, public personnel face the risk of being surplus. Accordingly, this negatively affects both public service delivery and public personnel.
- It is possible to say that current staffing norms practices have, to a large extent, remained incapable of solving the problems and meeting expectations such as sufficient distribution of the personnel. On the contrary, it is possible to say that it resulted in personnel shortage particularly in municipalities and SEEs.
- It is possible to derive from the field study that staffing norms practice has been used as a tool to reduce the numbers of public employees to a large extent. It was found that each cadre is considered as expenditure and cost of production.
- After the practices, it was observed that while new solutions for overstaffing have been created, there has been a passive attitude towards personnel shortage.
- It can be said that the lack of employment is compensated for by using external temporary services particularly in municipalities and SEEs. This indicates that staffing norms practice paves the way for marketization and privatization of public services. Accordingly, this weighs against public labour process based on job security.
- After staffing norms practice, it was partly observed that the practicality of other Neo-Taylorist methods – which are performance evaluation and total quality management- increased.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, staffing norms practice which has been carried out in some public institutions and agencies in Turkey for more than ten years has been analyzed in the light of the developments of the last 30 years that have had significant effects on Turkish Public Administration. The aim was to evaluate the consequences of staffing norms practice, which has usually been approached as a technical issue, from a macro perspective.

Staffing norms practice can be described as the determination of sufficient number of qualified personnel according to workload in a public institution or a private sector organization (Timur, 1986:152). This practice, as a market-like staffing approach in Turkish Public Administration, refers to more than a technical method. Therefore, it should be assessed from a broader perspective. It is important that the mentality behind staffing norms practice be clarified in order to evaluate its ramifications since values and principles which underpin understanding of staffing define the structure of public employment, working conditions and procedures in personnel administration from recruitments to appointments.

It is based on standardization of cadres through job analysis techniques. Job analysis is the essence of staffing norms practice and the first step to set up a position-oriented personnel system. In the second chapter, Taylorist roots of job analysis that have still been used with the aim of introducing rational job standards by alleged modern managerial methods such as human resource management have been revealed. What is surprising is that while cadre standards are determined over the course of staffing norms practice, as well as modern job analysis methods such as questionnaires, the use of old methods based on close observation of subordinates (particularly the use of time study) is recommended in both academic articles and the guide published by the SPP. In my opinion,

this indicates that the mentality behind staffing norms practice is based on Taylorist principles and values which will most likely negatively affect public personnel and, in turn, public service delivery in the long-run. As Litter (1978) and Crowley et.al. (2010) argue, the principles of scientific management have not been abandoned, even though it seems as if they are outdated. On the contrary, these principles have still been applied in various types of work in the private sector. As we clearly see in the example of staffing norms practice, this argument is also valid for the public sector.

Staffing norms practice is similar to staffing understanding of the job classification system which is shaped by the techniques and values of scientific management. They almost use the same techniques in order to determine cadre/position standards. That is to say, both of them are position-oriented rather than person-oriented, such as in private sector organizations. This is the reason why staffing norms practice is seen as a breakaway from the career system based on rank classification and person-oriented understanding of staffing by critical academics. As the opponents of the practice assert, it is possible to say that staffing norms practice is an indication that the career-based system and its person-oriented staffing understanding, which has attempted to be rationalized since the 1950s, has started to be abandoned.

It is apparent that staffing norms practice paves the way for position-based public personnel system. In other words, it conflicts with closed career-based personnel system which is unique to public administration. In the traditional Turkish Public Personnel System, person and rank are taken into consideration rather than job/position during the course of recruitments and appointments. In this system, career is seen as a learning process for employees. It is possible to say that staffing norms practice inverts this system since it is based on a job-oriented approach. It is believed that staffing norms practice will enable merit-based recruitment and appointment, designating the right people to specified cadres. That is to say, along with staffing norms practice, it is expected that employees who have required qualifications are recruited or appointed for

specifically determined cadres. This inversion is reminded that, as Zabcı (2011) also stated, the state's "understanding of employability", which is known as "model employer," has started to change. As such, in the private sector, the state demands employees who make their own career plans and improve themselves according to "specified positions" and market conditions. Like in the private sector, the public sector won't offer job protection and lifelong careers i.e. the public sector is no longer a place for learning. Employees are expected to complete the learning process before recruitment. Hence, the responsibility of the state is transferred to individuals. (ibid)

Staffing norms practice is one of the market-like and neo-Taylorist techniques imported from the field of management to Turkish Public Administration along with the rise of the NPM approach. Like other neo-Taylorist methods, it has been legitimized on the grounds that it is a remedy for the problem of inefficiency in Turkish public administration. As I tried to demonstrate in chapter three, "overstaffing" has been seen as the main reason of inefficiency in Turkish Public Administration.

Undoubtedly, the most visible function of staffing norm practice in Turkish Public Administration is to reduce and restrain the number of public personnel. As mentioned in the second and third chapters, a new approach to public employment based on a "do more with less" understanding emerged as a result of downsizing the state policies. According to this approach, and as a practitioner also overemphasized during the course of the interview, each cadre is "the cost of production" in the public sector like in the private sector. In other words, this means that staffing in the public sector must be carried out by taking into consideration "the cost of public personnel" or "cost of the cadres". As mentioned in the second and third chapters, this approach to public employment has also been supported by some international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank. I also observed that this approach has been legitimized with claims that use the word "overstaffing" and the statement "efficient use of public resources" in the legal documents and some official reports. As I tried to indicate

in the fourth chapter, people from the public service unions and municipalities where I carried out interviews complained that they have encountered some difficulties in public service delivery due to insufficient numbers of cadres and employees as a result of staffing norms practice. Due to this, I was given the impression that the number of cadres of public institutions has been determined under the requirement. In my opinion, this is the consequence of the cost of cadres being taken into consideration as the main criterion and neglecting to consider proper public service delivery, while determining the number of cadres in public institutions. Undoubtedly, understaffing and the increase in workload per cadre as a result of “do more with less” approach is unlikely to create positive outcomes in terms of working conditions of public personnel and public service delivery in the long run.

It may be said that staffing norms practice in parallel with more flexible public personnel regime is also a compatible understanding of staffing with neo-Taylorist management methods that have started to become widespread in the public sector in recent years such as human resource management, performance evaluation (which is one of the most important elements of human resource management), total quality management etc. since it paves the way for the applicability of these methods in public administration thanks to job analysis. As mentioned in the second and third chapters, none of them can properly work within career-based personnel system without concrete job descriptions and about workload per cadre. On the other hand, in order to apply performance evaluation and total quality management techniques to public institutions “calculability of workload per cadre” and, in turn, “calculability of the efforts and performance of the employees”, as well as job descriptions and specifications, must be enabled. As indicated in chapter four, for example in PTO Inc., staffing norms practice paves the way for applicability of these methods. If staffing norms practice becomes widespread in public institutions and agencies in the coming years, it may cause an acceleration of neo-Taylorization of public administration in Turkey.

I also tried to evaluate whether staffing norms practice has been able to meet the expectations like efficient use of public resources, employment of sufficient numbers of qualified personnel, well-balanced and equal distribution of public personnel, merit-based recruitment and appointment, and abolishment of nepotism. It is possible to say that there are some positive outcomes of staffing norms practice in terms of determination of personnel requirements of public institutions, equal allocation of personnel among their departments and different units and abolishment of patronage over the course of recruitments and appointments. However, if I more generally evaluate staffing norms practice in Turkish Public Administration, it is hard to say that it has met the expectations to a large extent. For example, as indicated in chapter four, it is observed that some important expectations such as employment of sufficient numbers of qualified personnel - who can provide proper public service delivery – and balancing and equally distributing them has yet to happen, even in the public institutions that have carried out staffing norms practice for many years. In other words, old problems of Turkish Public Administration regarding staffing have continued in spite of staffing norms practice.

Moreover, public policies which are being put into force and not taking into consideration quantity and quality of the current cadres result in generation of temporary cadre solutions which probably cause new problems in terms of public personnel and public service delivery. That is, abrupt changes in public policies cause the alteration of cadre standards again and again as in the case of teacher and health personnel cadres. This naturally causes discontent among public personnel who face the risk of being surplus. Scientific determination and standardization of the cadres are not sufficient to enable recruitment and appointment of the right people for the right cadres. There must be strong coordination among staffing, public policies and the potential of public employment.

According to the proponents of staffing norms practice, it was introduced as a scientific method that provides objectivity and merit during the course of

recruitment and appointment. I have to say that it is very difficult to observe whether this expectation has been realized or not. However, I did notice that staffing norms practice could not persuade either the public service unions or public employees (as in the case of GNAT) about abolishment of nepotism and patronage. I think that a merit-based approach to public employment can only be enabled by the administrators who have public sector ethics rather than alleged “scientific” and “inhumane” methods.

In this study, the impacts of staffing norms practice on the public labour process were also examined. Aslan argued that, after the 2001 depression, the first important attempt to transform the public personnel regime began with staffing norms practice. (2012: 605) However, as the some practitioners who I interviewed also stated, Law No. 657, which was formed within the framework European-oriented, career-based personnel system and based on job protection, prevented staffing norms practice from properly serving the aim to remove surplus personnel. As explained in the third chapter, a draft, which was intended to take the place of law no. 657, was prepared in 2004 in order to abolish these limitations. Unlike Law No. 657, it included career principles suitable for flexibility, merit principle based on performance standards and performance evaluation. Contracted personnel were counted as a fundamental type of employee in the public administration (ibid: 607). However, this draft could not be put into practice. As a result, staffing norms practice, which was carried into effect within the framework of the career system of law no. 657, could not properly achieve the desired success. On the other hand, the substructure of staffing norms practice in municipalities has been prepared along with the enforcement of Municipal Law No.5393. As mentioned above, article 49 of this law underpins staffing norms practice in municipalities and it also generalizes employment of contracted personnel in there. As briefly mentioned in chapter four, the cadres of municipal workers and permanent personnel have decreased and limited along with staffing norms practice. Therefore, staffing norms practice has forced these institutions to adopt contracted employment and outsourcing, which is the way for cheaper labour. As I tried to indicate in

chapter four, contracted employment and outsourcing problem will probably deepen along with staffing norms practice. Undoubtedly, this consequence is parallel to the approach of considering each cadre as a cost of production, as I mentioned above. Staffing norms practice has been the instrument of the marketization of municipal public services. This means that increases in outsourcing are a potential danger in the case that staffing norms practice becomes widespread in Turkish Public Administration.

Today, it is apparent that, as all those who I interviewed agree, there is a need for cadre (workforce) planning in Turkish Public Administration. However, in my opinion, a market-like staffing model imported from the field of management, such as staffing norms practice, will eroded humanistic aspect of public employment. Instead, a new understanding of staffing that is compatible with the principles and ethics unique to public administration should be adopted and developed. That is to say, instead of economic efficiency, it should be to provide humanistic working conditions for public employees and aim to deliver public services that are in the best interests of society.

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APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY

GİRİŞ

Bu çalışmada Türkiye’de ki bazı kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında on yılı aşkın süredir uygulanmakta olan norm kadro uygulaması ele alınmıştır. Uygulama yeni kamu işletmeciliği yaklaşımı ve devleti küçültme amacı çerçevesinde değişen kamu istihdamı anlayışı ile olan ilişkisi bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, norm kadro uygulamasının eleştirel bir perspektiften genel anlamda değerlendirmek, kamu personeli ve kamu hizmeti sunumu üzerindeki etkilerini tartışmaktır. Bu doğrultuda, öncelikle norm kadro uygulamasının arka planında yatan anlayış ortaya koyulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Türk kamu yönetimi literatüründe, norm kadro uygulaması sıklıkla makalelere ve tez çalışmalarına konu edilmiştir. Ancak görünen odur ki bu çalışmaların birçoğu norm kadro uygulamasını teknik boyutları ile ele almış ve konuya mikro bir perspektiften yaklaşmıştır. Oysa norm kadro uygulaması, Türk Kamu Yönetiminin son otuz yıldır içinde bulunduğu dönüşüm sürecinde teknik bir uygulamadan fazlasını ifade etmektedir. Bu çalışmada norm kadro uygulaması makro bir perspektiften ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır.

Açıkça ifade etmek gerekirse, bu çalışmanın en zorlayıcı kısımlarından biri uygulamayı en iyi şekilde tanımlayacak İngilizce karşılığı bulma sürecinde yaşanmıştır. “Norm kadro uygulaması/düzenlemesi” Türk Kamu Yönetimine özgü bir adlandırmadır. Dolayısıyla, İngilizce’de bilinen ve sıklıkla kullanılan bir karşılığı bulunmamaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmada norm kadro uygulaması İngilizce’ye “staffing norms practice” olarak çevrilmiştir. Staffing kavramı özellikle vurgulanmak istenmiştir çünkü norm kadro uygulaması iş analizlerine dayanan bir kadrolama (=staffing) modelidir. Hatta söz konusu uygulamanın en önemli savunucularından olan Hayrettin Kalkandelen, 1976 tarihli, Norm Kadro ve Reorganizasyon isimli

kitabında norm kadro uygulaması ile kadrolama kavramını eş anlamlı olarak kullanmıştır (1976: 22). “Staffing norms” kavramı ise özellikle hastane işletmeciliği literatüründe doktor ve hemşirelerin optimal kadro sayılarını ifade eden bir kavram olarak kullanılmaktadır.⁹⁰ Sonuç olarak, görece uluslararası bir kullanıma sahip olduğunu söyleyebileceğimiz “staffing norms practice” kavramı norm kadro uygulamasının İngilizce karşılığı olarak tercih edilmiştir.

Kadrolama ve Kamu Personel Sistemleri

Kadrolama kavramı (=staffing), Gulick’in 1937 yılında yazdığı “Notes on the Theory of Organization” isimli makalesinde yönetsel bir fonksiyon olarak ortaya konmuştur. Kadrolama Gulick tarafından oluşturulan POSDCORB akroniminin “S” harfini temsil etmektedir.

Kadrolama bir örgütteki insan kaynağı ihtiyacını belirleme ve bu ihtiyacı yeterli sayı ve nitelikte personel ile karşılama sürecidir. (Caruth vd., 2009:1) Şüphesiz, özellikle özel sektör tipi ve dolayısıyla kar odaklı kadrolama anlayışının ilk ve en önemli adımını “iş analizi” çalışmaları oluşturmaktadır. Brannick ve Levine iş analizi sürecini işi küçük parçalara ayırmak suretiyle onun yapısını sistematik olarak keşfetme süreci olarak tanımlamaktadır. (2002:9) Bu sürecin sonucunda ortaya iş gereklerini ve bu işi yapacak kimselerin taşıması gereken nitelikleri yazılı olarak ortaya koyan “iş tanımları” ve “iş gerekleri” elde edilmektedir.

Günümüzde gözlem, ast ve üstlerle yapılan mülkatlar ve anketler en bilinen iş analizi teknikleridir (Jones, 2010:8). Şüphesiz “gözlem” bu teknikler arasında 20. Yüzyılın başından itibaren bilinen ve belkide halen en çok başvurulan iş analizi yöntemidir.

⁹⁰Doğru isimlendirmeyi arayış sürecinde söz konusu uygulama hakkında yazılan makale ve tez çalışmalarının İngilizce öz kısımlarına bakılmıştır. Birkaç örnek vermek gerekirse, yazarlar norm kadro uygulamasını “position norm analysis” (Sümer & Erol, 2003), “norm permanent staff application” (Akçakaya, 2008) and “the works of determining standard positions” (Ömürgönülşen & Öktem, 2004) olarak çevirmişlerdir. Kılıç “Türkiye’de Camiilerin Norm Kadroların Belirlenmesinde Bir Model Önerisi” (2003) isimli makalesinin öz kısmında norm kadro kavramının karşılığı olarak staffing norms ifadesini tercih etmiştir.

Gözlem, 1900’lü yılların başlarında, W.F.Taylor’ın başlattığı bilimsel yönetim akımıyla fabrikalara girmiştir. Gözlem deninilince akla gelen zaman ve hareket etüdlerinin temel amacı emek gücünün yakın kontrol altında tutulması yoluyla emek verimliliğinde artış sağlamaktır. Emek verimliliğini büyük ölçüde arttıran ve günümüzde insanlık dışı diyebileceğimiz bu yöntemler, 1900’lü yılların sonlarında fabrikalardan sonra büro işlerinde de benzer amaçlarla kullanılmaya başlamıştır (Braverman, 1998: 203-247). İş analizi çalışmaları kökeni itibariyle he ne kadar Taylorizme dayanıyor olsa da, aynı zamanda yeni ve modern olarak tanıtılan insan kaynakları yönetimi anlayışının en önemli adımlarından biri olmarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Kamu personel sistemleri, devletin yönetsel organlarının kadrolama işlemlerini gerçekleştiren temel araçlardır (Bekke vd, 1996:5). Dolayısıyla mevcut personel sisteminin yapısı doğrudan kadrolama anlayışını da şekillendirecektir. Farklı ülkelerdeki uygulamalar dikkate alındığında genel anlamda iki tip kamu personel sisteminden bahsedilebilir (Tutum, 1979:31-57, Güler,2005b:194-208). Bu sistemler kariyere dayalı kapalı personel sistemi ve açık personel sistemidir. Kariyer sistemi kamu yönetimi alanına özgü bir personel sistemidir.

Açık sistem ise bilimsel yönetim akımının etkisi altında şekillenmiş, iş odaklı bir sınıflandırma anlayışına dayanan kamu personel sistemidir. Tortop vd.’nin d belirttiği gibi işlerin sınıflandırılmasına dayanan açık sistemler ticari yönlüdür ve temel amacı verimliliği, karlılığı sağlamaktır (2010:224). Kısacası, kadrolama anlayışı sistemin kendisi gibi iş odaklıdır. Yapılan ayrıntılı iş analizi çalışmaları ve iş tanımlama sürecinin ardından, iş ile ilgili elde edilen veriler doğrultusunda, ihtiyaç, verimlilik ve karlılık esasları doğrultusunda personel ihtiyacı tespiti ve alımı gerçekleştirilir. İşe alım spesifik olarak tanımlanmış kadrolar için yapılır ve kadroyu dolduracak kimselerin kadro gereklerini taşıyor olması beklenir. Öte yandan, kariyere dayalı kapalı personel sistemlerinde verimlilik ve karlılık düşünülmez (ibid). Erken yaşta memuriyete giriş esastır. İşe alım diğer sistemin aksine spesifik olarak tanımlanmış kadrolar için değildir. Kadroyu dolduracak kimsenin bir diplomaya sahip olması ve yeterli bilgi ile donanmış olması devlet hizmetine girişin ilk

koşuludur (Güler, 2005b:196). Yani kişi odaklı kariyer sistemlerinde, öğrenme süreci ömür boyu sürecek olan kariyer esnasında tamamlanır. Açık sistemlerde ise öğrenme sürecini işe alımdan önce tamamlanması esastır. Her bir pozisyon belli bir uzmanlık düzeyini gerektirir.

1980’lerden Sonra Kamu Sektöründe Kadrolamayı Etkileyen Faktörler

1980’lerde yükselen yeni sağ politikaları, kamu yönetimini özellikle iki açıdan etkilemiştir. İlki devletin küçültülmesi ve kamu yönetiminin faaliyet alanının daraltılması, iken; diğeri daraltılan bu alanda kamu faaliyet ve örgütlerinin özel işletmecilik anlayışı çerçevesinde yeniden yapılandırılması ya da doğrudan özel girişim katkılarıyla işletilmesidir (Aksoy, 1998,10-11).

Bu doğrultuda 1980’lerde ortaya çıkan bu gelişmelerin kamu sektöründeki kadrolama anlayışını büyük ölçüde etkilediğini söylemek mümkündür. Devleti küçültmenin en temel yöntemlerinden biri olarak “kamu personel sayısının azaltılması” hedefi devlet kadrolarının bir üretim maliyeti olarak görülmesine yol açmış ve en az personel ile en çok işi yapmaya odaklanan yeni bir kamu istihdamı anlayışı ortaya çıkmıştır. Öte yandan yeni sağ politikalarının bir uzantısı olarak ortaya çıkan yeni kamu işletmeciliği yaklaşımı ile beraber, Neo-Taylorist olarak adlandırılan teknikler verimlilik vaadiyle, işletmecilik ve kamu yönetimi disiplinleri arasındaki ontolojik farklılıklar dikkate alınmaksızın, kamu yönetimi alanına aktarılmıştır (Üstüner, 1995:67). Dolayısıyla, özel sektör ideolojisinin ve pratiklerinin somutlaştığı verimlilik anlayışının zaferini temsil eden işletmecilik (=managerialism) yaklaşımına (Kearney & Hays, 1998:43) uygun bir kadrolama anlayışının kamu sektöründe ortaya çıkması kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Bu gelişmelere paralel olarak kamu personel sistemlerinde bir reform dalgası başlamış ve kamu yönetiminin kendine özgü değerleri çerçevesinde şekillenmiş olan kariyere dayalı kamu personel sistemleri güçsüzleştirilmiş ve bu reformların belkide çok etkilenen kurbanları olmuşlardır (ibid). Demmke’nin de işaret ettiği gibi, kamu personel

sistemlerinde yapılan reform çalışmaları, kariyer sistemlerinden post-bürokratik, iş odaklı personel sistemlerine geçişinde beraberinde getirmiştir (2010:7). Bu aynı zamanda, kamu yönetiminin geleneksel değerleri çerçevesinde şekillenmiş personel sistemi anlayışından kopuşu ve esneklik, performans ölçümü gibi özel sektör pratiklerine dayanan bir personel sistemi anlayışı benimsenmesi anlamına gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla, böyle bir sistem içerisinde, kişi odaklılık yerine iş odaklı olan, her bir çalışan ya da kadroyu bir maliyet unsuru olarak gören kadrolama ve istihdam anlayışının ortaya çıkması kaçınılmaz görünmektedir.

Türk Kamu Yönetiminde Norm Kadro Uygulaması

Türk Kamu Personel Sistemi büyük ölçüde kişi odaklı, kariyer sistemi esasına göre kurulmuştur (Güler, 2005b:196). Ancak, 1950'lerden bu yana, mevcut sistem yeterince rasyonel olmadığı gerekçesiyle eleştirilmekte ve açık sistemlerde olduğu gibi iş sınıflandırması esasına dayandırılmak istenmektedir. Demirci'ye göre, kamu personel yönetimi alanında yapılmak istenen bu değişiklikler büyük ölçüde norm kadro uygulamasının getirilmesi ile parçalı olarak gerçekleştirilmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle, norm kadro uygulamasının, 1950'li yıllarda yabancı uzmanların raporlarıyla başlayan, Türk kamu personel sisteminin üzerinde yükseldiği kariyer esasını değiştirme ve mevcut yapıyı Amerikan kamu yönetiminde ağırlıklı olarak uygulanan, özel sektör istihdamına özgü iş sınıflamasına göre kurma politikasının bir aracı olduğu iddia edilmektedir (Demirci, 2006: 11). Yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi, 1990'lardan sonra yeni sağ politikalarının ve onun uzantısı olan yeni kamu işletmeciliği anlayışının kamu personel sistemlerinde başlattığı reform ve dönüşüm dalgası göz önüne alındığında bu iddiaların haklılık payı ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Yani, Türk Kamu Yönetiminde 2000 yılında uygulanmaya başlayan, iş analizine dayanan ve işletmeci değerleri bünyesinde barındıran bir kadrolama anlayışı olan norm kadro uygulaması yukarıda bahsedilen gelişmelerin bir uzantısı olarak görülebilir. Bu nedenle bu çalışmada norm kadro uygulaması Neo-Taylorist

kadrolama pratiđi olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Diđer bir deyişle, norm kadro uygulaması piyasa tipi bir kadrolama anlayışının, yukarıda bahsi geçen gelişmeler sonucunda, kamu yönetimine yansımastır.

Norm kadro uygulaması, bir işletmenin ya da kuruluşun saptanan amacına ulaşılabilmesi için gerekli olan personel sayısının nitelikleri itibari ile saptanması işlemi olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Timur, 1986:152).

20 Aralık 2000 tarihinde, 24266 sayılı Resmî Gazete’de yayımlanan 2000/1658 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı eki “Kamu Kurum ve Kuruluşlarınca Yapılacak Norm Kadro Çalışmalarında Uyulacak Usul ve Esaslar”da kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının norm kadro çalışmalarına bir an önce başlayıp sonuçlandırmaları istenmiştir. Bu karara göre, norm kadro uygulamasının temel amacı kamu kaynaklarının verimli kullanılması, kamu hizmetlerinin (gerçek iş yüklerine göre) gerektirdiđi unvanda, nitelikte ve sayıda personel istihdamının sağlanabilmesidir. Bu doğrultuda, öncelikle kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının amaçları doğrultusunda, bu amaçlara en etkin ve verimli ulaşılmasını sağlayacak şekilde teşkilat (örgüt) analizi yapılarak başlanacağı sonrasında ise teşkilatlardaki her birim için gerekli kadro/pozisyonun iş analizi ve iş ölçümleri yapılması gerektiđi belirtilmiştir. İş analizleri ve iş ölçümlerinden elde edilen sonuçlara göre, her bir kadro/pozisyonun görev tanımları ve bu kadro/pozisyonlarda çalıştırılacaklarda aranacak nitelikler (iş gerekleri) ile bu birimler için gerekli kadro/pozisyon sayısının belirleneceđi ifade edilmiştir.

Ayrıca norm kadro çalışmalarının, üniversitelerin bu alanda uzmanlaşmış öğretim üyelerine, Türkiye ve Orta Dođu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü Genel Müdürlüğüne, Milli Prodüktivite Merkezine yaptırılabilceđi veya bunların gözetim ve denetiminde kurum/kuruluşun kendisi tarafından yapılabilceđi belirtilmiştir. Ayrıca, bu çalışmalar, Başbakanlık Devlet Personel Başkanlığı ve Maliye Bakanlığınca yeterliliđi onaylanan özel hukuk hükümlerine tabi kuruluşlara da yaptırılacak ve kurum ve kuruluşlar, bu çalışmalara katkıda bulunmak ve süreklilik kazandırabilmek için kendi personelinden gerektiđi kadarını görevlendirebileceklerdi.

Bu doğrultuda, 11 Temmuz 2001 tarihinde 24459 sayılı Resmî Gazetede yayımlanan Başbakanlık Genelgesi ile kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının norm kadro çalışmaları için bir takvim belirlenmiştir. Belirlenen bu takvime göre, adı geçen kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının 2001-2003 yılları arasında norm kadro çalışmalarını tamamlamaları öngörülmüştür.

Devlet Personel Başkanlığı tarafından, norm kadro çalışmaları esnasında kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarına kılavuzluk etmesi amacıyla hazırlanmış olan “Norm Kadro El Kitabı” aslında uygulamanın arka planında yatan düşüncüyü de ortaya koymaktadır. Kılavuzun giriş kısmında belirtildiği üzere norm kadro uygulaması “memur sayısının fazlalığı” varsayımına çözüm getirecek bir uygulama olarak görülmektedir. Ayrıca, kılavuzda norm kadro sayısının tespiti esnasında kullanılacak teknikler dikkat çekicidir. Bunlar, yukarıda kısaca değişmiş olduğumuz, bilimsel yönetim anlayışının temel araçları olan zaman ve hareket etüdleridir. Bu durumda denilebilir ki, norm kadro uygulaması her ne kadar modern insan kaynakları yönetimi ve planlamasının bir aracı olarak sunulsa da, arkaplanında Taylorizmin izleri bulunmaktadır. Öte yandan, norm kadro uygulamasını teknik yönleri ile inceleyen akademik çalışmalarda, norm kadroların belirlenmesinde özellikle zaman etüdlere başvurulmuş olması bu iddiayı temellendirmektedir.

İlgili literatüre bakıldığı zaman norm kadro uygulamasından temel beklentiler, niceliksel ve niteliksel anlamda kadro ihtiyacının bilimsel olarak tespiti, kamudaki insan kaynağının verimli ve etkili kullanımı ve kadro gereklerine uygun (likata esasına dayalı) personel alımı (adama göre iş değil işe göre adam), iş ve performans ölçümü, emek verimliliğinde artış sağlanması olarak özetlenebilir.

Öte yandan norm kadro uygulaması eleştiriler de almıştır. Bu doğrultuda norm kadro uygulaması, fazla personelin tespiti ve varolan personel sayısının kontrol altında tutulması yoluyla devleti küçültmenin bir aracı (Güler, 2005b:268, Erdoğan,2003,16) , kariyere dayalı kamu personel sisteminin kariyer sisteminden çıkarılıp özel sektör pratiğine yaklaştırılmasının ilk adımı (Güler, 2005b, Demirci, 2006.11), kamudaki emek süreçlerinin bilgisinin ayrıntılı bir şekilde derlenmesi ile performansa dayalı ücretlendirme gibi özel sektör pratiklerinin kamuya aktarılmasının ve esnek istihdam

modellerine hazırlığın ilk aşaması (Özoğlu, 2003:54-55) olarak görülmektedir. Ayrıca, belediyelerdeki norm kadro uygulamaları sonucunda ortaya çıkan personel eksikliklerinin yerel hizmetlerin sunumunda taşeronlaşmayı arttırdığı (Tezsezer, 2010), yerel hizmetlerin kamusal niteliğini zedelediği (Canman, 2006:18) ifade edilmiştir.

27 Aralık 2003 tarihinde, yeni bir düzenlemeyle norm kadro çalışmaları kısmen durdurulmuştur. Bunun nedeni olarak 2003 yılında meclise sunulan, 2004 yılında bazı değişikliklerle kabul edilen ancak daha sonra anayasaya aykırı olduğu gerekçesiyle dönemin cumhurbaşkanı Ahmet Necdet Sezer tarafından veto edilen “Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanun” tasarısı gösterilmektedir. Söz konusu tasarı Türk kamu yönetimi için “devasa bir restorasyon projesi” niteliğindedir (Uluğ, 2004:25). Tasarı, Türk Kamu Yönetimini Weberyen bürokrasi anlayışından koparıp yeni kamu işletmeciliği anlayışı ile uyumlu hale getirmeyi amaçlıyordu (Al, 2004:3). Bunun yanı sıra, tasarı ardından gelecek reform dalgasının ilk kapsayıcı adımı niteliğindedir (Güler, 2004:4). Devlet personel reformu, bu sürecin şüphesiz en önemli aşamalarından biri olacaktır. Yeniden yapılandırma çalışmalarının kapsamını ortaya koymayı amaçlayan “Değişimin Yönetimi İçin Yönetimde Değişim” isimli çalışmada, devlet personel reformu ile tüm kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında norm kadro uygulamasına geçileceği ifade edilmektedir. Sonrasında, esnek çalışma usullerinin getirileceği, devlette asli ve sürekli görevlerin belirleneceği ve bunların dışında kalanların iş hukukuna tabi olarak çalıştırılacağı (ki bu görevlerin belirlenmesi norm kadro çalışmalarının yapılmasına bağlıdır) , orta vadede ise performansa dayalı ücretlendirme sistemine geçileceği (performansa dayalı ücretlendirme kadro başına düşen iş yüklerinin ve iş ölçümünün yapılmasına bağlıdır ki bu da norm kadroların belirlenmesi ile mümkün olabilir) ifade edilmiştir. Yani denilebilir ki, tasarı her ne kadar o dönemde yapılmakta olan norm kadro çalışmalarını kısmen durdurmuş olsa da, aslında bu uygulamanın Türk Kamu Yönetiminde yaygınlaşması norm kadro uygulaması için bir son değil başlangıç anlamına gelmekteydi. Çünkü norm kadro uygulamasının tam anlamıyla uygulanabilmesi için ihtiyaç duyulan, esnek personel rejimi anlayışına dayanan zemin hazırlanmış olacaktı. Zira, iş güvencesini garanti eden ve kariyer anlayışına

dayanan kiři odaklı geleneksel personel sisteminde fazla olan personelin ihracı mümkün olmadığı için uygulama amacına tam anlamıyla ulaşamamaktadır. (Bu husus tez kapsamında yapılan alan çalışmasında uygulayıcılar tarafından sıklıkla dile getirilmiştir.)

Bugün Türkiye’de bazı kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında norm kadro uygulaması devam etmekte olup, ileri ki yıllarda uygun zeminin hazırlanmasıyla uygulamanın Türk Kamu Yönetiminde daha da yaygınlaşacağı düşünülebilir.

Türk Kamu Yönetiminde Norm Kadro Uygulamasının Yeri

1990’lardan sonra Türkiye’de kamu personeli istihdamı, IMF standby düzenlemeleri ile Dünya Bankası’nın proje kredilerinde yer verilen koşullar çerçevesinde yönlendirilmiştir (Güler, 2003a:18). Bu örgütlerin temel argümanlarından biri Türk Kamu Yönetiminde aşırı kadrolama (=overstaffing) problemi olduğudur. 1995 yılında, Dünya Bankası ile “Kamu Mali Yönetimi” kredi anlaşması imzalanmış ve kamu gelirleri yönetimi alanı bankanın kontrolü altına girmiştir. Anlaşma kapsamında hazırlanan raporda Türkiye’de kamu personeli istihdamının şişkinliği ve buna bağlı olarak artan personel giderlerine işaret edilmiştir (The World Bank, 1995a:16). Ayrıca, mevcut kadro yönetiminin yetersizliği, olası kadro artışını önleyecek ve memur sayısının stabilizasyonunu sağlayacak araçların bulunmadığı vurgulanmıştır (ibid:17). Devletin kamu personeli üzerindeki kontrolünü yeniden kazanmasını sağlayacak bir mekanizmaya ihtiyacı olduğu belirtilmiştir. (The World Bank, 1995b:10)

Türk Kamu Personel Sistemi’nde aşırı kadrolama problemini vurgulayan bir diğer uluslararası örgüt ise Uluslararası Para Fonu (IMF) dir. Türkiye tarafından IMF’ye sunulan niyet mektuplarında kamu personeli sayısında azaltıma gidileceği (özellikle KİT’lerde) çeşitli şekillerde sıklıkla vurgulanmıştır.

Türkiye’ de norm kadro çalışmalarının temelini devlet kadrolarının şişkinliği iddiaları oluşturmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, norm kadro uygulaması iddia edilen problemi ortadan kaldıracak bir araç olarak görülmüştür. Örneğin, 5 Nisan 2003 tarihinde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarafından IMF’ye sunulan niyet mektubunda, kamu yönetimi reformu çerçevesinde izlenecek bir kamu sektörü reform stratejisinin Bakanlar Kurulunca 2003 yılının sonuna kadar kabul edileceği ve ilk adımını norm kadro uygulamasının oluşturacağı taahhüt edilmektedir.

Ayrıca, sermaye kesimini temsil eden TÜSİAD, TİSK gibi örgütlerin yayınladıkları çeşitli rapor ve dökümanlarda da norm kadro uygulaması Türk Kamu Yönetiminde olduğu iddia edilen aşırı personel istihdamına bir çözüm olarak sunulmuş ve desteklenmiştir.

Öte yandan, norm kadro uygulamasının yeni kamu işletmeciliği yaklaşımı ile uyumluluk içerisinde olduğu söylenebilir. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi, yeni kamu işletmeciliği akımı ile beraber, bir takım neo-Taylorist yöntem ve teknikler işletmecilik alanından kamu yönetimi alanına doğrudan aktarılmıştır. Norm kadro uygulaması da, işletmecilik alanından kamu yönetimine aktarılmış Neo-Taylorist yöntemlerden biridir.

Daha öncede belirttiğimiz gibi, Türkiye’de kamu personel sistemi geleneksel olarak kariyer sistemi üzerinde yükselir ve özel sektör pratiklerinden farklı olarak kişi odaklı bir kadrolama anlayışının temelini oluşturur. Ancak, kamu yönetimine aktarılan işletmeci yaklaşımlar ile kamu yönetimine özgü bir personel sistemi anlayışını temsil eden kariyer sistemi arasında ontolojik anlamda uyumsuzluk oluşması kaçınılmazdır. Yine daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, norm kadro uygulaması kariyer sistemi esasını değiştirme ve kişi yerine iş ve verimlilik odaklı bir personel sistemi kurma çabalarının ilk adımı olarak görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla bahsettiğimiz işletmeci yöntemlerin kamu yönetimine entegre edilmesini kolaylaştıracağı düşünülebilir.

Son yıllarda, yeni kamu işletmeciliği yaklaşımının bir sonucu olarak, performans değerlendirmesi, toplam kalite yönetimi gibi işletmeci yaklaşımların Türk Kamu

Yönetiminde uygulanmaya çalışıldığı bilinmektedir. Norm kadro uygulamasının bu metodların kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında uygulanabilmesi için gerekli zemini sağladığı söylenebilir. Örneğin, Güler'e göre, performans değerlendirmesine geçmenin ön koşulu norm kadro sistemine geçilmesidir çünkü iş analizi yapılmadığı sürece işin ölçülmesi mümkün değildir. Çalışanların performansını değerlendirebilmek için, her personelin iş tanımlarının yapılması, norm kadro hazırlıklarının tamamlanması, her bir kadro için ölçülebilir hedeflerin belirlenmesi ve bu hedeflere ne ölçüde ulaşıldığının saptanması gerekir. (Güler, 2005b:296)

Alan Çalışmasından Notlar

Tezin 4. Bölümü, konun uzmanı olan uygulayıcılar, kamu kurumlarının insan kaynakları birimlerinde çalışan personel ve kamu sendikaları yöneticileri ile yapılan bir alan çalışmasına ayrılmıştır. Bu bölüm mülakatlar sırasında tutulan notlar ve kamu sendikalarından doğrudan ve onların web sitelerinden elde edilen belgeler çerçevesinde hazırlanmıştır. Mülakatlar 2013 yılının, şubat ve kasım ayları arasında yapılmıştır. Çalışma kapsamında ağırlıklı olarak norm kadro düzenlemesini halen uygulamakta olan kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarına yer verilmiştir. Bunların yanı sıra, uygulamaya başlayan ancak devam ettiremeyen (AOÇ, TBMM ve eski Orman Bakanlığı) kamu kurumlarının deneyimlerinden de faydalanılmıştır.

İlgili literatürde, son on yıldır bazı kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında uygulanmakta olan norm kadro uygulamalarının sonuçları hakkında yeterli veri bulunmayışı alan çalışması yapmayı zorunlu kılmıştır. Ancak, Türk Kamu Yönetiminde norm kadro uygulamaları sistematik bir düzen içerisinde yürütülmemektedir. Norm kadro uygulaması bazı kurumlarda yönetmelik ile düzenlenirken, kimi kurumlarda herhangi bir yasal düzenleme olmaksızın yürütülmektedir.

Norm kadro uygulaması, her bir kamu kurum ve kuruluşunda farklı teknik süreçler üzerinden yürümektedir. Kadrolar hesaplanırken göz önüne alınan kriterler , doğal

olarak, kurumdan kuruma farklılık göstermektedir. Bu çalışmanın temel sınırlılığıdır. Bu sınırlılığı mümkün olduğunca azaltmak için kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarındaki norm kadro sürecinin detaylarına mümkün olduğunca girilmemeye çalışılmış ve genel bilgiler verilmiştir.

Alan çalışması sonucu elde edilen bulgu ve yapılan çıkarımları genel olarak özetleyecek olursak, öncelikle belirtmek gerekir ki, Türk Kamu Yönetiminde kamu hizmeti sunumunu aksatabilecek düzeyde bir personel dağılım problemi bulunmaktadır. Ancak uzun yıllardan bu yana norm kadro esasına göre personel alımını yapan ve personelin dağılımını norm kadro cetvellerine göre gerçekleştiren kurumlarda dahi bu sorun çözülebilmiş değildir. Ayrıca, görüşme yapılan kişiler, norm kadro çalışmaları sonucunda, kurumların bazı birimlerinde personel fazlalıkları bulunurken bazı birimlerinde personel ihtiyacının ortaya çıktığını belirtmişlerdir.

Norm kadro uygulamasından üç temel beklenti olduğu söylenebilir. Bunlar, bilimsel metodlar yoluyla kadro ihtiyacının niteliksel ve niceliksel olarak belirlenmesi, insan kaynağının etkili ve verimli kullanımı ve insan kaynağının dengeli ve eşit dağılımıdır.

Özellikle uygulayıcılar ve kamu kurumlarının insan kaynakları birimlerinde çalışan kamu personeli, bilimsel bir uygulama olarak niteledikleri norm kadro çalışmalarının yapılmasını desteklediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Kamu sendikaları ise genel olarak uygulamaya temkinli yaklaşmaktadırlar. Ancak tam anlamıyla uygulamaya negatif baktıklarını söylemek doğru olmayacaktır. Görüşülen sendika temsilcilerinin bir kısmı, kamu çıkarına uygun davranılması durumunda norm kadro uygulamasının personelin dağılımı açısından olumlu sonuçlar yaratabileceğini ifade etmiştir. Ancak, hali hazırda devam ettirilen uygulamaların bu amaca uygun olmadığını ifade etmişlerdir. Kamu iktisadi teşebbüslerinde (KİT) istihdam edilen personeli temsil eden sendikaların ise norm kadro çalışmalarına özelleştirmenin bir aracı ve ön hazırlığı olarak baktıkları söylenebilir.

Yapılan alan çalışması ve özellikle sendikalardan elde edilen dökümanlar ışığında söylenebilir ki, istisnalar olmakla birlikte, Türk kamu yönetiminde norm kadro

uygulanması genel anlamda her bir kadroyu üretim maliyeti olarak gören, piyasavari bir anlayış üzerinden yürütülmektedir. Bunun bir sonucu olarak, özellikle belediyeler ve KİT'ler' de personel eksikliğinden kaynaklanan bir takım sıkıntılar yaşandığı ve bu eksikliğin taşeronlaşma yoluyla giderildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Şüphesiz bu durum, norm kadro uygulamasının ileri ki yıllarda yaygınlaşması durumunda kamu personeli ve kamu hizmeti sunumu açısından önemli problemlere yol açabilir. Norm kadro uygulaması sonucunda aşırı kadrolamanın yani norm kadro fazlası personelin ortaya çıkması durumunda, bu soruna bir takım çözümler üretilirken, personel ihtiyacı doğması karşısında pasif bir tutum izlendiği söylenebilir.

Ayrıca, norm kadro uygulamasının stratejik insan kaynakları yönetimi, performans değerlendirme ve toplam kalite yönetimi uygulamaları için uygun zemin hazırladığı, PTT örneğinde olduğu gibi, kısmen de olsa gözlemlenmiştir.

SONUÇ

Görünen odur ki, norm kadro uygulaması nötr, teknik bir metottan fazlasını ifade etmektedir. Norm kadro uygulaması yeni sağ politikalarının 1980' den sonra sonucu olarak personel azaltımı yoluyla devletin küçültülmesi ve yeni kamu işletmeciliği yaklaşımının bir sonucudur. Söz konusu uygulama, her bir kadroyu üretim maliyeti olarak gören, dolayısıyla emek verimliliğini en üst düzeye çıkarmayı hedefleyen ve kökleri Taylorizme dayanan bir anlayışa dayanmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, norm kadro uygulaması, devleti küçültme amacına paralel olarak, Türk Kamu Yönetiminde olduğu iddia edilen aşırı kadrolama problemini önlemek amacıyla kullanılan neo-Taylorist bir araç işlevi görmektedir.

Norm kadro uygulaması, kamu personeli sayısının sınırlandırılması, ve kısmen gözlemlenmiş olsa da, işletmeci yönetim metodlarının kamu yönetimine aktarılmasına zemin hazırlamak gibi konularda arzu edilen sonuçları vermiştir. Ancak uygulamanın, Türk Kamu Yönetiminde asıl ihtiyaç duyulan, işe uygun

personelin istihdamı, personelin eşit dağılımı gibi kamu hizmetinin niteliğini doğrudan olumlu yönde etkileyecek konularda başarılı olduğunu söylemek güçtür.

Sonuç olarak, kamuda kadro planlamasına duyulan ihtiyaç ortadadır. Ancak, işletme disiplininin devşirilen bir kadrolama anlayışı yerine kamu yönetiminin ilke ve değerlerini göz önünde bulundurarak oluşturulan, ekonomik verimlilik ve karlılıktan ziyade kamu hizmetinin en iyi şekilde sunumunu ön planda tutan bir kadrolama anlayışı ortaya konulmalı ve benimsenmelidir.

APPENDIX B:TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü

☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Kalav-İdrisoğlu

Adı : Feyza

Bölümü : Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Staffing Norms Practice in Turkish Public Administration: A Critical Evaluation

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

☒

Doktora

☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

☐☐☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: