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The Complex Role of District Governors in Turkey:

A Sui Generis Case of Public Leadership

by

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the challenge within public leadership of reconciling the sometimes conflicting interests of the national and local state. District Governors in Turkey are the agents of the central state within their districts but they also exercise an important role as local civic leaders for the communities over which they have jurisdiction. This thesis examines the ways in which those competing governance and leadership responsibilities are balanced out between one another. Additionally, the thesis explores the impacts upon the leadership practices of district governors of, on the one hand, personal qualities and behavioural traits, and contextual factors specific to particular places on the other, recognising that Turkey is a particularly diverse country in terms of social development, ethnicity, economic prosperity, and religion among other aspects.

The underpinning research has been based on a case study design and has involved in-depth and semi-structured interviews with a sample of 30 District Governors, selected from across Turkey.

A key finding is that, while being appointees of the central state and accountable to their superiors in Ankara, district governors soon develop for themselves strong roles and profiles as local public leaders,

though somewhat constrained in this respect both by the centre's control over resource availability, and by the growing challenge created by the ascendancy of locally elected politicians under more recent policies favouring devolution and decentralisation. The research also highlights the significance of governors' personal endeavours to resolve particularly challenging local issues to their reputations and respect within their local communities; such acts of leadership being undertaken over and above, the plethora of administrative duties and responsibilities that the state expects of its governor appointees. However, having been conducted at a time of increasing political tension and hiatus across Turkey, the research also identified a mood of considerable uncertainty and pessimism among interviewees about the future for district governorships at the interface between centre and locality within the country.

Recent public administration reforms in Turkey, and specifically, moves to devolve more powers to municipalities, imply changes in the role and influence of District Governors. Accordingly the research sought to understand how interviewees were viewing these changes and their implications for their role into the future. In this respect, almost all the governors expressed apprehension and much uncertainty about future prospects.

Preface

In the year of 2012, after 12 years working in district public administration in my homeland of Turkey, I was appointed to a senior post to oversee the training of the country's governors and with specific responsibility for the development of the '*governorship course'* provided at the Education Chamber of the Turkish Internal Affairs Ministry. This course is widely regarded as highly prestigious and its attendees as comprising something of an elite among the country's emerging public leaders.

As my starting point in this role I wished to take stock and review the governorship course to satisfy myself as to its suitability for purpose, and I chose to do this within a framework of academic study and supervision. I also chose to study outside Turkey so that I might benefit from broader perspectives and a wider range of diverse insights on public leadership and governance. I applied to the University of Birmingham, a highly-regarded research-led university with a particularly strong reputation in international public administration and local governance, and was pleased to be offered the opportunity to register for a PhD there.

The majority of my first year of studies was focused on reading the published literature on leadership and related research on leadership development, to prepare for my review of the Turkish governorship course. However, it quickly became apparent that this could form only one part of a more wide-reaching study for which more searching and ambitious research questions were required. Accordingly, the research began to embrace a broader agenda and to focus particularly on the ways in which Turkish district governors exercised their leadership responsibilities and the factors affecting such behaviour. In particular, the two key issues to be examined concerned, first, how district governors balanced out their twin roles, on the one hand, as representatives of the central state within their areas, and on the other, in local governance terms as local community leaders, and second, the respective impacts of personal leadership qualities and local contextual factors on their leadership practice.

Inevitably, a significant dimension to the research would derive from the particular political context of Turkey; a state that has been in significant transition for some decades now, and there has been a steadily unfolding devolution agenda and development of local governance through the establishment of democratically-elected municipalities – alongside the longstanding framework of state-appointed district governorships. More than this, the Kurdish issue – and specifically the

guerrilla/terror tactics increasingly being used to press for recognition and separate identity for Turkish Kurds - has remained a significant and unresolved governance and leadership challenge especially, though by means exclusively, in the east and southeast parts of the country.

In mid-July 2016, during the time that this thesis was in preparation, came the 'coup' attempt, resulting in a Presidential 'crackdown' on dissidents and, in a climate of high uncertainty and national crisis, the summary dismissal of tens of thousands of civil servants - including the author of this thesis. Since, those dramatic events the country has been subject to a series of states of emergency that have continued the hiatus and, at the time of writing, left a legacy of huge uncertainty about the future for public leadership in Turkey.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father, Bekir Akca

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It has been a unique pleasure to carry out this doctoral research at the University of Birmingham, United Kingdom. However, without the help of a handful of exceptional people this research would have never seen daylight. Among them, first and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors Professor John W. Raine and Doctor Adrian Campbell for their precious and immaculate help throughout the journey of my study. They have always supported and encouraged me, not only in my student life but also in my personal life where various problems arisen as a result of the unlawful deeds of the Turkish president and his government. God willing, I will never forget John's indescribable support during and after my unlawful dismissal from my profession.

I would like to express my gratitude to my former supervisors Ian Briggs and Philip Whiteman as well as all members of staff at the Institute of Local Government Studies and the School of Government and Society. My colleagues on the 10th Floor, West, Muirhead Tower deserve all the best in their lives for their warm friendship and encouragement.

My special thanks go to my persevering wife, handsome son and gorgeous daughter. They know me better than anyone else in this

world and they had to endure all the consequences of my commitment to my studies.

Contents

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The origins of the current district administration system of Turkey reach back to 1842 when, an edict of the Ottoman Sultan heralded a series of administrative reforms including the appointment of district governors (Çadırcı, 1989; Çimen, 2012; İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2002). These reforms, that were largely modelled on the French approach to public administration, sought to establish a state administrative system that would help the Turkish state to become part of the developed world of the West. Since then, district governors have represented the central government at local level. From the outset, the newly appointed governors were expected to undertake not only a variety of administrative roles, but also some judicial functions as well.

While, some of their roles were lost when the Ottoman Empire shrunk in the early 20th century, the governors were to be granted significant additional powers during and after the Turkish War of Independence

that led to the foundation of the modern Republic of Turkey in 1923. This new state was founded on the notions of 'secularism and modernisation', in the manner of most Western countries, and the duties of the governors were revised to prioritise their role in promoting the new culture and representing the state's new authority within each district area. Until a multi-party political system was introduced in the 1950s, district governors were seen as the all-important figures in the state administration of Turkey.   However, the development of more liberal policies and growing political involvement in local public administration gradually eroded the profile of governors and their authority in the public sphere. This erosion continued through the latter decades of the twentieth century as new debates developed about devolution and the strengthening of local government in the country, especially among the Turkish intelligentsia. Reform in this direction continued into the new century when some of the dynamics of the New Public Management began to encroach upon the more traditional features of public administration (Çapar and Yıldırım, 2016; Gül and Taşdan, 2014). Moreover, since then, as the arguments for devolution have increasingly found traction in many parts of the country, the future of governorships has steadily come under the spotlight with growing realisation of their pivotal position and of the potentially contesting interests to be served between centre and locality.

The inspiration for this thesis derives from the author's fifteen years' experience as a district governor in Turkey, and the desire to explore how different governors across the country exercise their leadership responsibilities and particularly how they balance out their roles and accountabilities, on the one hand, to the central state (being the centre's representative at district level), and on the other, as a key figure providing local leadership for the communities over which they have jurisdiction.

1.2 The Office of District Governors

The contemporary public administration system in Turkey comprises both central and local structures. The central administration system is led by the Turkish Government on the principle of 'concentration of power' (merkeziyetçilik). However, this principle also applies to the 'agents' or representatives of the centre (the governors) at local level within a framework of deconcentration of power (tevsi-i mezuniyet). Indeed, Turkish central government has other branches and 'extensions' at the local level, most of which are subordinate to governors. At the same time, however, there are also local authorities,

i.e. municipalities, with locally-elected politicians, who increasingly have a key stake in the local public administrative system of the country.

There is, then, a co-existence of both centralisation and decentralisation principles within the modern state of Turkey, although the system has often been criticised as being overly centralist (Heper and Keyman, 1998; Köker, 1995; Mahmutoglu, 2011). The centre has also been criticised for failing to devolve sufficient power to local authorities (Omurgonulsen and Oktem, 2009; Yalçındağ, 1970) and, if anything, the trend in recent decades has been towards more centralisation rather than less – not least since the failed coup of 2016.

In practice centralisation in Turkey has meant not more decision-making at the centre, but also a growth of functions and powers for the centre's agents/representatives in the localities, i.e. the district governors. As appointed senior agents of the centre, Turkish district governors have been described by Gul and Tasdan (2013) as occupying particularly critical posts. Numerous laws impose a plethora of important administrative duties on them, including being responsible for maintaining public order and security. For example, in order to prevent any public disorder, district governors are empowered to impose blanket curfews on their entire districts should they feel this to be necessary for the maintenance of security and public safety. Moreover,

with the exception of judicial and military bodies within the district, governors are ranked as being superior to all other local branches of central agencies. Indeed, they are responsible for ensuring harmony and coordination between the different state institutions within their districts, and they enjoy a certain degree of administrative oversight of the local government (Köker, 1995; Önen and Eken, 2016).

Certainly governors are much more than just agents of central government. For built into their roles is an overarching responsibility for the local area and its people – with each district governor being a key governing figure for the local community and one who plays significant roles in almost every sphere of public life for the general public. Directives from the centre and expectations from the locality may at times be in conflict with one another and potentially create leadership challenges for the District Governors in decision-making and in choosing appropriate courses of action. The possibility of such tensions, and the need for better understanding of how different governors resolve the associated dilemmas, was very much part of the inspiration for this thesis.

1.3 Problem Statement

Turkish society has long been strongly based on hierarchy, with the tradition of 'custom and practice' has always played a significant role in public governance and decision-making (Kapucu and Palabıyık, 2008; Yılmaz, 2015). In fact the public administrative system closely reflects Turkish society – a society in which status and hierarchy are the main determinants of the social rules (Altunok, 2016; Heper and Sancar, 1998). Although district governors are part of a central governmental administrative system, they are, as indicated above, also widely viewed as local leaders, even though such a public perception often seems at odds with expectations of a classic centralist state administrative hierarchy (Gul and Tasdan, 2013). In practice, then, although district governors are part of the state hierarchy, rather than of the system of locally-elected self-government, they are expected by local people to act as their leaders and to be locally responsive, even though they are also charged with carrying out directives from the centre. Indeed, expectations at local level have tended to grow, particularly regarding improvements in public services, making the leadership role of the district governors all the more demanding over time.

That said, in general, because of the strongly hierarchical nature of Turkish society, there has been general public support for assertively

strong leadership by district governors and, for the most part, a paternalistic style has been favoured, in which governors are expected to act decisively in the interests of their local communities quite as much as working on behalf of the central state.

Accordingly, at the heart of the research for this thesis has been an exploration of the different ways in which district governors across Turkey have approached the potential tensions between their public leadership roles in relation to the central state on the one hand and towards their localities on the other. While there has been a long history of leadership studies stretching back for more than a century, the focus on leadership within public administration has been much more limited to date (Bass and Bass, 2008). This is especially so with regard to 'dual state' contexts such as Turkey, where, as indicated, there the governors are simultaneously agents of the central state and community leaders at local level.

1.4 The Research Questions

As indicated, the overall purpose of the research has been to examine how Turkish district governors exercise their leadership roles, and particularly how they balance out their responsibilities towards the

central government, as servants of the central state, with those towards the locality and the communities over which they have jurisdiction. The aim has also been to understand better how, as governors, they perceive and practise their roles in terms of the central-local relationship. This is seen as an especially important aim given the context of increasing uncertainty about the future of their role in light of the evolving nature of public administrative structures in Turkey and changing societal expectations in a fast developing country.

Much of the research focus has been on governors as individuals – rather than as a group or as an institution. In this spirit, the key research question for the thesis has been '**How do Turkish governors, in the exercise of their leadership role, balance out their responsibilities towards the central government, as servants of the central state, with those towards the locality and the communities over which they have jurisdiction?'**.

In addressing this question the research has set out to examine both the personal and the contextual aspects (or the trait and contingency aspects) of their leadership; or, put another way, what individual governors themselves bring to the role through their own personal backgrounds, education and training, experience and socialisation on the one hand, and how the character and circumstances of the

particular district, and the needs and expectations of local communities and their representatives, on the other, influence and shape the approach and priorities that district governors pursue.

Particularly reflecting this latter aspect of the investigation, the second key research question has been as follows: '**To what extent, and in what ways, do differences in local circumstances, on the one hand, and in personal traits, on the other, account for variance in the practices of leadership by district governors across Turkey?**

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Following on from this first and essentially background and introductory chapter, Chapter Two examines the role of Turkish district governors in more detail. This chapter commences with an overview of the Turkish public administration system as a whole, of which district governance is just one part. The chapter then provides a brief history of the district administrative structure in Turkey from its establishment in the 1840s, outlining recent debates about reforms to the system, and particularly the arguments around the devolution of power from governors to the directly elected local authorities, i.e. municipalities. Next, the chapter examines the different functional roles expected of governors, focusing

in turn on their contribution a) to maintaining public safety and security, b) as public administrators, c) in leading social development within their districts and d) in promoting and supporting economic development. In so doing, the chapter explores a number of key challenges arising from the duality of role – as providing leadership on behalf of the centre yet at the same time also undertaking a leadership role with and for the locality and its communities.

Chapter Three then provides a literature review of leadership, seeking in particular, to examine and highlight the literature with most applicability to the context and challenges confronting the Turkish district governors. The chapter also considers different theoretical frameworks on leadership and their potential contribution in framing the empirical research for this thesis. In this respect, particular attention is paid to trait and situational-contingency leadership theories as being especially relevant to the second research question.

Chapter Four focuses on the research design and methods chosen for the empirical study. It introduces the various issues and decisions taken concerning the planning and conduct of the fieldwork for the research including discussion of the methods used. The chapter explains the rationale for choice of a 'multiple case study' design and discusses the means deployed to define the sample and gather data

from each of 30 district governors (each being treated as a case study). Although the principal data collection method was interviews, in addition the study benefited from the conduct of observational research and through considerable document analysis (based on additional text materials provided by several of the governors).

In the three succeeding chapters – Chapters Five, Six and Seven – the main research findings in relation to the key research questions are presented. In Chapter Five, the different perspectives of governors on leadership and on the factors that they regarded to be key influences on their approach to the role are summarised. Moreover, their administrative leadership within their offices is examined in some depth. This is followed in Chapter Six by discussion of the findings concerning governors' community leadership practices. In this chapter contingencies such as local culture, ethnicity and religion and their effects on governors' leadership behaviours are explored. Furthermore, the chapter examines governors' reactions to the pressures of leadership in the context of increasing expectations (from centre and locality) for improved public services. The final chapter on findings, Chapter Seven, focuses on governors' perceptions of the key personal competencies and qualities they regard as being necessary and helpful for the challenges of the role both in the current context, and with an eye towards a less certain future.

Chapter Eight then seeks to draw the threads together in relation to the two key research questions and of what the findings imply in these respects. This chapter is followed by a short final chapter, Chapter Nine, where the key findings as a whole are summarised and their implications considered, particularly with regard to the future for district governorships and the skills and competencies their office holders require for effective leadership in such a role. Finally, the thesis reflects on the research contribution as a whole; both on its value and its limitations, before some concluding thoughts about the challenges ahead for the institution of district governorship and for the individuals who might hold this privileged, but probably increasingly troubled, office.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROLE OF TURKISH DISTRICT GOVERNORS

2.1 Introduction

District Governors in Turkey are charged with a variety of formal and informal leadership roles within a deconcentrated governance system, and undertake them alongside numerous other duties of an administrative-nature. As indicated in the previous chapter, they take their lead both from the centre and from the locality, on the one hand as agents of the central state and on the other as leading figures within the local communities over whom they have jurisdiction.

This chapter thus explores and highlights the roles they perform in more detail, including the inherent tensions between those of a formal and informal nature; and between those typical of a traditionally centralised state and those of a developing deconcentrated governance regime. The chapter also provides some context for the research by introducing some of the key public administrative reforms that have taken place in Turkey in recent years and with impacts for the roles of district

governors. Particularly significant in this respect have been reforms in the genre of New Public Management (Hood, 1991). To begin, however, it will be helpful briefly to provide an overview of the public administrative framework and systems of the country.

2.2 Turkey's Public Administration System

The present state administrative structure of Turkey was established in the 1982 Constitution. This reflects a long-established state tradition of a strong centralised state in which national government has clear supremacy over local government (Heper and Keyman, 1998; Köker, 1995; Mahmutoglu, 2011; Omurgonulsen and Oktem, 2009; Yalçındağ, 1970). However, the 1982 Constitution does acknowledge the coexistence of both centralising and decentralising principles and there is in practice a developing system of local governance with local councils enjoying their own powers and autonomy, albeit within limits defined by central government regulations (Gul and Tasdan, 2013). In a similar way, the Constitution embraces the principle of the *unitary state* that requires all central and local administrative units and other public bodies to work together for common goals.

Yet despite the fact that the role, duties and autonomy of local government have increased in recent years, with executive mayors these days elected at local level by popular vote, they are referred to in the Constitution only as 'local administrations' rather than as autonomous local governments – emphasising again the *unitary status of the country* (Gul and Tasdan, 2013). Accordingly, in this thesis, as indeed in much of the published literature on Turkish public administration, the phrases 'local government' and 'local administration' are used interchangeably.

The Turkish Republic has been described by the Turkish Constitution (1982, p. 3) as 'a democratic, secular and social state and based on the separation of powers principle between legislative, judicial and executive bodies'. According to the Constitution, the Turkish Grand National Assembly holds legislative power on behalf of the nation whereas independent courts provide judicial power. Article 8 of the Constitution describes executive power as both 'authority and duty' shared between the president, the council of ministers and as defined in the statutes (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982).

Although executive power in the Turkish public administration system is centrally structured, a system of local branches exists to reach out to the regions and localities. Again, according to the Turkish Constitution,

two categories of such local branches are the provinces and districts. Geographical factors, economic contexts and the particular needs for public services for different local communities are taken into consideration when deciding the boundaries of provinces and districts. Article 123 of the Constitution recognises the principle of *deconcentration* which enables the central administration to assign aspects of its public service provision and governance authority to the provinces and districts across the country (Çiner, 2014; Köker, 1995). In this way, some of central government's resources, along with certain powers, are able to be transferred to the provincial and district governors who act as local extensions and offices of the central state.

Under such deconcentration, the country is presently divided into 81 provinces, and then further subdivided into 919 districts (as described in the General Directorate of Provincial Administration, 2016). The governors, whether at provincial or district levels, are powerful figures who are appointed by central government to carry out and oversee the entire spectrum of provincial or district administration. Since these governors are the executive agents of the central government, they are also responsible for the provision of the deconcentrated public services and for supervising all local branches of the central ministries and other central governmental agencies. In addition, however, they are also expected to represent local interests in their territories (Gul and Tasdan,

2013).   Before considering the implications of this framework and examining in more detail the current arrangements for district governorships – these being the principal focus of this thesis - it is helpful to consider the history of the office of district governor so as to appreciate better how the contemporary agenda of duties and responsibilities has come into being

2.3 A Brief History of District Governors

According to Berkes (2002) the office of District Governor in Turkish culture was based on tradition and custom. Under this historic custom-based state administrative system, people would typically unite around a strong character who they would regard as their leader (Seçilmiş et al., 2016).   Administrative functions were similarly carried out in accordance with traditional customs. However, the system became dysfunctional when the land area of the state of Turkey was enlarged in around 1400. With such an enlargement, the state governance and administrative structures saw many changes. For example, in the Seljuk period, between 1060 through 1308, unitary state administration was formed around the *Divân-ı Sultan* (Council of Sultan) and regions began to be administered more formally by appointed governors (Yücel

and Sevim, 1990). Similarly, in the centuries between 1299 and 1923, the Ottomans preferred regional administration (*eyalet*) and under their auspices sancak (provinces), *kaza* (districts) and parishes, were established as local administration units (Solakoğlu, 1994). *Eyalets* were administered by *beylerbeyi*s who embraced both military and administrative power. Later, with the state administrative reforms that were made in the 19th century, the word *eyalet* was replaced by a new word, *vilayet.* Governors' roles in military and civil administration were separated with this initiative and since then both roles have fallen within the power of governors (Çimen, 2007; Karpat, 1972).

District governors were first appointed within the *sancak*s (today's provinces) in 1842 but later on, in 1864, with the *Tuna Vilayet Nizamnamesi* (Tuna Province Regulation) and the *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* (Province Regulation) their office and position was formalised for particular territories at district *(kaza)* level as well (Çadırcı, 1989; Çimen, 2012; İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2002). The *sancak*s (provinces) were key to the state administration system in Ottoman times and this system was continued under the successor Turkish Republic. For instance, Ottoman *sancak*s still form the administrative provinces of modern Turkey (Efe and Sılaydın-Aydın, 2009, p. 77).

Governors who were appointed to *sancak*s in the Ottoman period were responsible for security, public order, law enforcement, managing the state's properties, coordinating relations between public institutions in their regions, conscriptions, title deeds and public affairs, collecting taxes and inspections. Although their role was also heavily involved in military practices, with the inception of *Tanzimat Decree* and *Islahat Fermani* and the associated administrational transformations, the governors became key civil servants within their regions of the Empire and were regarded as symbolising the unity and centrality of the state at local level (Hanioğlu, 2006; Karpat, 1972; Önen and Reyhan, 2011; Ünal, 2007).

The public administration reforms of the *Islahat Fermani* in 1859 and following periods were modelled on the French administrative system (Bingöl, 2001; Çimen, 2007; Kapucu and Palabıyık, 2008; Karpat, 1972; Köksal, 2015). Although these reforms soon became well established, they proved difficult to synchronise with the new developments occurring in Western countries. Reforms were initially well prepared but implementation was slow in comparison with changes around the world, meaning that Turkey was always a step behind the leaders in public management.

During these reform times Ottoman central government wanted to retain its power in every corner of the empire and sent its representatives, i.e. the governors, to all its regions. Although with these reforms governors' roles were enlarged to a certain extent, their administrative power was correspondingly reduced when their offices were established at *kaza* (district) level from *sancak* level, as previously.

For the most part, the modern Republic of Turkey, established in 1923, continued this older-established administrative system. However, the *eyalet-sancak* system was replaced by a new provincial and district administration system with an emphasis on legislative authority and centralisation (Çimen, 2012; Diamant, 1954; Karahanoğulları, 2005). The similarities between adminisrative systems of France and Turkey at this time were obvious. For example, in France, all governmental departmants were centralised in Paris and all administrative units in the regions governed by prefects; these being the representatives of the centre. In similar manner, the Turkish administrative system concentrated power in the centre and regions were governed by centrally appointed state represenatives, i.e. governors. In France Prefects *(tuelle administratif)* are viewed as 'the outward symbol of the power and control of the central government' and they co-exist with local authorities (Diamant, 1954, p. 474; Garner, 1924). The Turkish state administrative system followed the same model and rendered a

plethora of power to its governors, who co-exist with local government –
in provinces and districts across Turkey.

In the Republican era, two major laws were enacted to implement the
new public administrative structure: *Vilayet* (Province) Administration
Law and Provincial Administrative Law of 1929 and 1949 respectively
(*Vilayet* (Province) Administration Law, 1929; Provincial Administrative
Law, 1949). Before delving into the details of the contemporary roles of
governors it will be useful to consider briefly how the role developed
between 1929 and 1949.

The duties and roles that were assigned by the *Vilayet* Administration
Law to district governors could be classified into four categories:
security-public order, inspection-monitoring, economic development and
limited judicial power (Table 2. 1). A district governor, being a senior
civil servant, was charged with general administration duties in the
district. It meant that he – there being no female governors in those
years – was responsible for establishing a peaceful working
environment for all public bodies and institutions in his district and for
ensuring that they worked in harmony with one another. For example,
in the case of an outbreak of illness in a school, the district bureau of
the national education ministry would be expected to work hand in hand
with the district office of the national health ministry, and it fell to the

district governor to ensure that both institutions did indeed do so alleviate the outbreak.

Table 2.1 Governors' Roles between 1929 and 1949

Security and public order	Governors as the main responsible persons for these issues
Inspection-monitoring	Governors with overall responsibility for public and private enterprises (except military and judiciary)
Economic development	Governors responsible for ensuring investment in state enterprises
Judicial power (limited)	Governors nominally responsible through district administration council

Security and public order were primary responsibilities of district governors in this period. To this end, civil enforcement forces (the police in city and town areas, and gendarmes in rural areas) were placed under their authority. In addition district governors were obliged to carry out inspections and monitor all public institutions, including municipal authorities, with the exception of the judiciary and military organisations within the district. The third cluster of functions in the governors' role related to economic development. Here, the role included creating and sustaining good relations with civic or quasi-civic organisations and with all the institutions involved in agriculture, commerce, industry and transportation; for example, the district's

chamber of commerce. The fourth cluster of functions for district governors in this period involved quasi-judicial decision-making processes (*Vilayet* Administration Law, Articles 61-68). Here, governors, as the heads of district administration councils, were empowered to handle lawsuits being filed against any decisions and actions of public institutions within the district.

The *Vilayet* Administration Law was operational until 1949 when, as indicated, a replacement law was enacted, the Provincial Administrative Law. This Provincial Administrative Law remains to the present day and forms the benchmark for defining current governors' roles and duties.

2.4 Contemporary Roles of District Governors

In the highly centralised public administration system that operates in modern Turkey, district governors are responsible for implementing the programme of central government with regard to security, health, education, agriculture, social assistance, and infrastructure services. Governors are regarded as superior to all other governmental institutions within their districts and also to local government (Çiner and Karakaya, 2013). Again, with the exception of judicial and military personnel (gendarmerie excluded), governors are the first line

supervisors of all the local managers of central government agencies. Indeed, they are the chief agents of the central government.

There are, literally, hundreds of laws that, one way or another, empower district governors with the implementation of regulations (Bedük, 2011b; Emre, 2002; Çelik and Özkan, 2012). Nonetheless, the principal law in what has been described as a confusing legislative jungle (Emre, 2001) remains, as indicated, the Provincial Administrative Law of 1949. In addition to this, the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (1982), the Internal Affairs Ministry's Personnel Law (1930), the State Personnel Law (1965), the Law of Organisation and Duties of the Internal Affairs Ministry (1985), the Ministries' Formation and Duties Law (1984), By-laws of Candidate District Governors (1994) and the Decree of Appointment and Replacement of the State Territorial Authorities (1986), to name just the most significant ones, all provide significant legislative regulations that also define the authority and roles of the governors (Emre, 2002; Sönmez, 2014).

As already emphasised, District Governors work in a deconcentrated framework of state administration while representing the central government at local level. Their roles and duties are either formal and in accordance with current legislation, or informal, as established by

tradition and custom.   Table 2.2 below shows governors' roles in clusters.

Table 2.2 Governors' Roles around the District

Role Clusters ⬇	Unitary	Deconcentration	Formal	Informal	Administration	Entrepreneurial Management
Security and public order	✓	✓	✓	No	✓	No
Administrative roles	✓	✓	✓	Some of them	✓	Few
Economic development	Few	Few	Few	✓	Few	✓
Social Roles	✓	✓	No	✓	Related	Related

✓ indicates yes

As can be seen from Table 2.2, Turkish governors have diverse roles in various areas and many potential dilemmas may arise as a result. For example, while the roles and responsibilities for security and public order are determined specifically in law, it may well be the case that, sometimes, local circumstances can justify circumvention or lower prioritisation. Again, though in a different role, district governors are

recipients of grants to improve infrastructure in rural locations. However, in the same context, both larger city municipalities and special provincial administrations also share such responsibilities to avoid disorganisation in planning and implementation of projects that cross boundaries. In another area, security, the function of the civil enforcement work overlaps somewhat with the work of judicial authorities. Here, the exercise of powers and responsibilities for civil enforcement is potentially quite problematic and subject to tensions between governors and the prosecutors and judges within the district. Accordingly, governors are expected to establish an appropriate division of responsibilities between themselves and the prosecutors and judges.

Table 2.2 also indicates how the role clusters of Turkish Governors can seem to contradict and compete with one other. For example, as indicated, alongside representing the national state, governors are also required to take their lead from, and serve, the local community. Moreover, while some of their roles and responsibilities are formally defined, others are not. Similarly, while governors have various formal social and economic leadership responsibilities to perform, they also undertake many less formal tasks, including many that are barely related to their administrative positions and which call more for social

and entrepreneurial skills than administrative ones. In the following paragraphs the respective role clusters are briefly discussed in turn.

An A Priori Duty: Security and Public Order

Turkish governors are chief state servants whose leading role is to maintain security and public order within their districts (Emre, 2002; Provincial Administrative Law, 1949, Article 32; Public Order Application Decree, 1961). Governors carry out this role mainly by using civil enforcers, e.g. the police and gendarmerie. In any incident of social upheaval, for instance, a governor, may, if s/he deems necessary, impose a blanket curfew or deploy security personnel to the area of conflict (Ergan, 2015; Elibol, 2015).

Routine Administrative Works

Governors also have to deal with a variety of routine administrative duties such as signing official documents, chairing meetings, receiving guests and other visitors, attending civic functions and gatherings in and outside of their districts, receiving and dealing with complaints about public services, and undertaking (unannounced or scheduled)

inspections of local branches of governmental institutions (Duran, 1973: Lamba, 2015: Parlak and Sobacı, 2012). In addition, governors have various ceremonial roles to perform in national, official and other ceremonial days, for example, the Ataturk Days (The Decree of Official Ceremonial Days, 2012).

They are also endowed with the power of guardianship over local governments within their districts. However, with various amendments that have been made to the laws regarding local authorities, this power has been steadily and successively eroded. This is partly due to an ongoing trend towards localisation. The country's political elites, including the president, each used to occupy a leading position within a particular municipality, e.g. as mayor, or head of circles, and this served to strengthen their belief in localisation. The current ruling party (AK Party), which has been in power since 2002, has made several changes in the law to increase the power and influence of local authorities. A consequence of this, inevitably, has been a reduction in the power and influence of the governors.

Governors' Role in the Economy?

Since its modern-day establishment in 1923, Turkey has experienced at least three different approaches to economic management: state monopoly between 1923 and 1950, a planned economy from 1950 to 1980, and more liberal economic policies since the 1980s. Under the first of these, numerous additional duties were bestowed on Turkish governors in relation to the economy and local culture and they were expected to act as leading figures in the establishment and implementation of the new republican ideology. Then, under the planned economy approach, governors were regarded as key agents in the pursuit and functioning of public investment within their areas, especially in the more rural districts where such investment was perceived to be a high priority. This all tended to elevate the local leadership status and profile of governors (Karasu, 2002; Türk İdareciler Derneği, 1974).

However, since the 1980s, when more liberal policies were introduced and, in consequence, the state's involvement was reduced, the role of governors in economic management has diminished somewhat. On the other hand, the establishment of 'the social aid and solidarity foundations' under the direct control of governors to help poor citizens in the districts in 1986, and of 'unions of villages' for public service

delivery purposes in the 1990s, have been viewed by some commentators (e.g. Arslan (2003) and Çiner (2014)) as extending the influence of governors, particularly through the recruitment of more staff, and the development of public services (Ministry of Development, 2014; Social Aid and Solidarity Stimulation Law, 1986; Yeşilbaş, 2011). Additionally, the sphere of influence by governors in economic management has also been boosted through external sponsorship of projects, most notably by the European Union and World Bank, but also by various international entrepreneurs of Turkish descent but now residing elsewhere around the world (Bedük, 2011a).

Governors' Social Roles

As Inalcik (1998) has suggested, history indicates that, on the whole, Turkish society tends to favour strong leaders. Accordingly, district governors, as representatives of the state at local level, are generally regarded and accepted as leading figures (Capar and Yildirim, 2016). Being aware of this, the governors quite naturally assume social leadership roles within their districts, regardless of the fact that there is no specific underpinning legal authority to do so. Nevertheless, a key part of every governor's annual agenda involves officiating at significant ceremonies such as Republican Day, visiting community venues for

social events, presenting tribute to locals, fostering good relations with local civic organisations and seeking to build bridges and create social cohesion between rival groups.

2.5 Preparation and Training for Governorship

The district administration system in Turkey is based on the concept of power de-concentration. As indicated in the above sections, governors, as local heads in this administrative system, are responsible above all for the proper functioning of the state administrative processes. They are also expected to oversee the provision of a range of public services and ensure they are delivered to acceptable standards. Their role also involves building and maintaining relations between citizens, private and voluntary local organisations and the state administrative institutions and authorities.

Upon being selected from the cadres of graduates in the social sciences, having passed a series of entry examinations and been successful in an interview process, prospective governors undergo formal training over a period of three years and under the auspices of the Internal Affairs Ministry. Unsurprisingly, thorough checks are made on the background of all candidate district governors, including, for

example, whether or not, they have ever been involved in illegal demonstrations or other such group activities. On the training programme they are all made very aware not only of the responsibilities of office as a district governor, but also of the expectations of them in relation to the effective functioning of the local branches of all ministries of state and regarding the efficient delivery of public services. They are also thoroughly prepared for their role as high-profile public administrators and introduced to the idea that, if effective in their role, that they might well progress in due course to appointment as a provincial governor.

The training programme consists of different training stages: province training, training with a district governor, and then with a civil inspector. There is also a language course – sometimes provided in another country, – or alternatively a master degree abroad for trainee governors who have required language skills – as well as a period working as a trainee district governor, and a period for preparation of a dissertation on the experience, ahead of a final element - the district governorship induction course (Çapar, 2015; Çimen, 2008).

At the end of this intense three-year training programme candidate governors must undertake a final interview and oral examination in front of a council formed of representatives from the directorates and the

undersecretary of the Internal Affairs Ministry (Karasu, 2002). If successful in this they can proceed to one of a number of districts that they had pre-selected during their diploma ceremony

Initially a newly appointed district governor is assigned to a 'fifth class' district for their first posting where they are expected to serve for at least three years. These are almost all the smallest districts and spread across most of the country, though not in the far east and southeastern regions. Next, they are likely to be appointed to a 'sixth class' district these too being generally relatively small, though larger and more geographically extensive than the 'fifth class' districts. In due course, most governors are reassigned to fourth, third, second and first class districts over the course of their careers, with the tenure at each tending to become longer with each advance of class. Typically governors will spend at least five years in the latter class districts, and usually spend longer in the districts to which they are assigned in their advancing years; these mostly being the more developed and more highly populated districts, most of which are in the western part of the country.

2.6 The Changing Balance of Power Between the State and Localities

Although governors are, as indicated, the most senior agents of the state within their district areas, and on whom there are high expectations, various legislative amendments that have been made in recent decades have steadily increased the power base of elected local authorities across Turkey, and in so doing, inevitably challenged the supremacy of governorships and denuded their once all-important authority in the localities.   For example, Law No. 6360 (2012) transferred most of the roles governors in relation to economic management to the newly created metropolitan municipalities. Indeed, the same legislation also extended the authority and influence of metropolitan municipalities over wider tracts of territory, thus also overlapping with provincial governorship roles, for example, in relation to rural infrastructural projects that had previously been very much within the sphere of responsibility of district governors.

At the same time, the adoption within Turkey of many of the key traits and doctrines of the New Public Management (Hood, 1991; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Pollitt, 1993, 1995) with regard to public governance and service provision, have also played their part in reshaping the central-local balance and, with it, the authority of the

district governors. New Public Management was quickly and widely accepted by the Turkish intelligentsia towards the end of the twentieth century and was generally seen as the way forward to address longstanding criticisms of traditional public administration (Hughes, 2014) and to create more responsive, accountable, and effective public services at the local level. All this, too, provided an agenda for action for elected local government which was widely taken up with enthusiastic commitment (Çapar, 2015; Çiner, 2014; Çukurçayır, 2014; Gül and Taşdan, 2014; Kosecik et al., 2003; Sözen, 2012, 2015).

Party-political pledges to improve public services began to take centre-stage in the elections for local governments across Turkey (which are held every five years) for mayors, heads of villages/neighbourhoods and for various other executive agencies of local government.

As a result, the system of public administration in localities has become much more of a duality – with the district governors remaining as the key agents of the central state within their districts while the elected local government politicians increasingly presenting themselves as the new champions and representatives of the locality.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, the focus has been on how Turkey's traditional unitary state administrative system has developed, the key role within a deconcentration paradigm played by district governors, and the implications of rising decentralisation through the establishment of elected local government.

For the present, district (and provincial) governorships continue to be important in a variety of fields, from security and public order to administrative duties, economic development and social and cultural leadership. However, as has been discussed, many such roles are neither clearly defined in statute nor without complexity and potential challenge in their implementation. Moreover, in a country as large and diverse as Turkey, it is unlikely indeed that one single model of governorship could hold sway, or that all 919 such office holders would be likely to approach their responsibilities and exercise leadership in quite the same manner. Different contextual factors and different personal styles and perspectives on their leadership role would seem bound to ensure a multiplicity of expressions and practices among district governors. Meanwhile, as has been explained in this chapter, other reforms to public governance and management, and notably the rising significance of New Public Management and the parallel

development of the system of elected local government in Turkey, have, over the past thirty years, steadily encroached upon and challenged the traditional role and authority of district governors; indeed, raising questions about their future, as this thesis will explore in its subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Andersen (2016) provides the metaphor of an old man who sails through the Sea of Leadership for 140 years. He first visits the bays of personality and behaviour and then continues through the bays of descriptive studies, round the cape of definition and then revisits the bay of personality before sailing on through the bays of transformational leadership and other contemporary leadership approaches. When the old man finishes his journey, he has to confess that what he had seen was all 'dust and ashes' (Andersen, 2016, p. 78). This pessimistic view of leadership theory is not without justification. Leadership studies continue to develop despite the diminishing prospect of any simple answers.

In this chapter, the development of leadership theory is reviewed, paying particular attention to those aspects of potential relevance to

research on the role of Turkish governors. The much debated leader-manager distinction is reviewed as are leadership styles and competencies, traits and skills, and then situational-contingency approaches and issues of power, gender, culture and education in relation to leadership.

3.2 Conceptualising Leadership

3.2.1 Leadership: definitions and a brief history

Leadership has long been the subject of sustained academic attention (see Andersen, 2016; Bass and Bass, 2008; Gelfand et al., 2007; Mello, 1999; Yammarino, 2013). A number of different definitions of leadership have been deployed by different researchers. For example, in 1957 Hemphill and Coons described leadership as the behaviour of individuals who aim to usher a group's activities to a shared mission. In similar fashion, Rauch and Behling defined leadership as 'the process of influencing the activities of an organised group toward goal achievement' (1984, p. 46). Moreover, leadership has been identified by Jacobs and Jaques (1990, p. 281) as 'a purposeful process of

collective effort in the challenge of attaining target by willing effort'. But leadership has also been defined by ascribing followers' satisfied motives in achievement of mission and vision of the organisation (Burns, 1978), and House et al. (1999, p. 184) defined it as 'the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable other to contribute towards the effectiveness and success of the organisation'. Leadership, then has widely been regarded as being about influencing others in what needs to be done and about how this might be done most effectively by appealing to collective and individual willpowers and efforts for achieving shared purposes (Yukl, 2002).

Northouse (2013) and Yammamiro (2013) have proffered similar definitions in suggesting leadership to be a process in which an interaction between leader and followers occurs with the aim of achieving common goals under the influence of leader. However, House et al. (2004) have emphasised the importance of cultural aspects in leadership and, like Hofstede (1984) argued that culture defines the particular characteristics that shape and influence the response of groups and individuals to leadership.

That said, after a long examination of the literature, Mello (1999) has concluded that leadership is an extremely complex phenomenon and that much depends on key situational variables. Bass and Bass (2008)

have similarly argued that much depends on the purposes for which leadership is pursued. Furthermore, the differences in cultures can multiply the complication of leadership's definition (Fikret-Pasa et al., 2001; Mello, 2003).

As can be seen from all this, there is no single and commonly agreed leadership definition due to its complex nature (Cyert, 1990; Day and Antonakis, 2012; Day and Harrison, 2007; Raelin, 2016; Rost, 1993; Van Wart, 2004). Thus, leadership scholars have tried to define the phenomenon from their own individual windows (Mello, 2003; Stogdill, 1974).

Although consensus has eluded the development of leadership theory, there has been a discernible pattern of evolution and a series of major conceptual shifts in response to changing times and fashions. For example, while trait approaches (emphasising fixed, innate characteristics) were in favour during the 1930s, situational/contingency theories (emphasising adaptation and responsiveness) were dominant between 1950 and 1975 (Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe, 2000; Andersen, 2016; Bass and Bass, 2008; Van Wart, 2004). Trait theory made a partial comeback in the 1980s (Peters and Waterman, 1982). In part, this reflected developments in genetic research that highlighted the potential for particular personality characteristics to be passed

between generations (Bass and Bass, 2008). Consequently, several researchers focused on the role of personality in leaders and also the different styles exhibited by different leaders (Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe, 2008).

Evolving from the 'great man' theory the trait approach to leadership had a significant impact in leadership studies. The approach was based on the thesis that leadership qualities were inherited and that leaders were born, not made (Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1991). In the early 1950s researchers became interested in leadership behaviour and argued that specific behaviours were key to success (Day and Antonakis, 2012; Yukl, 2002). Unlike the trait theorists, proponents of the behavioural approach also asserted that effective leadership could indeed be learned and developed through training and education (Northouse, 2013).

Next came situational-contingency approaches in the 1960s (Fiedler, 1967; House, 1971). Advocates of these theories saw the key to success in leadership more in terms of situational factors. They emphasised that there was no single ideal leadership type to be applied in all situations and instead asserted the importance of contextual factors such as the nature of work and the capabilities and character of the followers. As Stogdill (1974) argued, a leader might well be

effective in one situation but this would not necessarily mean s/he would be so successful in another.

In more recent decades the idea of transformational leadership came to dominate the attention of leadership scholars (Bass, 1985; Bass and Bass, 2008; Burns, 1978), with the effectiveness of transformational leaders being seen to derive from their personal charisma, their intellect and their genuine concern for their followers (Bass and Avolio, 1990, 1993).

3.2.2 Leader-Manager Dichotomy

Transformational leadership is usually contrasted with the less inspiring transactional leadership (Bass, 1990), a distinction that has much in common with that alleged to exist between the concepts of 'leadership' and 'management' (for example, Kotter, 2001; Northouse, 2013; Zaleznik, 1992). While management is regarded as a more recent phenomenon – a product of the industrial age – leadership is regarded as being timeless (Northouse, 2013). Whilst the aim of management is understood to be ensuring order and stability through planning, organising, resourcing and controlling, whereas, according to Kotler (2001), leadership is more focused on change.

Not only promoting change, leaders are also capable of wielding power more generally. Zaleznik (1992) has argued that leaders ensure the control and balance of power among groups or between persons who otherwise might have presented as potential rivals, while Bass and Bass (2008) argue that leaders are generally more proficient than managers at using their power to influence others.

Leadership, according to Mello (2003), is an art in the hands of leaders but Zaleznik (1992) has emphasised three ways in which leadership may present the potential for abuse of power: first, equating power with the ability to get immediate results; second, ignoring the diversity of legitimate viewpoints of people who are subject to the power of leadership; and third, the potential for loss of self-control in pursuit of power. The antidote to the individual abuse of power has, according to Zaleznik (1992) been to create managers, albeit with the attendant risks of creating an overly bureaucratic culture, as is so often the case in government agencies. However, the relationship between leadership and management in an organisational setting is a complex one, and depends in part on the type or mode of leadership employed.

3.2.3 Typologies of Leadership

Turkish district governors exert their personas in their administrative practices. This is critically important in Turkish society because the general public tend to trust individuals as opposed to institutions. This perception is of critical importance since there is a general lack of trust among the society.

Northouse (2009), following Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1973), identified four mainstream types of leadership: autocratic, democratic, paternalistic and laissez-faire leadership. These types may reflect innate traits of the leader concerned or they may (in line with contingency theories of leadership) be deployed to meet particular challenges.

According to Newstrom and Davis (1993), leaders demonstrate particular behaviours and manners and pursue particular approaches in providing plans, giving direction and creating motivation for their employees. These may be enacted differently according to the perceived demands of the different contexts and the enactment of leadership style may in a given setting may emerge from the interaction with subordinates, as implied by situational theories of leadership

Leaders' relations with followers inform other related categorisation of leadership type (Blake and Mouton, 1964, 1985; Katz et al., 1950; Paksoy, 2002). In this vein, it could be said that the behaviours of leaders and their ways of handling work and treating other people in and out of the organisation shape the typology. Each of Northouse's (2009) types or styles of leadership are considered in more detail.

Authoritarian Leadership

The purpose of an authoritarian leadership style appears to be to maintain the power of the leader through enforcing the distinction between leaders and led. According to Northouse (2009) authoritarian leaders use power, authority and control mechanisms to impose their self-driven goals on their followers. The leader's authority may appear unlimited and complete obedience is expected. There is typically very limited, or no, participation of followers in goal setting, procedures and adaptation to new developments. Authoritarian leaders communicate with others in the organisation in top-down fashion with little or no feedback from subordinates.

Strict control and application of the leader's rules may lead to success in the short-term for the leader (Bass and Bass, 2008). This style may

work well when tasks are simple and there is a need for urgency. However, this type of leadership may generate less productivity in the long-term, create chaos in complex issues and increase followers' personal problems such as loss of individual initiative and excessive dependence on the leader. In modern societies, therefore, this type of leadership tends to be practised only in sectors such as the military where there is a strongly hierarchical organisation and a system of command and control (Vassiliou and Alberts, 2015).

Democratic (Participative) Leadership

In this type of leadership, ideas are likely to be shared freely through discussion that takes place openly within the organisation. Democratic leadership is also known as participative leadership (Fullan, 2001; Goleman et al. 2002), emphasising the 'very open and collegial style of running a team' (Ray and Ray, 2012, p. 1). Democratic leadership seeks inclusiveness and engagement of all human resources in the organisation by overcoming internal contradiction (Woods, 2004) and applying egalitarianism (Bass and Bass, 2008; Wildavsky, 1993).

Democratic leadership may, through openness and shared decision-making lead to higher ethical standards (Anderson, 1959). Democratic

leadership may result in higher staff satisfaction and greater respect for the leadership than would a more autocratic style (Bass, 1990; Stogdill, 1974). Although democratic leadership can be time-consuming (Mouritzen and Svara, 2002), and may slow decision making processes, the followers' wholehearted participation in the achievement of the commonly agreed-upon-tasks, the empowerment of followers and distribution of responsibility (Gastil, 1994) can be a pivotal factor that ultimately increases productivity (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2003; Hackman and Johnson, 2013; Western 2008).

This type of leadership works most effectively where there are skilled followers and all concerned are ready to share information and knowledge (Ray and Ray, 2012). Due to its time-consuming nature (Mouritzen and Svara, 2002), there are times when democratic leadership cannot be practiced, for example in a crisis or where decisions need to be taken quickly and unambiguously (Vassiliou and Alberts, 2015).

Paternalistic Leadership

In this type of leadership style a leader approaches followers as a benevolent father figure in the organisation (Dorfman et al., 1997). A

paternalistic leader might be expected to consider carefully his/her followers' needs whether they are related to their duties or they are classified as family businesses. A paternalistic leader provides guidance and protection for the followers, in return for which the leader can expect a complete loyalty and trust from the followers (Dorfman et al., 1997). Subordinates are considered as trusted family members. 'In essence, paternalistic leadership regards the organisation as a family, but with the leader making most of the key decisions' (Khadra, 1990; Northouse, 2013, p. 81).

Paternalistic leadership tends to go beyond the boundaries of the formal relationship and may extend to concern for followers' families' needs. This might include attending funerals or weddings of followers and their families and acting as mediator in personal conflicts that may occur between personnel. In their seminal work on 62 societies House et al. (2004, p. 241) said that, 'societies with strong paternalistic values such as Turkey, Pakistan and Taiwan people in position and authority are expected to act like parents and to take care of their employees and their families'. In this system followers can go to their boss whenever a new problem arises because they believe it will help them in problem-solving (Erben and Güneşer, 2008).

Dorfman et al. (1997) found that the combination of supportive and directive leadership is highly efficient particularly in developing countries. In this leadership style Bass (1985) accepts that followers who inclined to be loyal to their paternal leader have better organisational skills. Paternalism should not be confused with laissez-faire leadership, however, rewards and sanctions are often applied (Northouse, 2013). When a mission is accomplished the leader gives rewards to the followers and vice-versa. Leaders are expected to embrace a comprehensive view of followers rather than a task based and narrow view (House et al., 2004). Although in this type of leadership loyalty, deference, and willingness could be observed among followers the style may still create disharmony between members of staff due to perceived favouritism on the part of the leader (Dorfman et al., 1997), this arguably being the risk presented by any personalised approach to leadership. A table below outlines paternalistic leadership behaviours and followers' expected reactions to them (Aycan, 2006, p. 449).

Paternalistic Leadership Behaviours	Followers' Reactions
Creating a family atmosphere in the workplace	Considering the workplace as a family
Establishing close and individualised relationships with subordinates	Receiving and accepting close relationships positively
Getting involved in non-work domain	Getting involved in non-work domain
Expecting loyalty	Being loyal and deferential
Maintaining authority/status	Accepting authority

Source: Adapted from Aycan (2006, p. 449)

In the paternalistic leadership model followers tend to depend more on the individual superiors rather than on institutional rules and may reflect a low level of institutionalisation (Khadra, 1990). Paternalistic leadership style is perhaps most associated with societies, like Turkish society, characterised by deference, respect and obedience (especially of children).

Laissez-faire Leadership

In this model of leadership, leaders offer a more minimalist influence over followers. The term is often applied negatively. Laissez-faire leaders are seen as avoiding group members and sinking into paperwork. They do not show any confidence in their capacity to

supervise and they leave too much responsibility to followers (Den Hartog et al., 1997). They are not helpful when it comes to group decision-making processes and they do not set clear targets (Khan et al., 2011).

'Laissez-faire leaders are indifferent to what is happening' (Bass and Bass, 2008, p. 143). They are absent in taking stands on issues. They abandon responsibility and turn away from tough choices. They rarely take sides in conflicts and are not organised very well in handling the priorities of the organisation. They also talk about the job that they never do (Bass, 1998).

This type of leadership is considered the least effective of the four and laissez-faire leaders are thought to be active in choosing avoidance in action (Antonakis et al., 2003). Although other types of leadership are seen as active forms, laissez-fair leadership (also called passive, avoidant, permissive, inactive, non-leadership, non-transactional and non-interference) implies the leader's absence. In active and proactive leadership leaders intervene and try to prevent problems and they are generally contrasted with extreme laissez-faire leadership (Den Hartog et al., 1997). Inactive leaders are generally correlated negatively with other more active leadership types (Bass, 1990). However, not all situations require active involvement in supervision and motivation.

Moreover, a less active leadership role could enable empowerment of followers and make them more active in contributing to organisational tasks.

3.2.4 Competencies of Leadership

Competence has been defined by Boyatzis (1993, p. 8) as 'the ability to do something successfully, well or efficiently'. Since McClelland (1973) first introduced the concept into leadership research the idea of leadership competencies has been extensively discussed in the literature. In so doing, various writers have sought to define and characterise the various traits, skills and behaviours that might be understood to be the core leadership competencies, albeit without clear agreement as yet (Bolden et al., 2003; Van Wart, 2004).

McClelland (1973) has argued that occupational competencies would provide better prediction of job performance and success than the more traditional intelligence and aptitude tests of the time. More than three decades later, Boyatzis and Saatcioglu (2008) defined competency as a generic body of knowledge, traits, motives, social roles and skills and argued their relation to leadership performance in a given context. In a similar sense Virtanen (2000) has defined a competence as 'a function,

a task, ability or personal trait' (p. 334). Furthermore, competencies are seen as a combination of knowledge, aptitudes and experience (Martin, 2011). Similar to Martin's definition, Ennis (2008) identifies a competence as 'the capability of using or applying knowledge, skills, abilities, behaviours and personal characteristics to successfully perform critical work tasks, specific work functions or operate in a given role' (p. 4).

Although no universally agreed set of competencies for leadership has been identified, there is general acknowledgement that the nature of competence is likely to depend on each specific situation. For example, a leader in a higher level position may need less technical knowledge, whereas a lower level leader may need to grasp more detailed knowledge about the work. In this case conceptual skills are of critical importance for the top level leader while a lower level leader has to do deal with technical details (Moore and Rudd, 2004).

Some scholars (Boyatzis, 2008; Boyatzis ans Saatcioglu, 2008) cluster competencies as emotional, cognitive and social. An emotional intelligence competency allows leaders 'to recognise, understand and use emotional information about oneself that leads to or causes effective or superior performance' while a cognitive intelligence competency is 'an ability to think or analyse information and situation for

superior performances' (Boyatzis, 2008, p. 8). In a similar way a social competency allows leaders to use information about others to be able to perform efficiently (Boyatzis and Saatcioglu, 2008).

However, competency frameworks have been criticised for their lack of structure, for causing confusion, for being too simple or too complicated and too focused on individual traits and behaviour rather than on organisational capacity or organisations' total performances (Horey and Fallesen, 2003).

3.2.4.1 Leadership Trait Theories

Trait approaches seek to identify the ideal characteristics of leadership (Judge et al., 2002; Northouse, 2013; Van Wart, 2004). Famously associated with Carlyle's notion of world history seen as 'the biography of great men' (Carlyle, 1907, p. 18) trait based approaches focus on the role of leaders' personality function (Van Wart, 2005). In the Turkish district administration system, governors act individually in accordance with their personal qualities and therefore in this study, bringing trait approaches to the fore is relevant and worthwhile.

To assess the validity of trait theory it is necessary to be clear what is meant by 'trait'. Bryman (1992) argued that many trait competencies

would be ingrained at an early stage in childhood development. However, there is no consensus on the common characteristics of these natural gifts (Hoffman et al, 2011). Leadership studies focused on leader traits have fallen short of giving detailed trait descriptions. However, Van Wart (2005) defines leadership traits as 'relatively innate or long-term dispositions' (p. 292). Experimental studies have stressed that inborn individual characteristics come to the fore in the practice of leadership (Avolio, 2007; Drummond, 2000; Ivancevich and Matteson, 1990; Smith and Foti, 1998; Yukl, 2002). Physical, social and individual leadership characteristics are identified by trait approaches. Gender, age, height, appearance and health are considered in the physical sphere of leaders whereas good education and social success are among the social characteristics. Trustworthiness, compliance, emotional balance, self-confidence and entrepreneurial qualifications are considered in individual characteristics. Moreover, some other common traits such as intelligence, expertise, intuition and dominance are observed during these studies.

Leadership studies of traits have produced a seemingly endless list of traits, some of which are highlighted in Table 3.2. However, such lists do not demonstrate any relationship between leadership traits and leader effectiveness. Moreover, they generally ignore the dyadic relationships between leader and follower and the significance of

environmental contingencies (Bass, 1990; Day and Antonakis, 2012; Stogdill, 1948). As a result of these perceived shortcomings, traits approaches have tended to fall out of favour in leadership theory (Judge et al., 2002).

Table 3. 2 Studies of Leadership Traits and Characteristics

Stogdill (1948)	Mann (1959)	Stogdill (1974)	Lord, DeVader and Alliger (1986)	Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991)	Zaccaro, Kemp and Bader (2004)
Intelligence	Intelligence	Achievement	Intelligence	Drive	Cognitive abilities
Alertness	Masculinity	Persistence	Masculinity	Motivation	Extraversion
Insight	Adjustment	Insight	Dominance	Integrity	Conscientiousness
Persistence	Dominance	Initiative		Confidence	Emotional stability
Self-confidence	Extraversion	Self-confidence		Cognitive ability	Openness
Sociability	conservatism	Responsibility		Task knowledge	Agreeableness
		Cooperativeness			Motivation
		Tolerance			Social intelligence
		Influence sociability			Self-monitoring Emotional intelligence Problem solving

Source: Northouse, 2013, p. 23

Despite some revival of interest in trait theory it has never regained its earlier prominence, although in recent years it has recovered ground despite a lack of consensus about its validity (Day and Antonakis, 2012; Zaccaro, 2007).

Van Wart (2004) divides leaders' personal traits into five categorisations (Table 3.3). He sees traits as some kind of inborn or long term dispositions of leaders (Van Wart, 2015). However, regardless of their importance, no traits are absolute (Van Wart, 2004).

Table 3.3 The Personal Traits of Leaders

Traits
1. Psychical traits: • Comportment
2. Personal traits (stable personality dispositions):   • Self-confidence   • Decisiveness   • Resilience   • Flexibility   • Energy   • Willingness to assume responsibility
3. Motivational traits (desire for stimulus)   • Need for achievement
4. Value traits   • Fairness   • Drive for excellence   • Service motivation and customer service orientation
5. Aptitudes (inherent generalised capacities)   • Emotional maturity

Source: Van Wart, 2004, p. 189

Northouse (2013) identifies five traits as being especially central in leadership effectiveness: intelligence, self-confidence, determination, integrity and sociability (p. 23). These are discussed below in more detail.

Intelligence

Intelligence is considered an indispensable disposition of leaders (Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1991; Northouse, 2013; Zaccaro et al., 2004). Bass and Bass (2008) see it as a general factor of cognitive abilities like verbal, spatial, numerical and reasoning ability. These cognitive abilities are inter-correlated. Indeed, in a wide range of tasks that these abilities can predict the effective ways of working and achievement

Intelligence ability could be divided roughly into three domains: emotional, social and verbal intelligence. Emotional intelligence is considered to be the ability to monitor one's own feelings and those of others (Salovey and Mayer, 1990). This monitoring allows leaders to distinguish feelings and act accordingly. Differences between leaders, in terms of emotional intelligence, appear to be more significant than differences in general intelligence (Goleman et al., 2002). Leaders who have strong emotional intelligence appear trustworthy, empathetic and

connected, which may make those around them feel calm, appreciated and inspired (Goleman, 2006).

Social intelligence forms the second domain. When Thorndike first used the term in 1920 he suggested that social intelligence is to understand and manage people and act wisely in social situations. Similarly, contemporary authors such as Boal and Hooijberg (2001) and Sternberg (1985), argue that social intelligence is the ability and wisdom to understand others and to act accordingly in appropriate ways on the basis of this understanding. Bass and Bass (2008) refer to social intelligence as 'the sum total of social competencies, including dominance, sociability, communicating styles, empathy, sensitivity, tact, and other interpersonal skills. Especially strong association is found with communication styles and skills' (p. 123). Social intelligence allows a leader to interpret gestures and intentions of others and to follow sequences of social events. Social intelligence competency opens the doors of superior performance for leaders who are able to identify, understand and use information about others and excellent in social networking (Boyatzis, 2008; Boyatzis and Saatcioglu, 2008).

The final domain is verbal intelligence. Influential leadership demands verbal intelligence, since communicative efficiency is the basis of leadership (Barge and Hirokawa, 1989). Communication is 'the transfer

of meaning from one (the sender) to another (the receiver)' (Drucker, 2011, p. 343) and this transfer requires inevitability of verbal excellence (Demiroz and Kapucu, 2012; Dewan and Myatt, 2008). However, it remains controversial as to whether verbal excellence is a trait or a skill. For example, Van Wart (2004) argues that this is a kind of leadership skill. The controversy is important because if it is a trait then it cannot be learned whereas if it is a skill there may be opportunities to develop it.

Certain writers have emphasised the role of eloquence (Awamleh and Gardner 1999). An eloquently competent leader can persuade others through the quality of speeches or writing (Hogan and Kaiser, 2005). Oral eloquence is 'an ability to make clear, concise and impactful presentations to others' (Boyatzis and Kolb, 1995, p. 14). Research has shown a strong relationship between oral eloquence and entrepreneurship skills (Boyatzis and Kolb, 1995).

Nonverbal messages are also a key part of the communication process (Campbell, 2006). Moreover, some authors even argue that nonverbal communication could be more important than the verbal form (Gitter et al., 1975). Indeed, 'the ability to know what is going on in a social setting and to set the correct emotional tone for it are crucial life-outcome criteria' (McClelland, 1973, p. 10).

It has been argued by, among others, (Campbell, 2006; Fikret Pasa et al., 2001; Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002; Nydell, 2006) that nonverbal communication is difficult to measure because it is culturally specific. Nonetheless effective leaders are able to understand followers and the gestures of others, and they deliver proper and clear signals and other nonverbal communicative messages for conveying their messages towards the other parts of the relations (Fikret Pasa et al., 2001). In fact nonverbal intelligence comes to the fore when culture-specific situations require a high level of understanding of nonverbal behaviours in the practice of leadership (Gelfand et al., 2007).

Integrity

Integrity is a virtue of leaders who are honest and trustworthy (Bass and Bass, 2008; Northouse, 2013). 'Integrity is the correspondence between word and deed' (Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1991, p. 53). It is a quality in all individuals, but has special significance for leaders. 'Leaders with integrity inspire confidence in others because they can be trusted to do what they say they are going to do' (Northouse, 2013, p. 25). Integrity allows leaders to gain followers' confidence and trust; without it leaders' efforts to attract and retain followers are but void (Beekun, 2012; Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1991). Indeed, 'no matter what

the setting, everyone wants to be fully confident in their leaders and to be fully confident they have to believe that their leaders are individuals of strong character and solid integrity' (Kouzess and Posner, 2007, p. 32).

Posner and Kouzes's (1997) research, which surveyed 25,000 people in different organisations across the world and asked what they admired and looked for in their leader, showed that the first answer respondents gave was integrity. Integrity determines the credibility and trustworthiness of the leader. Another significant research study which was undertaken by Alban-Metcalfe and Alimo-Metcalfe (2000) on managers working in the National Health Service in the UK revealed that, when leaders are believed to have integrity, it reduced followers' stress level and increased their motivation.

Integrity is also related to ethics and leaders are expected to set an example to be emulated (Bass and Steidlmeier, 1999). In its guide to Building Public Trust: Ethics Measures in OECD Countries, the OECD (2000) identified integrity as a *sine qua non* of ethics in public service management.

Decisiveness

Decisiveness is seen as an important trait which a leader should possess and it is linked theoretically with assertiveness. A decisive leader ensures precision and clarity in decision-making whereas indecisive leadership is likely to be the cause of failure in organisational tasks (Williams et al, 2009). Indecisive leaders regret the decisions they have made and often doubt themselves (Hogan and Kaiser, 2005; Mulki et al., 2012). When a crisis occurs, decisiveness become an essential part of the leadership performance in handling the crisis effectively (Kapucu and Van Wart, 2008; Yukl, 2002). In most organisations, decisive leaders are accepted and applauded for their high level of confidence along with timely and consistent manners (Murphy and Ensher, 2008).

This particular personal trait enables leaders to make confident decisions and ensure their execution. Leaders with this trait are clear on which steps they need to take and which type of behaviour they need to demonstrate, particularly in the eyes of followers. Honesty, pro-activeness and commitment for their organisations are all related with decisiveness. Quite the contrary, leaders who lack this trait are less effective in making decisions. In reality, ineffective leaders may see the options available to them as risky and they are overwhelmed by the

uncertainty as to whether these options would result in positive outcomes or not. In this case ineffective leaders might develop fear and, even worse, they may cause emotional and attitudinal problems.

Decisiveness is particularly important in times of crisis, since it is then that high levels of persistence in decision-making and assertiveness are called for. Research has shown that the most effective leadership quality in Turkey is decisiveness (Dorfman et al., 2012, p. 509).

Self-confidence

Self-confidence is defined as 'a strong and positive sense of self-worth' (Goleman et al., 2001, p. 81). It is the ability to be certain about one's personal qualities (Northouse, 2013). Many scholars have focused on self-confidence and assumed that it is significantly important for leaders who want to be effective. For example, Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) argued that this trait plays an important role in decision-making and obtaining other's trust. A leader with a high level of self-confidence can be charismatic and particularly influential for the followers (Bass, 1985). Indeed, 'leadership involves influencing others, and self-confidence

allows the leader to feel assured that his or her attempts to influence others are appropriate and right' (Norhtouse, 2013, p. 24).

However, self-confidence may also result in unrealistic and inflated self-evaluations (Bass and Bass, 2008). Reykowski (1982) argues that such self-evaluations, with low levels of self-esteem, may yield socially counterproductive outcomes. They may also cause arrogance and stubbornness. Thus, to be able to lead effectively a leader should have high level of self-confidence but guard against side effects such as arrogance and stubbornness.

Sociability

Sociable leaders are friendly, outgoing, tactful and diplomatic (Northouse, 2013). They are sensitive to others' needs and display authentic concerns for followers' well-being. They facilitate movement towards organisational goals by creating and pursuing a friendly atmosphere (Goleman et al., 2001).

3.2.4.2 Leadership Skills

While the trait approach mostly deals with leader's inborn competencies leadership skills may also be seen as capable of development and learning. However, according to Van Wart (2004) there are no clear cut factors that separate leadership traits from leadership skills. In his attempt to separate these two areas Katz (1955) identified traits as personal characteristics of leaders, whereas skills are about leaders' personal achievements. In a similar way skills are thought to be experienced and learned personal qualities of leaders (Van Wart, 2004).

Katz (1955) suggested that an effective leader should have three basic skills: technical, human and conceptual. He underlined that these skills are quite different from leadership traits. Technical skills include proficiency and knowledge about some particular work or activities. They cover qualities in a specialised area, such as analytical capability and involve aptitude with specialist techniques and tools (Katz, 1955). Human skills suggest knowledge about people and they largely involve working with people. These skills allow leaders to work more effectively with groups of people, followers and other stakeholders in organisations as well as in the wider environment. Conceptual skills pinpoint working with ideas and models. Leaders who have conceptual skills can easily

present their ideas to others and they welcome the ideas of others. Although technical skills deal with artifacts and human skills deal with people, conceptual skills open the door to ideas.

Mumford et al. (2000) created a skill-based model of leadership, described as a capability model due to its examination of the relationship between a leader's knowledge and skills and the leader's performance (Northouse, 2013). Since leadership is a capability, it can be developed over time. This approach is in contrast with the 'great man' approach, because 'great man' theory seeks leadership as an innate characteristic of a leader. The skills approach sees many people as potential leaders who can develop their leadership skills through learning and experiences (Connelly et al., 2000). Mumford et al. (2000) identifies skills that are required to solve complex challenges occurring in organisations, including problem-solving skills (understanding, identifying and generating solutions), social judgment skills (monitoring and understanding social environment) and social skills (motivating, communicating and administering).

Sperry (2002) has expanded the list of leadership skills and categorised them under five major headings: technical; relational, strategic, financial and personal skills. While relational skills consist of communication, coaching, motivation and team development technical skills identify job-

specific skills, decision making and problem solving processes, training and project management (Sperry, 2002). Strategic skills entail vision, formulation of strategy and guidance, whereas financial skills, including technological skills, require good capabilities in budgeting, and in monitoring the use of financial and human resources. Personal skills consist of self-development, the ability to strike a balance between private and work life, stress management and career planning (Sperry, 2002).

In similar fashion, Van Wart (2004) divided leadership skills into four groups: technical skills, communication, influencing and negotiating/power and continuous learning. Leaders, he suggested, need technical skills, but the degree and volume of technical skills they require may depend on their positions. For example, a front-line supervisor needs more technical skills than a higher level leader. In addition to technical skills leaders Van Wart (2004) suggested that leaders are in need of communication skills. Under this heading at any time, leaders need to show verbal and nonverbal communication behaviour to execute their roles effectively. Some situations may require less communicative skills while others demand more complex and mixed skills of communication. The third skills identified by Van Wart (2004) is power-related and these can be acquired either via position or personality. Regardless of its derivation, power is one of the

most important leadership skills. In contrast with the private sector, coercive and reward power are difficult to exercise in public institutions (Van Wart, 2004). This is because legislative authority decides many of the boundaries of power for public sector leaders. The last skill group identified by Van Wart (2004) is continuous learning. This has become a more popular concept in recent decades and has come to be seen an essential part of leadership development (Van Wart, 2004). Training and organisational culture may be important in enhancing leadership skills in a context of continuous learning.

Skill based leadership approaches suggest that most people should not be excluded from leadership development, because leadership, according to this view, can be learned as opposed to the trait theory view of leadership as an innate characteristic of a privileged few (Mumford et al., 2000; Van Wart, 2004; Van Wart, 2011). What makes a leader able to lead is the possession of essential leadership skills (Wren, 1995). However, different leadership skills are needed at different organisational levels (Yukl, 2002).

Skill perspectives provide frameworks for leadership education and have become popular in leadership practice (Northouse, 2013). Nevertheless skill perspectives have some drawbacks, notably, the focus on skills of leaders rather than on relationships or other such

aspects of leadership. In addition, there is lack of evidence in terms of links between skills that are applied by leaders and the outcomes of their efforts (Northouse, 2013). Last but not least, there is no clear distinction between traits and skills. For example, some skills are trait-driven.

3.2.4.3 Situational-Contingency Theories of Leadership

Trait, skill and behavioural leadership approaches all describe specific leadership characteristics for effective performance. However, these theories fall short on how these particular leadership qualities can be used efficiently under different situations. Unlike the propositions underpinning these approaches, situational-contingency theorists argue that finding a theory applicable to all situations is almost impossible. Since the emergence and effectiveness of a leader is, according to both Bass (1990) and Northouse (2013) mainly characterised by situation, different circumstances require different leadership qualities.

Situational-contingency approaches also focus on organisational behavioural culture in which the supportive and directive dimensions of leadership are conceptualisedand these are expected to apply to a given situation (Northouse, 2009, 2013). It means that the style of a

leader, either supportive of directive, is determined by the commitment and competence of followers. Moreover, such theories focus particularly on seeking an effective leadership style that works in dissimilar situations in which dyadic relations of leaders and followers, organisational mission, resources and other external factors are important predictors (Bolden et al., 2003; Hollander and Offermann, 1990; Yukl, 2002). Thus, an effective leader in one situation may fail in another (Stogdill, 1974).

In the leadership literature more generally, four situational-contingency leadership approaches have been especially prominent, having been particularly widely discussed following their original conceptualisation several decades ago. These are 1) Hersey-Blanchard's (1969, 1988) Situational Leadership Model, 2) Fiedler's (1967) Contingency Theory of Leadership, 3) Tannenbaum and Schmidt's Leadership Continuum (1958) and 4) the Path-Goal Theory (House, 1971).

The Situational Leadership Model of Hersey and Blanchard (1969, 1988), or life-cycle theory, suggests that an effective leader should balance two types of behaviours: task and relationship. These two types of behaviour depend on follower maturity (level of willingness and ability to achieve a task). Mature groups are considered to be more capable of accepting responsibilities and are ready to develop good

relations with their leaders and peers (Rainey, 2005). Indeed, based on followers' experience, education, capacity, motivation and confidence maturity determine the ability and willingness of followers to perform (Hersey and Blanchard, 1988).

On the basis of interaction of relationship behaviour and task behaviour, this leadership model defines four leadership styles: participating, delegating, telling and selling (Hersey and Blanchard, 1969, 1988). The 'telling' leadership style is associated with high task and low relationship behaviours and is has been suggested it is best applied when follower willingness and ability to perform is low. Applying specific instructions and providing intense supervision in groups where low maturity is prevalent, the 'telling' style leadership is considered to be most efficient. This style leadership allows followers to shoulder responsibility and feel confident and it is recommended for repetitive work or missions that need to be completed in a short period of time (Doyle and Smith, 1999). The 'selling' style is identified as being high on relationships and task orientation in leadership behaviour. It is recommended when follower willingness and motivation are high but where ability for perform is low. In the 'selling' style, leaders explain decisions and allow followers to take opportunities for clarification. When there is a high relationship but low task orientation in leadership behaviour, the 'participation' style, emerges. Here leaders share ideas and encourage followers to

participate in decision making and are generally less directive. The fourth category is the 'delegating' style which is characterised by the existence of both low relationship and low task orientation (Doyle and Smith, 1999). This style is recommended where high follower maturity prevails with regard to willingness and ability to perform. Leaders identify problems and issues and empower their followers to take responsibility in decision making processes (Bolden, 2004). In this vein, highly mature followers need little direction but require opportunities in which they can be involved in decision making processes that help to keep their motivation at a high level.

The second renowned leadership model within situational-contingency approaches is Fiedler's (1967) Contingency Theory. In this model, the author argued that there is no particular leadership style that fits every situation and thus leaders should select appropriate styles in accordance with circumstances around them. Fiedler (1967) highlights the categorisation of task-oriented and relations-oriented leadership in the model and uses a measure called 'Least Preferred Co-worker Scale' for defining leadership styles. According to him, leaders who have high scores on the *Scale* are more effective in situations which are moderately favourable to them and these leaders have stronger concerns for their followers.

In order to accomplish group effectiveness Fiedler (1967) suggests that there should be a match between the style of leader and situational control. The latter entails three elements: leader-member relations which determine followers' support for their leader; task-structure that clarifies ambiguities of a group's work; and leader's position-power which characterises the leader's authority to set up directives and manage contingent reward/sanctions. Effectiveness in the exercise of leadership depends on how leadership style is matched with situational control. In situations where low or high control exists, a task-oriented leader with a directive style can be effective, whereas a relationship-oriented leader in moderate control situations with a non-directive style can equally be effective (Bolden et al., 2003).

The third prominent model in situational-contingency approaches has been the Leadership Continuum by Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958). These authors argued that, based on the degree of managerial authority and the area of freedom for followers, there is *continuum of leadership behaviours.* This model defines four leadership styles: 1) autocratic-telling style leaders who make decisions themselves and declare them to their followers to obey; 2) democratic style in which leaders encourage followers to take part in decision-making processes; 3) persuasive-selling style in which leaders do not allow their followers involvement in decision making but try to convince them and overcome

their resistance; 4) Consultative style in which leaders appeal to their followers for their advice but do not share responsibility with them (Bolden et al., 2003; Tannenbaum and Schmidt, 1958).

The fourth classic model of situational-contingency leadership approaches has been the Path-Goal Theory (House, 1971; House and Mitchell, 1974). This model argues that leaders should clarify and guide their followers' paths to achieve their goals. In doing so, leaders must boost their followers' motivation, satisfaction and performance level. In order to achieve such goals various techniques including work assignment, role clarification and procedural specification, are typically employed (House, 1971).

Path-Goal Theory has been considered to involve intervening contingency variables of both follower needs and work settings. The model then proposes that effective leadership should clear the paths between task goals and follower needs and their personal goals. By doing this, followers could be motivated to a high level of performance. Ambiguity and difficulty concerning a particular task, boredom and stressfulness in accomplishing it, worker control and task-interdependencies, are among the most commonly recognised task-associated situational variables. The Path-Goal Theory embraces four different leadership behaviours: directive, participative, supportive and

achievement-oriented.   The leader's effectiveness depends on the harmony between leadership behaviours and environmental factors (such as work group, task structure and the formal authority system) and followers' contingency variables (experience, locus of control and perceived ability) (House, 1971; Van Wart, 2005).

3.2.5 Power and Leadership

Power is a key concept in leadership studies because it both a component of, and has influential effects on, a leader's performance (Zaleznik, 1992).   'Power is the capacity or potential to influence' (Northouse, 2013, p. 9).   This influence depends on who is more powerful and who is less (Bass and Bass, 2008).   People are assumed to have power when they are able to affect other's actions and beliefs (Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1991).

In their pioneering work on social power, French and Raven (1959) conceptualised power from an interpersonal relationships framework in which they envisaged two sides to power - one 'influencing' and the other 'being influenced'.   They defined five categories of power: referent, expert, legitimate, reward and coercive power (Table 3.5).

These bases of power, they suggested, increased the leader's ability to influence others' behaviour and values.

Table 3.5 Five Bases of Power

Referent Power:	Based on B's liking or identification with A
Expert Power:	Based on followers' perception of the leader's competence
Coercive Power:	Having the capacity to sanction others
Reward Power:	Having the capacity to provide reward to others.
Legitimate Power:	Based on status or formal job authority

Source: Adapted from French and Raven, 1959.

Power has also been categorised as either personal or positional in organisational settings (Bass and Bass, 2008; Bass and Steidlmeier, 1999; Hernandez et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Northouse, 2013). Personal power suggests that leaders who have it are likeable and knowledgeable and hold the instrument of influence (Mumford et al., 2008; Northouse, 2013). Personal power opens up ways for leaders to claim the affection, sympathy, consideration and attention of others (Bass and Bass, 2008). Personal power entails referent and expert power (Table 3.5) and may be ascribed to leaders, based on how they

are viewed in their interactions with others (Northouse, 2013; Hogg, 2001).

Blondel (1987) contrasted personal and positional power. Positional power refers to how authority is assigned by rank and the extent of influence that tends to become associated with it (Blondel, 1987; Bolden, 2004). In this sense, power does not require goal compatibility (Pfeffer, 1977). Although personal power entails referent and expert power, positional power includes 'legitimate, reward and coercive power' (Northouse, 2013, p. 10).

Power, as Zaleznik (1992, p. 126) has reminded, is not always a positive feature. Indeed, he argued that there are three types of human risks relating to the holding of power by individuals: first, the risk of equating power with the ability to get immediate results; second, the risk of ignoring some of the different ways by which people can legitimately accumulate power; and third, the risk of loss of self-control in the desire for power. Unless the power in leaders' hands is used ethically there are always risks of tyrannical behaviour. Indeed, as Harding (2014) has argued, leaders can be 'seduced by an erotic of power'.

3.2.6 Gender in Leadership

One of the contested areas in leadership studies is gender. Leadership researchers have questioned whether and how a leader's gender affects leadership behaviour and effectiveness. With the increase in numbers of female leaders in most areas, leadership studies have become increasingly interested in the issues here (Bass and Bass, 2008; Ford, 2006; Northouse, 2013; Stempel et al., 2015).

Studies into leadership styles of male and female leaders have shown that men are less likely to use democratic styles than women are (Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe, 2005; Eagly and Carli, 2003) and that masculine dominance in the leadership realm creates some significant disadvantages for female leaders (Eagly and Carli, 2003; Stempel et al., 2015). The leadership gap between the two sexes can be explained in many ways. However, the evidence generally supports the notion that women tend to fall behind men in terms of human capital investment in training, work, and education (Northouse, 2013).

3.2.7 Culture and Leadership

In the modern world, due to globalisation, and its impacts in enabling people to become more interconnected, there is a growing need for organisational leaders who are able to lead culturally diverse workforces (House et al., 2004).

According to Hofstede et al. (2002) there is no universally accepted notion of culture. Nonetheless these same authors tried to identify culture 'as it pertains to the social world and as it determines how groups of people structure their lives' (2002, p. 40). Hofstede (1991) has argued that there are five dimensions of culture: 'uncertainty avoidance', 'power distance', 'individualism versus collectivism', 'masculinity versus femininity', and 'short versus long term orientation'. His 'uncertainty avoidance' dimension refers to the extent to which a society and an organisation relies on established social norms, rituals and procedures to avoid uncertainty whereas the 'power distance' dimension focuses on the expectation of unequal power sharing among members of the group. In particular, it is concerned with culture stratification and therefore creating rank or levels between people based on differential power, authority, status and material possessions. Societies with individualistic orientations encourage their members to behave more independently, while group-oriented, or collectivist,

societies rely on collective action. In the masculinity versus femininity dimension 'assertiveness and competitiveness versus modesty and caring' are the key differentiators while short versus long-term orientations refer to 'the fostering of virtues oriented towards future rewards, in particular perseverance and thrift' (Hofstede, 1991, p. 83, 359).

Having assigned Turkey to a Middle East culture cluster, due to its historical, religious and traditional commonalities, under the international GLOBE project (House et al., 2004) the researchers assessed the country's cultural dimensional ranking within the global league. So far as 'uncertainty avoidance' was concerned, Turkey comes almost at the bottom of the list (House et al., 2004, p. 622). The implication here is that in Turkish culture people tend to be relatively at ease with uncertainty. The research also confirms that they also like hierarchy, given that, on the power distance ranking, Turkey has one of the highest scores (second to Ecuador) (House et al., p. 539). When it comes to 'individual vs collective' practices' Turkish society emerged close to the top of the list as having a particularly high collective culture, like Iran and India, and in some contrast with Anglo-Saxon and western European countries (House et al., p. 49). The indication here, then, is that people in Turkey enjoy being together and participating in activities together. In terms of the 'masculinity-femininity' dimension (gender

egalitarianism) Turkey emerges from the research with one of the least gender egalitarian cultures in the world, along with Zambia (House et al., 2004, p. 365). Finally, with regard to the 'long or short-term orientation' dimension Turkey is to be found in the middle of the list (of 62 countries) like the US and Malaysia (House et al. 2004, p.574).

In summary, then, Turkey is a country where its people are more group-oriented and accustomed to living with uncertainties. Its people tend to be accepting of hierarchy and status, and this extends beyond simply public administrative hierarchies. They settle very well in social establishments; gender equality is not yet well developed, and peoples' orientation towards the future is neither especially short or long term.

In addition to social culture, the literature suggests that organisations also make their own culture (Bolden, 2005; Xenikou and Simosi, 2006). In this respect, organisational culture can be regarded as a framework for decision making and decision implementation (Fikret Pasa et al., 2001). Turkey's public administration culture has been described as mainly authoritative and based on benevolent interpersonal relations (Özen, 1993). Such a description accords with Turkey's generally collectivist and power distant culture (Hofstede, 1984). Moreover, in public administration the culture of Turkish bureaucrats applies 'action avoidance' techniques in their practice (Özen, 1993, p. 29). Quite

naturally, in such an authoritative organisational culture, supervisors in the Turkish public service often exert formal authority and authoritative power over their workforces (Sözen and Shaw, 2002). The sector also demonstrates 'centralised decision-making structure, a seniority system, political loyalty-based recruitment, promotion and reward, and law oriented administration' (Sözen and Shaw, 2002, p. 482).

3.2.8 Leadership Education

The literature on leadership education, training and development is particularly extensive and has potential for leaders to improve their leadership practice (DeRue and Myers, 2014). Leadership studies have generally inclined to support the idea that leadership can indeed be learned. There has certainly been a plethora of research on the issue although different conclusions have been reached.

That said, leadership training programmes are as widespread in public administration as they are in business. As discussed in the preceding chapter candidate Turkish Governors focus on leadership development programme as part of their internship and initial training programme, and they are also expected to participate in various other *leadership*

training courses thereafter, for example, 'Modern Management Techniques' (Eğitim Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2016, p. 23).

The literature certainly suggests that leadership can be taught (Bass and Bass, 2008; DeRue and Myers, 2014; Northouse, 2009; Van Wart, 2004). However, leadership scholars hardly concur on what constitutes effective leadership training. Different researchers have drawn different conclusions in this respect. For example, DeRue and Myers (2014) have proposed a leadership development programme called 'PREPARE' (the components of the programme, forming the acronym, being: Purpose, Result, Experience, Point of intervention, Architecture, Reinforcement and Engagement.

Bass and Bass (2008) believe that leadership learning is a constant process that lasts throughout one's life and advances with experience, with significant gains particularly in adult years. Such a perspective suggests the need for some fundamental rethinking and restructuring of traditional training, e.g. classroom-based education, to include more experiential learning methods in leadership development. Such new approaches to leadership development often make use of behaviourally-structured instruments and depend more on participants receiving regular feedback from their trainers on their performance in

practice (Avolio and Bass, 1998; Bass and Bass, 2008; Daugherty and Williams, 1997).

Another much discussed leadership development model is referred to as 'action learning' (Revans, 1982; 1983). In an ever-changing world leaders need to think about and rethink the problems that they encounter and to reflect more thoroughly on what is going on around them. With this in mind, action learning demands different knowledge from the *programmed knowledge* that is taught and learned in traditional training modes (Revans, 1983, p. 41). Revans (1982, 1983) argues that action learning is a constant learning process that should never cease – an argument that is consistent with Bass and Bass's (2008) advocacy of life-long learning as a process. Kramer (2007) particularly advocates action-learning because it promotes emotional intelligence and understanding of the 'here-and-now' as participants address significant organisational problems with colleagues in real time. At the same time, action research participants are always encouraged to discuss and share their opinions and indeed to work on their personal action plans together.

The potential value of action learning approaches has also been strongly endorsed by Briggs and Raine (2013) for the contribution it makes to participants' implicit leadership development. Leadership

knowledge and methods that are compiled and analysed by participants during a group learning process, has consistently been found to be helpful as participants tackle challenges that are real and of concern within participants' own working environments. Although participants' cultural backgrounds may affect their perceptions about leadership, this is not necessarily a problem, as each person can learn from others and so develop their own implicit leadership model (Briggs and Raine, 2013).

However, as Barker (1997) has argued, leadership training cannot be efficient unless people are able and willing to change their world-view on the subject. This calls for willingness to engage in deep exploration of emotional experience (Kramer, 2007). 'Leadership acts as a catalyst without which other good things are quite unlikely to happen' (Leithwood et al., 2008, p. 28) and learning this lesson will likely to be important since 'administrative leadership is learning' (Vaill (1996) cited in Kramer, 2007).

Although some authors (e g. Briggs and Raine, 2013) suggest that leadership development programmes are most effective if they are context- specific (i.e..not mixing ledaers from differnet sectors such as the public and private sectors) others, including Pinnington (2011) take a different view and see no reason for separation because they regard

the commonalities of leadership more significant than the differences and see vale in cross-sector learning more generally.

3.3 Summary

The literature on leadership is extensive and diverse. A plethora of scholars in the subject have, over many years, contributed a range of conceptualisations, theories and models that have helped understanding and stimulated extensive further research and on-going debate. Back in the 1940s when interest in the notion of leadership particularly mushroomed, trait theories were the focus of much of the discussion, though in the following decades situational leadership theories came more to prominence. More recently still, as discussed in this chapter, there has been strong focus on the idea of leadership competencies. However, despite the considerable volume of contributions on the subject, it remains that the search for one best model or formula to be followed by practitioners is as elusive as ever, and that instead, a range of personal and contextual factors play their part in making and shaping the sheer diversity of leadership that is practiced and experienced.

Particularly so far as the research underpinning this thesis is concerned, the chapter has highlighted a useful typology comprising four main leadership dimensions of autocratic, participative, paternalistic and laissez-faire leadership. From the literature review, also particularly apparent is the distinction between, on the one hand, personal factors (traits and skills of leadership) and situational variables (context and circumstances) on the other. Both, of course, have been hypothesised as being of relevance to an understanding of the leadership role of Turkish governors, as is implicit in the two key research questions for the thesis. In the next chapter, the particular ways in which those research questions have been approached through empirical research are introduced and discussed.

CHAPTER 4

DESIGN AND METHODS

Introduction

In Chapter 1 the background to this thesis and the particular research objectives were introduced, followed by an introduction in Chapter 2 to the office of district governorship and a review of relevant literatures on leadership in Chapter 3. So having set the scene, this chapter gives consideration to the design for the research on the leadership role of Turkish district governors, the key ethical issues involved in such research, and the particular choices made with regard to methods for gathering information, sampling, conduct of the research and analysis of the data.

4.1 Research Objectives

There has been relatively little published research on leadership in Turkish public administration and the particular issue of district governance has thus far failed to attract the level of scholarly interest

that it probably deserves. While, as Kurdoglu (2014) has suggested, leadership studies in Turkey have generally focused on the private sector, it was the paucity of research on leadership in the public sector, and in district governance in particular, that has underlain and inspired the research for this thesis.

As introduced in Chapter 1, the overall objective of that research has been to understand better the leadership challenges confronting Turkish district governors, especially their balancing of responsibilities, on the one hand towards their superiors in central government and, on the other, towards communities over whom they have jurisdiction in the locality.

As Fink (2002, p. 6) has argued, a research objective should be seen as a statement of the research's 'hoped-for-outcomes' and the research underpinning this thesis has, as indicated above, set out to examine how Turkish governors approach and manage the duality of their role as central government officials with local government responsibilities. More than this, the research has also been motivated by a desire to appreciate better how this leadership role has developed and adapted to changing times for public administration in Turkey. For example, the implications of the advent of New Public Management and other governance reforms, developments in devolution and the establishment

of democratic local government across the country, and the ever-challenging context of ethnic and political tensions within a diverse and modernizing state.

Two key research questions were posed in Chapter 1 for this study as follows:

1. 'How do Turkish Governors, in the exercise of their leadership role, balance out their responsibilities towards the central government, as servants of the central state, with those towards the locality and the communities over which they have jurisdiction?'.

2. 'To what extent, and in what ways, do differences in local circumstances, on the one hand, and in personal traits, on the other, account for variance in the practices of leadership by district governors across Turkey?'

In recent decades there has been much questioning in political and scholarly circles about the very existence of the system of governorships (at both provincial and district level) and of their place in the contemporary context of Turkey. This has been particularly so given their co-existence with the growing number of municipal authorities that are seen by many as having greater democratic legitimacy in local governance terms. Accordingly, this thesis has

sought to examine the implications of such a viewpoint for district governors as they carry out their governing responsibilities, and also to understand how the governors themselves perceive their roles vis-a-vis elected local government in the municipalities.

4.2 Research Design

The design for any piece of research should evidently take as its starting point the chosen research objectives and questions, so ensuring that the researcher's aims are properly achieved. In this research, as explained earlier, governors' leadership was to be the key subject under examination, and with the particular focus being on the ways in which they balance out of the competing interests and expectations of the centre and of the locality. For this purpose a case study design was considered the most appropriate and realistic approach to follow.

In social sciences, a research design can be considered to provide the framework structure for the study as a whole (Yin, 2003). Viewed in this way, the design should allow the researcher to examine the social phenomenon under investigation, whether they be groups of people, individuals, activities, places or objects (Fink, 2002). In this research,

the unit of analysis would be a set of individuals (district governors) each of whom would represent a case study within the overall study. This was also thought likely to be helpful for the researcher in making contact with governors to request their co-operation as one of a series of case-studies, and in securing positive responses to such requests because the governors would be more likely to perceive the request for participation in positive light.

Research designs generally fall into one or other of various categories including: 'experimental', 'cross-sectional', 'longitudinal' and 'case-study' (de Vaus 2001). In addition, other authors of texts on research design and methods have included in their typologies 'interview /survey research', action research, 'ethnographic research' and 'archival research' (see, for example, Fink (2002).

Experimental designs are most commonly used in clinical research, with variously selected groups being subject to particular experiments and given different programmes of treatment to enable comparison of the results (de Vaus, 2001; Fink, 2002; Yin, 2003). More commonly in the social sciences, however, are studies that Bryman (2012) labels 'descriptive designs'. Such designs, have also sometimes been referred to as 'observational designs', and are typically based on information gathered from groups or individuals through methods such as interviews, questionnaires, focus groups and other such techniques.

de Vaus (2001) has similarly categorised research designs in the social sciences as most likely to be either descriptive or explanatory. He goes on to say that social researchers ask two fundamental research questions: 1) what is going on? (i.e. descriptive research) and 2) why is it going on? (i.e. explanatory research). As de Vaus (2001, p.1) himself has suggested 'good description is fundamental to the research enterprise and, it has added immeasurably to our knowledge of the shape and nature of our society'.

In line with widespread practice in the social sciences, the research for this thesis was based largely on a descriptive and explanatory design. This choice was made to reflect the primary objective of the research which was to understand more about the leadership role of district governors through gathering information directly from them. Other design options were rejected mainly on grounds of impracticality or insufficient relevance. For example, an experimental design was considered both inappropriate for the particular purpose and unlikely to be acceptable to governors (e.g. in having to engage in hypothetical exercises or exercise leadership in artificial conditions).

The search for causal relationships usually lies at the heart of explanatory research designs. However, this was perceived as being especially difficult in a qualitative study of district governors' leadership

roles, again because of the nature of the information that was expected to be gathered from subjects. At best, it was thought, any causal relationships would have to be inferred rather than observed (de Vaus, 2001).

Case Study Design

A key positive attribute of a case study design is that it allows the researcher to investigate the subject in some depth. As Bryman (2012, p. 66) has suggested, 'The basic case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case', and can be distinguished for its characteristic of enabling the gathering of contextual information to help the researcher infer causal processes where appropriate (de Vaus, 2001).

In case study designs, 'A case is the object of study. It is the unit of analysis about which we collect information' (de Vaus, 2001, p. 220). As indicated, the unit might be an individual, a group, or an organisation or department of one. Organisational units might also consist of multiple levels or components. In analysing such units, as de Vaus (2001) has suggested, holistic or embedded approaches may be used. With holistic approaches the researcher could, for example, assess all

aspects of the unit or focus on particular attributes. However, with embedded approaches the researcher might more typically look for influences of embedded or specific units in the case. A well-structured case study would certainly seek to consider all potentially relevant features of the unit under analysis in its holistic approach. Again, as de Vaus (2001, p. 221) has said, 'It will build up a picture of the case by taking into account information gained from many levels'.

Case study designs may be constructed either as single cases or as multiple cases. A single case design will often be less authoritative and risks being less representative than multiple case designs. According to de Vaus (2001, p. 227), 'Multiple cases are essential if the case studies are being used for inductive purposes. Given sufficient resources and access to cases, multiple case designs will be more powerful and convincing and provide more insights than single case designs' (de Vaus, 2001, p. 227). However, Yin (2003), who draws no distinction between multiple or single case studies, has summarised the advantages and disadvantages of each. Generally, he considers multiple case studies to be more robust than single case studies. However, he has argued that reasons for justification and explanations given for single case research design do not match with multiple case designs. Furthermore, multiple case designs are usually much more demanding in terms of resources and time to undertake.

That said the choice for the research for this thesis was indeed for a multiple case study approach rather than a single case study. The rationale here was that each district governor represented an individual case with their own leadership approach and their own perspectives on their role and the challenges involved for them as individuals. Moreover, for reasons of practicality, it was decided to follow a sequential approach, gathering data from each case-study subject in turn over a period of time – and all by the same researcher – the author of this thesis. By working in this way, consistency through replication in relation to data gathering methods would be ensured.

4.3 Defining a Sample of Governors for the Research

Having established the case for a multiple case-study approach the next step was to identify a sample of such governors to form the set of cases and to be the key subjects in the research. With some 919 district governorships in the country it was inevitable that the research would need to be based on interviews with only a sample of them – especially so since the personal nature of the subject matter for the research hardly seemed to lend itself to a standard postal/on-line self-completion questionnaire that might feasibly have been dispatched to

all 919. Thus, a categorisation was made on the basis of the location of districts, governors' age and gender and years of experience in the profession, and as a result, 30 of the country's district governors were chosen. In fact, while there are 919 posts of district governor, at any one time there are always a number of vacancies because of retirements and resignations, with some governorships temporarily being led by deputies in an acting role. At the time of fieldwork, indeed, there were around 800 district governors in post. A classification was thus made of these 800 according to their geographical location, their age, gender and length of experience in the role as the basis for a sampling framework

Geography: With Turkey being a very large and ethnically and culturally diverse country, it was considered very important to factor geography into the sampling framework and to have representation in the final sample of all regions and provinces.

Age: Although this was considered possibly to be a correlate of experience, it was felt to be a potentially relevant factor in relation to the objectives of the study on the basis that attitudes and outlooks on leadership and governorship might well be age-related.

Gender: The vast majority of governors in Turkey are male. However, it was clearly of potential relevance to the research objectives to

establish if any gender-based differences existed in relation to experiences of and outlooks on leadership.

Experience: Some governors are long-serving and are likely to have served in several different locations. As a result, their perspectives and reflections on their leadership role would possibly be somewhat different from those who had only recently been appointed to office.

As can be seen in Table 4.1 below, the sample of 30 governors that was finally chosen ensured diversity with regard to all four such characteristics. While the sample sought to be as representative as possible with regard to geography (with all regions of the country covered, see Figure 4.1), age and experience (with representation from each of the defined age and experience categories), the population of female governors was purposefully over-sampled in order to provide a statistically sound basis for comparison. In fact, at the time of the fieldwork, there were just 34 female governors, so the decision to select a sample of four, while implying over-representation, still left them in a significant minority (to the 26 male governors that were selected).

Table 4.1 Gender, Age Groups, Year of Experience and Regions of Work of the Participant Governors

Gender	N.*	Age	N.	Experience	N.	Regions	N.
Male	26	25 – 34	4	1-4 years	2	East	3
Female	4	35 – 44	12	5-9 years	3	West	6
		45 – 54	9	10-14 years	5	Central	14
		55 – 65	5	15-19 years	7	North	3
				20-24 years	7	South	4
				25 and more	6		
Total	30		30		30		30

*N. = Number of Governors chosen

Figure 4.1 Locations of Governors visited (central, east, north, south and west)

4.4 Data Gathering Methods

Research instruments consist of different tools to gather information about chosen subjects or issues. As Bryman (2012, p. 184) has suggested, common forms of research instrument, are 'a structured interview schedule or a self-completion questionnaire'. Such instruments could be qualitative or quantitative in character, or both. Bryman (2012) argues that case studies mostly favour qualitative methods, e.g. unstructured interviews or participant observations.

In a case study design interviews are generally able to enable researchers to access and gather in-depth information on the phenomenon under examination (Adams et al., 2007; Burnham et al., 2008; Pierce, 2008; Yin, 2002). Indeed, as a widely used method of data collection, interviews were chosen in this research as the main instrument for gathering in-depth data on governors' perceptions about and practice of leadership in their districts.

The nature of the proposed research was, from the outset, conceived as being qualitative in nature – the focus being on learning directly from district governors about their leadership practice and about how they balanced out their responsibilities both to the centre and to the locality. A qualitative research method, and semi-structured interviews in

particular, was chosen especially because it allowed the author to approach the relevant issues from various directions. As Babbie (2011) has argued, interview research that yields qualitative data, and especially if supported by records of observations made during fieldwork, is usually able to capture the significant issues and their subtlety and nuancing through first-hand questioning, probing and triangulating with interview subjects in a conversational style.

4.4.1 The Interviews

The interviews with district governors were carefully planned in advance to follow a common format, albeit one that could be used fairly flexibly so as to be responsive to the different circumstances and expectations of different governors. Each interview included a range of questions covering four main themes: a) governors' perceptions about their approach to leadership, b) the challenges of balancing responsibilities and expectations of the central state with those in the locality, c) the skills and competencies that they believed to be most important to the role, and d) their perspectives on the key challenges currently being faced and on those that were emerging and anticipated.

In the first category, governors were particularly asked to illustrate their responses with examples wherever possible. In the second category, the questions focused on the challenges of balancing responsibilities and expectations of the central state with those in the locality – which, to a large extent, highlighted the distinction between office-based administrative leadership and community leadership. In this sense, governors' leadership practice both within their offices and out and about in the community were explored in the interviews. Again, governors were asked to illustrate their observations and perceptions with examples from their working experience.

As regards the third category, where the focus was on skills and competencies believed to be especially important, here again, a dual focus was pursued – looking in turn at leadership within the administrative offices with staff, and then at the equivalent in and around their districts with local communities.

Meanwhile, under the final category, the interviews focused on governors' thoughts on the challenges they were currently facing and looking ahead into the future where an issue of particular concern to many interviewees, reflecting the uncertain political climate in Turkey at the time, was the future of the office of district governor.

4.4.2 Pilot Interviews

As an initial phase in the fieldwork, some six pilot interviews were conducted (in August 2014). The aim of these was to test out the interview schedule and to examine the feasibility of accessing and conducting the interviews with district governors. In fact, all six governors who were approached on this basis kindly accepted the requests and became willing participants in the pilot process. However, in light of these interviews, it became apparent that several questions on the schedule needed clarification, refinement or further development, a process quickly completed immediately thereafter, while the issues were fresh in the researcher's mind.

4.4.3 Arrangements for Conducting the Interviews

In light of the pilot interviews and the consequent adjustments to the interview schedule, the final set of interviews were undertaken in two phases – these being with each of the sample of 30 district governors. The first took place in April 2015 (with 14 governors in Turkey's south, east and central parts, while the second phase took place on a return

visit a few months later (in July/August 2016), this time with governors in the north, west and centre.

A privileged access to 'e-icisleri' website, an intranet portal for governors and other members of the staff of the Turkish Internal Affairs Ministry, allowed the researcher (himself a district governor) to gain governors' contact details. Most of the participant governors were contacted in advance either by telephone or email to seek and arrange interview appointments. This (relatively informal) approach reflected the norm for such communications and requests in the Turkish public administrative context, and indeed almost all the final arrangements, confirmations and brief descriptions of the proposed research and how the interviews would be conducted (including issues of confidentiality, data protection) and what they would cover, were provided by telephone.

The aim was to interview the governors in their own working environment or home on the basis that they were likely to appreciate being in familiar surroundings (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004). Each such interview lasted between 45 minutes to 2 hours and all were conducted in Turkish; with all, except one, recorded (with the agreement of the subject) for subsequent transcription (and translation into English).

Consistent with the approval process of the University of Birmingham's Research Ethics Committee, all interview participants were provided with a written explanation of the purposes of the research project, details about confidentiality of the data being gathered, and how it would be securely stored, used in the thesis and subsequently destroyed. Additionally, a 'consent form' was presented to each governor for their signature confirming their voluntary agreement to participate in the research.

In the course of undertaking the research – both during the fieldwork and in the subsequent period of analysis and writing, the author was alert to various potential bias issues. First and foremost in this regard, was the potential bias deriving from the fact that researcher himself had served as a district governor. The six pilot interviews provided an important opportunity to develop working practices to address and obviate any such bias. In addition, during the subsequent period of analysis back at the University of Birmingham, the researcher had numerous discussions on this subject with his supervisors who provided a much valued 'critical friend' role in commenting on early drafts based on the interview transcripts.

One key issue in this respect concerned the translation of the interviews from the Turkish language (in which the interviews were conducted) into

English (for this thesis). In that process there would be some unintentional but nevertheless inevitable tweaking of meaning and interpretation of some of the interviewees' comments – as losses in translation. Conscious of the fact that many words in one language have no exact equivalent in another, considerable caution and care was taken during the process of translation, and particularly in relation to the quotations to be reproduced in this thesis. This involved many detailed discussions with the authors' supervisors about choice of words and meanings. There were also plans to share the relevant quotations in the draft thesis with the governors who provided them. However, this proved impossible in light of the coup that took place in Turkey in July 2016.

Another issue that had potential to affect the quality of the gathering and reporting of evidence concerned the timing of the fieldwork. As indicated, the interviews were undertaken in two phases (respectively in Spring and Summer of 2015). However, between these phases, some national political upheaval and policy developments were experienced all of which that might well have impacted upon the mood and perspectives of governors who were interviewed in Summer 2015 compared with those some three months earlier. In particular, in July 2016 the central governmental in Ankara imposed new duties and expectations on district governors following a general election held a

month earlier, in June. Moreover, almost half of the country's governors were reassigned to new districts a process that was inevitably very disruptive for many of them, and engendered a climate of considerable uncertainty and apprehension about the future for many of them. Indeed, according to press reports, almost 200 governors reacted by filing lawsuits against the Government for its decision in this respect. Five of those initially approached to participate in the second phase declined to do so, citing the political climate as a key reason for their decisions, whereas in the first phase, everyone who was approached agreed to participate.

4.4.4 Observations and Document Analysis

The interviews in this research formed the principal form of data collection. However, in addition, diary data for a sample monthly period was requested and provided indicating the pattern of each governor's daily work schedules, for example, time spent undertaking administrative work in the office, time spent receiving guests, attending social events and responding to impromptu visits and calls.

The process of conducting the interviews was also valuable in providing opportunities to observe first hand many aspects of the day-to-day

routines of governors, and to gauge the plethora of different responsibilities being exercised and functions being undertaken. More than this, however, several of the governors invited the researcher to join them in some of their civic duties and at events of one form or another. Most of these duties took just a couple of hours or less, but a few took a full day or in one case, two whole days. In one case, the researcher was invited to 'shadow' the governor (of an easterly district of Turkey) during his attendance at a peace-building ceremony being carried out between two rival clans. Here, the author witnessed first-hand an exercise in community leadership including listening to several speeches delivered separately to the clans, as well as having opportunity for extended discussions with the governor himself.

In addition, many of the governors provided the researcher with various documentary materials (e.g. published pamphlets and articles, official reports, newspaper cuttings, judicial papers, archives and statistical data) to illustrate and substantiate some of the comments they had made in the interviews. This all represented a further valuable component of the information-base for the research and on which this thesis has been based. Particularly useful in this context were a series of articles, published in Idarecinin Sesi Dergisi (The Magazine of the Administrators' Voice). Additional relevant documents were accessed

from the Library of the Internal Affairs Ministry of Turkey and The Education Circle of the same ministry, as well as from various websites.

4.5 Approach to Case Study Analysis

The literature on multiple case studies indicates that analysis may be undertaken in various ways. For example, each case can be examined and presented in turn so that a picture is built up successively and with an overall picture being gradually developed. Alternatively, particular aspects from specific cases can be examined and compared across the set in order to arrive at generalizable conclusions in relation to each aspect (de Vaus, 2001). In addition, there is the possibility that data drawn from different cases might perhaps be compiled and assessed to develop a thematic analysis of key findings.

In other examples of research designs reliance may be placed on comparisons made between groups or clusters of cases, typically based on a limited number of variables. Thomas (2013) has recommended what he refers to as a 'constant comparative method'. This involves sifting through data repeatedly, and comparing each sentence, phrase or paragraph of an interview transcript in the search for particular themes or questions. Under this method, Thomas' recommendation is

for the researcher to label each element of data (comment/response) with a descriptive code and then subsequently to group those most similarly coded data in order to end up with a smaller set of key themes that summarise or capture the main dimensions of the data set.

This indeed, was the approach followed in this research, with all responses to the interview questions from the thirty governors being categorised and assigned descriptive codes. The software programme 'NVivo' was used in this context to identify the elements and code them accordingly. In particular, this software identifies common patterns of phrases and words and so enables the researcher to build up a rich and rigorous analysis of key themes from the dataset.

As far as theorising from the interview findings was concerned, the plan was to follow a grounded theory approach, along the lines developed by the two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss (1967). Their approach, which has been described as an inductive research methodology, is one that is particularly characterised by the absence of pre-conceived theories. Instead of setting out to test such pre-conceived theory, grounded theory allows the researcher systematically to generate theories based on empirically gathered data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As such, as Oliver (2011) has commented, it has been widely used in various fields of social science research over the past two decades in particular.

Overall, the research strategy for this study has followed an inductive approach in relation to the cases. It has been data-driven rather than theory-driven. However, that does not mean leadership theory, as discussed in the preceding chapter has not been influential in the drawing up of the interview schedules and, of course, in shaping the underlying research questions. As discussed in the preceding chapter, trait and situational-contingency theories have been at the heart of the research design and approach.

4.7 Introducing the Sample of District Governors

Findings from the interviews revealed that participant governors share broadly similar backgrounds, particularly with regard to socio-economic characteristics. Half of them (n=15) grew up in non-urban areas such as villages or very small towns while the other half were brought up in more urban settings. An overwhelming majority, however, were raised in lower middle class or working class families whose parents mostly ran small businesses and shops. Six of the interviewees had parents on particularly low wages; three in labouring occupations. Most regarded such backgrounds as having been very significant in promoting in them the desire to achieve more than their parents, and

particularly for those from more rural villages and smaller urban areas, the ambition to become a local governor. A number said that that could vividly recall from their childhood the occasional visits by the district governor to their school or village. They also remembered the pleasure and respect of the people that was expressed towards the governor on such occasions. Interestingly in this respect, a research study conducted on Turkish students of management courses found that the pursuit of power and authority is a key motivating factor in career choices in the country (Aycan and Fikret-Pasa, 2003). Indeed, this is consistent with the pattern in Turkish society more generally, where people normally show much respect and deference towards those in positions of power and authority (McPherson, 2008).

Figure 4.2 shows the education level of the parents of the sample of district governors for this research. As can be seen, significant numbers of parents had no or little educational qualifications, and although in the early years, the mothers generally achieved higher literacy levels than the fathers, at higher education levels the fathers tended to achieve more, most noticeably in relation to secondary school and university.
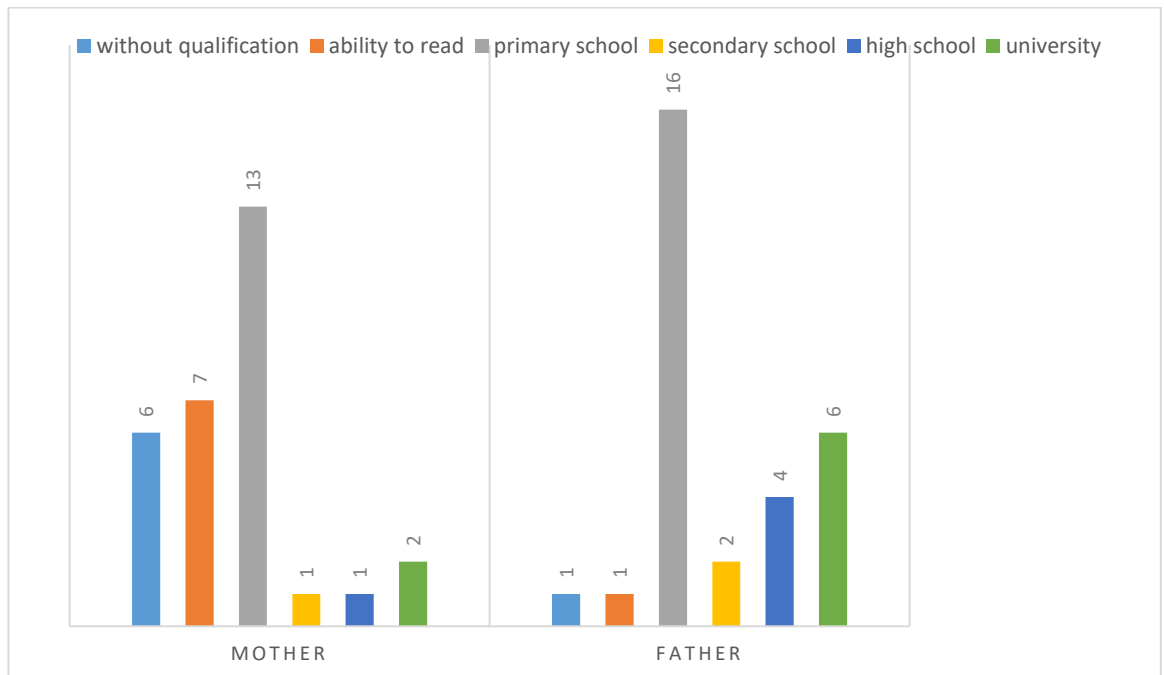
Figure 4.2 Parents' education level in numbers

Besides educational attainment, however, another factor of significance in the background to most district governors is social class. As indicated, most of the sample came from lower-middle class backgrounds and Figure 4.3 shows the employment pattern of the parents of interviewee governors.
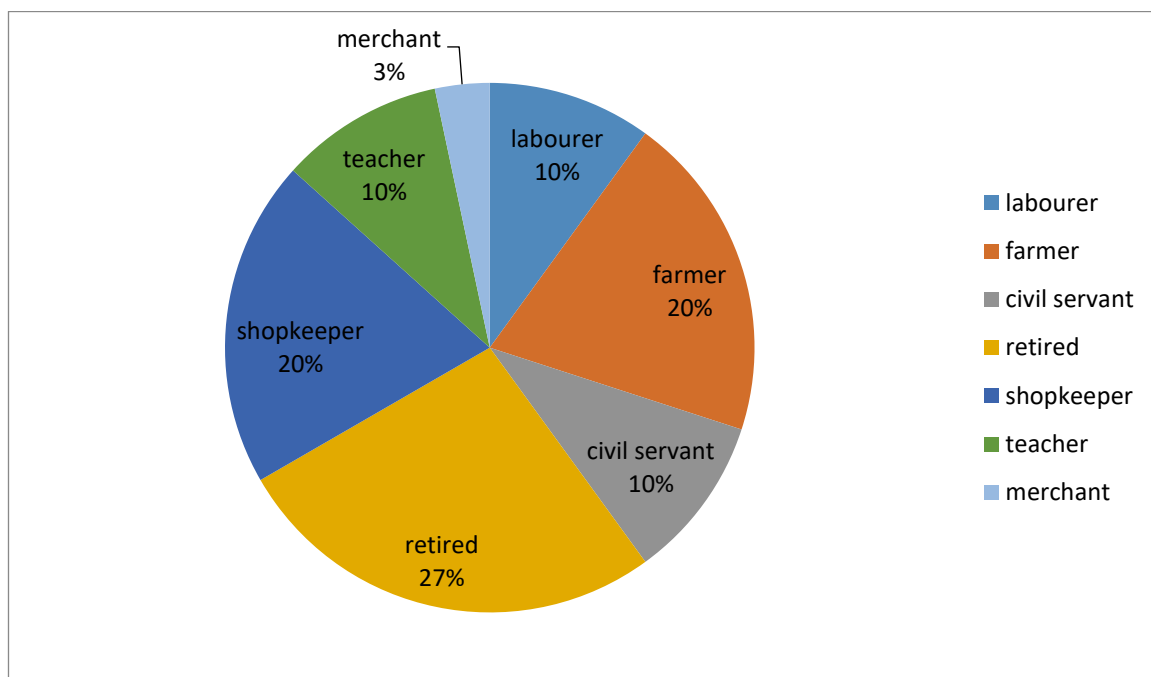
Figure 4.3 Parents' line of business

Summary

In this chapter, the design and methods for the research have been summarised and discussed. As a former governor himself, the author was in a potentially privileged position to gain access to a sample of governor colleagues as interviewees for the study. At the same time, however, great care was taken to ensure due objectivity was retained in the research.

A multiple case-study approach was selected – each case being an individual district governor. Then the principal data collection method decided upon was semi-structured interviews. An interview schedule was developed for this purpose and a sample of 30 out of the country's 919 district governors was selected to ensure representativeness in terms of geographical area across Turkey, age, gender and experience of the governors (albeit with purposeful over-representation of female governors to ensure generalisability of findings in this regard). In addition to the interviews, further background information was gathered in the form of documents supplied by the interviewees and also by observation of several of the governors as they undertook their duties and commitments. Details of the socio-economic and educational backgrounds for the sample of governors were also gathered and have been summarised above.

CHAPTER 5

CONCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES OF LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

Findings from the field-research are discussed in this chapter and the following two chapters. As can be seen in the diagram below these are split into two categories: Administrative Leadership and Community Leadership. Each category encompasses various leadership approaches and qualities that were emphasised by governors themselves as important to them in the conduct of their work within their districts. A widespread example of administrative leadership in this context was the rewarding of staff as a motivator for task accomplishment while the exercise of sensitivity towards different ethnic groups within their districts was one much discussed example from the other category. That said, several of the leadership qualities that were highlighted in the interviews encompassed both categories, as indicated in the convergent area of the Venn Diagram at Figure 5.1.

Administrative Leadership

Community Leadership

Illustrations of Administrative Leadership
Showing consideration
Making staff feel valued
Rewarding staff

Generic Leadership Qualities
Accessibility
Responsivity
Communication
Expertise
Decisiveness
Integrity and fairness
Intellectual ability and determination to succeed

Illustrations of Community Leadership
Displaying cultural sensitivity
Demonstrating ethnic sensitivity
Exhibiting religious sensitivy

The remainder of this chapter focuses particularly on findings that are specific to the administrative leadership category, i.e. as exercised primarily within the governors' office environment. In this context, governors' approaches towards staff leadership, for example, making them feel valued and using various incentives and rewards to motivate and acknowledge excellent work, are discussed in the following sections under the broad heading of Approaches to Office Leadership. However, prior to this, the chapter presents findings from the interviews on the broader subject of governors' understandings and conceptualisations of leadership in the round (i.e. embracing both administrative/office leadership and community/public leadership for their districts).

5. 1 Conceptualisations of Leadership

5.1.1 Sources of Influence

As discussed in Chapter 3 in the literature there is debate as to whether leadership is an innate ability that some have or whether it is learned and developed. Twenty five of the thirty participant interviewees asserted their view of leadership as an innate ability that was

recognisable in some people from an early age. The other five governors were more circumspect in this respect and instead emphasised their belief in the value of hard working, education and other circumstantial factors in steadily shaping their aptitude for, and skills in, its practise.

As also discussed in Chapter 3, definitions of leadership vary and there is no single commonly agreed understanding of what constitutes effectiveness in this respect or how the key qualities are best developed. So it proved to be for governors' perceptions about leadership. Their responses highlighted a variety of perspectives on the concept of leadership. Above all, it was apparent that governors' definitions and understandings of leadership were more based on personal experience than on established viewpoints and theoretical models as presented in the literature. For example, interviewee M.A. suggested that, for him,

> *'leadership is an action or a type of behaviour that does not fit with a routine current of the nature of office responsibilities. It is a power that affects the routine flow of work'.*

However, another governor, interviewee M.E., espoused a quite contrary view in suggesting that:

'Leadership is a different skill and trait that makes the people of a district follow the leader [district governor] and can make the leader give direction to the people'.

Many of the definitions of leadership proffered by interviewees also showed strong connections with current Turkish jurisprudence, in particular with the country's administrative regulations. Provincial Administrative Law (1949) and the Internal Affairs Ministry's Personnel Law (1930), for example, are two key sets of regulations in the Turkish legislation system that define the office and duties of governors as well as establishing the career structure. The Provincial Administrative Law establishes district governors as the heads of district administration and attributes responsibility for all general administration of the district to them (Provincial Administrative Law, 1949, article 27). As stated in Chapter 2, the same law also subjugates all local branches of central state bodies to the authority of the district governors.

Some seven of the governors, who were interviewed, however, extrapolated a rather different leadership view. They conceptualised their leadership particularly in terms of the authority, power and responsibility assigned to them through the regulations defined in Turkish law. However, they acknowledged that a governor would not necessarily be an effective leader if simply sticking to the literal

meaning of the law. In order to be an effective leader, they asserted, it would be important to extend beyond the strict requirements of the law and to be as proactive and responsive as situations demanded. The comment of interviewee E.U. summarised this viewpoint as follows:

'What makes you leader is not acting within the literal boundaries of the laws, but your efforts, your projects for developing the area and people's trust in you make you leader. If you go and put efforts for creating equal opportunity in education by visiting every single community either in a village or in a town or in a neighbourhood; knocking on every single door; creating commissions for encouraging locals to speak up and use their right to education; these will make you a leader. An administrator has to run his everyday duties within the limit of literal meaning of the laws. However, if you want to be a leader you have to go beyond the limits created by the laws. You have to show altruism; you need to invoke social and cultural projects; you should lure the entrepreneurs to your district to increase the probability of employment. It is also important to create good relations with local opinion leaders. These make you leader. This is my personal view.'

The vast majority of the sample of governors indicated that they regarded themselves as being leaders. Their chief arguments here were based not only on the authority given to them through the law, but also on their personal abilities (derived through their upbringing, education and natural intelligence) and their sense of commitment to their profession. However, not all interviewees subscribed to this view of self-driven leadership and indeed five governors challenged the idea of interpreting their role and profession in leadership terms. For example, interviewee Y.G. (from central Turkey) felt governors to be just ordinary employees of the Turkish government and hardly different from other public servants. Such a viewpoint almost inevitably raised the question within the interviews of the difference between managers and leaders, one which as we saw in Chapter 3, there is a considerable comment within the published literature.

5.1.2 Leaders or Managers?

Two governors expressed the view that there was no reason to distinguish between the notions of leadership and management (see table 5.1). Interviewee A.C. for example, suggested that,

'I think, there is no appreciative difference between these two [leadership and management]. A manager/administrator is a leader at the same time'.

However, most governors took the contrary view and felt the distinction to be real and important. Several saw managership in terms of carrying out the everyday business of their governorships and working essentially within the framework of legislation shaping their role. Several argued that a manager would probably not try going beyond the limits set by law.

Table 5.1 Governors distinguish leadership from management

Defining Managership	Defining Leadership	Interviewee	Age	Region
Work within legislative boundaries.	Go beyond boundaries.	M.G.	29	central
Only able to use resources at his/her disposal	Create excitement	E.Y.	47	central
Always have boundaries	Find solutions	T.B.	31	east
Bound to legislation	Take initiative and risk; have vision; trust others	M.E.	42	east
Work in legislation	Risk taker and do not hesitate to make mistakes	E.E.	37	east
Only serve pre-identified duties	Being a role-model for others	S.D.	44	south
Static	Innovative	A.K.	34	south
Duty guard	Have vision	C.C.	39	south
Seek citizenry satisfaction	Have personal qualities that makes things beyond the reach of managers	O.M.	60	south

Only do what they were asked to do	Go beyond boundaries	A.U.	40	central
Work in closed-circuit area; not dare to reach society	Drag the society behind them	Y.O.	36	central
Have the same status that of other civil servants	We are not leaders but administrators	Y.G.	42	central
Carry out everyday business	Have vision, strategic planning	E.U.	45	central
Done enough with what they have	Have vision and decisive.	Y.T.	41	central
are leaders	are managers	A.C.	46	central
restricted with regulations	Natural, go beyond restrictions	E.G.	45	west
Run everyday business	Have vision	A.T.	45	west
Work in a frame	High performance and capacity	A.D.	51	west
Done what have been found in the legislation	Have strategic vision	M.K.	49	north
Work under the directives of leader	Set target and able to convince follower to reach it	C.P.	60	north
Routine	Create the circumstances	M.A.	56	north
Work within limits	Pioneers	M.H.	48	west
Sustains routines	Decision-maker	C.G.T.	59	west
Carry out routine works	Able to reach unimaginable	V.B.	47	west
Obey the orders	Reach upper standards	N.C.	40	central
Implement legislative orders	Have vision	N.S.	39	central
Apply regulations	Capacity to have vision	T.T.	37	central
Work under the authority of leader	Have vision and comprehensiveness	V.D.	65	central
Oversee ongoing works being done	Emotional and have compassion	M.S.	33	central
Run everyday duties	Have vision, able to create followership	O.C.	35	central

Apart from the views of just two interviewees, all other governors, including all female governors, felt that leadership and managership were significantly different concepts. Most saw managers as administrators who would be reluctant to work beyond the boundaries of their roles as defined by law or instructions from higher authority. Thus, taking new initiatives, pursuing their own ideas, establishing new relationships with local communities or introducing innovation in service provision for local people, were all felt to be more characteristic of leadership than of managership. Nevertheless, it was clear from many of the interviews that governors' understandings of the concept of leadership tended to be strongly shaped by the prevailing culture in Turkey in which they had grown up – with 13 out of the 30 interviewees – taking the line suggested by interviewee Y.O. (from a central Anatolian town) that

> *'In traditional Turkish culture people always want a strong leader*
> *to follow'*

This governor particularly emphasised that the tradition of followership in relation to a charismatic leader was steeped in the history of the Turkish people, and indeed had, as a result, become an inherent part of the role of district governors.

The interviews also highlighted some interesting differences of viewpoint in this respect between longer serving/older governors and those in the earlier stages of their careers. Certainly the younger more recently appointed governors tended to be less assertive and less certain about the concept of leadership and what it implied for them as governors. Those with longer-service and greater experience in the profession, on the other hand, tended to be more specific in their perspectives and more sure about their leadership role and about how it had been developing. For example, Interviewee Y.T. with 14 years of experience, claimed that his thoughts on leadership had been steadily evolving over his years of experience and that his enthusiasm and preparedness to put more of his personality and emotion into the role had grown significantly over the years.

Similarly, a governor from a city of circa 400,000 inhabitants in western Turkey, (interviewee V.B.), underlined the importance for him of personal development in leadership through experience. He stated that:

> '*When I was a junior governor there was no need to demonstrate great examples of leadership. This was because the areas were relatively less developed and the people inclined simply to accept me as their governor. At that time, I believed I needed to*

be very much with the people, operating at the frontline. However, later I had to change my ideas about leadership as circumstances were different in subsequent posts that I held. For example, in this city here, you have to be more assertive and decisive because you are surrounded by experienced and knowledgeable people. You can't simply decide or do something and expect everyone automatically to follow you.'

Most governors, (17 of the 30), proffered their view that leadership was about having the vision and setting the strategy and direction, whereas the role of management was seen as more about the present and about ensuring that the vision was implemented and realised. For example, Interviewee N.S. stated that:

'In order to distinguish leaders from managers - and of course in our case governors are exemplars of real leaders rather than pseudo ones [managers], we first have to look if they have vision and if they transfer it into action. There are some governors, unfortunately, who do whatever they are told and don't dare to go beyond legal boundaries.'

The interviews revealed, moreover, that governors have different leadership conceptualisations across Turkey. Each governor had developed his/her leadership perception over the years of work.

Leadership understanding was also widely felt to reflect governors' individual perspectives and there was little consensus on its definition.

The next section of this chapter focuses on several aspects of leadership as perceived by district governors, and particularly on the way they understood and conceptualised their role, how they approached their staff leadership role within their offices and their perceptions of the key constraints in this respect.

5. 2 Approaches to Administrative Leadership

As indicated earlier, under this heading, the research particularly focused on the exercise of leadership by governors within their own district administrative headquarters, i.e. in overseeing other state employees working under their authority.

5.2.1 Leadership of Staff

During the interviews, views were gathered on the nature of governors' leadership of staff within their offices. Particularly emphasised in this regard was the importance that all interviewees attached to building and

sustaining trustful relations with their staff. Without exception, the thirty governors talked about the priority they ascribed to this and about the value they attached to ensuring an effective local administration. However, several also pointed out that this was not untypical within Turkish working environments more generally, regardless of the locus in the public or private sectors; a point also made more generally by Fikret Pasa et al. (2001). Also as indicated earlier, in the Turkish culture there is a strong tradition of supporting leaders and, as with the wider public, employees generally value leadership and appreciate working for someone who has charisma and who inspires and encourages exceptional performance. Many of the governors talked about the approaches and styles of leadership they felt they offered in this regard, stressing the importance they attached to winning their followers' hearts and minds for the goals and priorities that they themselves had identified for their offices. For example, all interviewees expressed commitment not only to better customer care, more efficient and responsive administration, improved communications and public information provision, but also for high quality in the more mundane tasks of record-keeping, development of administrative processes and liaison with different government departments and other public bodies.

One governor (Interviewee M.A.) commented on how, when starting in a new post, he was very conscious that his staff were studying his

leadership approach very carefully from the outset, eager, he thought, to learn of his expectations of them and of the style of leadership that he would be offering.   As he suggested,

> '*your behaviour, your way of doing things, are scrutinised when you embark your new post. If they believe your body language, your narratives and your doings are pointing out to the same truth, after a while, they start to be affected by these and motivated. Because you are serious and they are beginning to take their duties seriously'.*

This perspective on motivating and leading staff was replicated in several other of the interviews – reflecting, as indicated, both the cultural propensity among Turkish people to want to support a strong leader and the desire of those in leadership positions to want to respect and care for those in followership positions.   Indeed, commitment towards their personnel responsibilities was highlighted in various ways in almost all the interviews, including, for example, by interview Y.T. who, in talking about his leadership role in relation to the staff of all the state agencies in his territory, commented as follows:

> '*we are working with around 13 state institutions who are actively working in the area of our district. So, I realised very early on that, if I wanted them to work productively I needed to create*

positive dialogue with them because all their work relies on my
directives. You have to create an environment in which dialogue
can flourish to keep all the staff enthusiastic.'

Not all governors, however, viewed their leadership approach in exactly this way. For example, a very senior governor from a western city, Interviewee C.G.T., indicated that he now always tried to show his concern for the well-being of his staff though acknowledging that he had not done so in his early years in the profession. Previously, he said, he had been a governor in one of the districts of Istanbul where he had to work with non-for-profit organisations and it was there that he came to realise the importance of behaving in an understanding and mutually respectful manner with staff rather than in a top-down manner.

In similar vein, many of the other governors who were interviewed indicated that they took their workforce's wellbeing very seriously. For example, Interview V.B. said that he personally visited his officers at home or in hospital (and with gifts of flowers) if they were unwell. Indeed, this kind of caring attitude was repeated in several of the discussions with governors. Some of them also said they would try to attend special occasions of their staff, such as birthdays, wedding ceremonies and celebratory picnics. Some governors said that they were in the habit of organizing social events (e.g. dinners) for their

workforce or attended sporting activities in which members of their staff were involved. Several also mentioned attendance at former staff funerals to show their respect, and indicated that they had paid visits to relatives of the deceased to offer condolences. While no such actions could be described as exceptional – being typical of caring leaders in most organisational environments - the clear indication was given that such acts on the part of the district governor were particularly appreciated within the wider community, and not just by the direct beneficiaries. It was also suggested that such acts added to the dignity of governorship and helped in no small way to underline the 'father figure' image of governors, on which many authors have commented (see for example Aycan et al., 2000; Dorfman et al., 1997; McPherson, 2008).

Furthermore, several of the governors who were interviewed were careful to explain their rationale for making their staff feel valued. For example, Interviewee S.D. from the southern part of the country argued that:

> '*If you treat a person well as a human being then you will be quickly see the benefits. The important thing is for persons to feel valued; it is really of critical importance*'.

Interviewee A.T. similarly elaborated the reasoning behind his approach to managing his staff as follows;

> *'I, first of all, try to win the trust of my staff, and then make them feel themselves valued and appreciated. I approach them not as their superior but as a brother. Winning their trust and obtaining their respect are crucial factors in ensuring better productivity in the workplace. My efforts are to win their hearts for the job '.*

Much the same argument was made by Interviewee C.C. who stated:

> *'In the practice of public administration I believe that it is much more effective to win people's hearts and minds by praising and rewarding good work than to resort to negative response and disciplinary actions for poor performance'.*

Moreover, Interviewee Y.T. emphasised the importance of a positive approach towards staff by explaining how he took trouble to ensure that each and every employee felt content in their work, and were confident in the belief that their contribution was appreciated and considered worthwhile.

Similarly, Interviewee, E.E., underlined the significance of sincerity in his approach to staff management and in making staff feel valued as follows:

> '*I don't share my [personal] problems with my staff, but I do encourage them to discuss theirs with me. For instance, if someone wants time off work for some reason, for example, to care for an elderly or sick member of the family, I am always sympathetic and will perhaps suggest they take a week or two away until the problem is resolved and I always try to remember to ask about the health of the sick relative or whatever the problem has been. These are small steps on my part but it does encourage staff and they are appreciative. On the whole, I think am considered a sensitive governor in such matters and it is important to be genuine about your care for staff – they will know if it is artificial or insincere. If they think like that, they will not respect or work hard for you. They will be less motivated*'

5.2.2 Constraints on the Effectiveness of Administrative Leadership

As explained earlier (in Chapter 2), district governors have only very limited formal powers in relation to staff management (e.g. for recruitment or redundancy). Most of the key decisions here are taken by the national state administration of Turkey and undertaken by the centre. As state employees, newly recruited public servants are assigned to their posts across the country by the central administration and so governors have largely to accept and work with the staff they are given. Unsurprisingly, then, governors generally take considerable care, as we have seen, to be positive with the staff they inherit and to make the best of the talents and potential with which they are supplied.

To this end, the research interviews also highlighted the value attached by governors to rewards for staff, and in this respect, the practice was found to be quite widespread. Indeed, without exception, the interviewees expressed their belief that rewards were important motivators for most staff, whether in the form of an *'achievement award'* or a '*salary increase reward'.* Moreover, it was also made clear that it was widespread practice across Turkey to use rewards to encourage and recognise good staff performance, and to do so at any time in the year, in response to exceptional achievements or contribution, rather than via a timetabled annual appraisal system. Interviewee E.Y., for

example, explained that there was no need to wait for a special occasion to reward a colleague for good work; it was better instead to deliver the reward immediately whenever it was deserved.

On the other hand, many governors also talked about the disadvantages of the centralised staff recruitment system that could often mean they had staff in their offices who were less than competent and who did not seem to respond to positive encouragement, yet who could not be dismissed easily either. In their interviews, several governors, in fact, were quite critical of the quality of work by some of their members of staff. For example, Interviewee M.K. from the northwest part of the country (with population of just under 400.000), stated the problem, as he saw it, as being as follows:

> *'Our personnel have none of the equal employee rights that can be found in other government institutions. There are also limitations in terms of quality and intellect; and there is not much we can do about it. We have no chance but to work with the workforce we are given and to do our best to motivate them'.*

Interviewee V.B., from a relatively developed western city, also shared complaints, in his case about the shortage of staff at his disposal, in addition to concerns about the capabilities within his team. He said:

'You need to work as a team to work effectively. But where are the people to make up the teams? There are hundreds of jobs needing to be done but we don't have sufficient capable personnel to carry out them. Sometimes it is like digging a well with a pin!'

Similar criticisms were made by Interviewee M.K. as he said:

'We don't have enough personnel both in quality and number. Unfortunately, I can't see any effort to develop personnel's qualities. What I can do is I have to rely on what I have in my hands and I try to use my human resources in full capacity.'

Moreover, Interviewee M.H. argued that:

'To be able to successful you have to know your personnel and their capacity very well and adjust working environment according to their qualities.'

At the same time in the interviews, most governors talked of their desire to address shortcomings in their staffing through investment in training programmes. For instance, Interviewee O.C., explained how, in the past, he had arranged training programmes in communication skills for his workforce. Another governor, Interviewee M.E., similarly underlined the importance he attached to in-service training for his workforce.

Another governor, Interviewee E.U. however, emphasised the variations in resourcing levels that he had experienced between different governorships in which he had served. He spoke particularly about the comparison between his current district and his previous post in terms of material resources when he said,

> *'…the resources in the previous district [a southeast city] were abundant and you were able to execute your leadership role very effectively as a result. However, here [in a central district] resources are more limited, and so are your opportunities for providing leadership. Resources are important to leadership.'*

Another governor, Interviewee C.P., shared similar thoughts on this matter.

However, others took a different stance and were less concerned about the impact of resource constraints on their leadership. They took the view that it was the task of the leader to create the required resources or find a solution to the problems despite the resource deficiencies. For example Interviewee M.E., argued that,

> *'[leaders] can be successful even if there are limited [material] resources. It may seem insignificant if you compare the leader's success but it is important and huge in its own circumstances.'*

Perhaps above all, there was agreement among the governors on the point that, regardless of the deficiencies in resources, as leaders, they needed to ensure that their administrations performed to the best of their abilities and to identify and implement solutions to the problems they confronted.

Summary

In this chapter, a conceptualisation for leadership by district governors was introduced with a key distinction between, on the one hand, the internal organisational responsibility of leadership of their district administrations and, on the other, the more outward-facing responsibilities of community leadership. Thereafter the chapter has focused particularly on administrative leadership (the succeeding chapters being devoted respectively to community leadership and generic leadership) and has presented key findings from the interviews with the sample of governors.

Above all, the interviews highlighted the fact that the governors all see themselves as leaders rather than managers within their administrative offices; and generally perceiving themselves as pursuing a fatherly role in relation to their staff. This, they tended to consider, was the most

appropriate approach and one that fitted well with Turkish society where paternalism is deeply embedded and strongly valued. Almost all interviewees expressed their admiration for charismatic leaders in their country's history, most notably Ataturk, who was cited frequently. Most acknowledged that their own thoughts about leadership had been modelled on such charismatic traditions and that this was an important source of inspiration for their approach and practices within their offices

Generally, they perceived themselves as being sympathetic towards their staff and as wanting to make them feel valued and appreciated. Indeed, many talked about their concern for the emotional and physical well-being of their staff – this, they indicated, often being demonstrated at the expense of their own time and well-being. The task of motivating staff, often through reward systems, was also evidently taken seriously by many of the interviewees. However, the discussions also highlighted a number of obstacles to the fulfilment of governor ambitions within their administrative roles, in particular, the limited opportunities and authority they had as state employees themselves, to recruit and develop effective teams around themselves (with all staff appointments being made centrally). Other deficiencies in material resources were also much cited as a source of frustration and unfulfilled ambitions, again because of the constraints they faced within a state administrative system.

CHAPTER 6

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Introduction

In the previous chapter governors' leadership with regard to the administration of their districts and as heads of their offices was examined, with key findings from the fieldwork being highlighted and discussed. In this chapter, the focus moves on to leadership of local communities.   Starting with governors' perceptions about the responsibility for public leadership, the subsequent sections will focus successively on different aspects of community leadership and examine how district governors respond to, and reflect, differences in local context, especially regarding culture, ethnicity and religion; aspects that are particularly diverse across the State of Turkey.

6.1 District Governors' Perceptions about Community Leadership

As has already been intimated, in traditional Turkish culture people have been inclined to wish for and expect a figurehead who can

represent and lead everyone and who they can follow and obey (Aycan, 2006; Pellegrini and Scandura, 2008; Lewis, 1993). Almost half of the governors who were interviewed (n=13) articulated in their own way the notion that is widespread in Turkish culture, that, because of the desire and expectation, communities willingly accept leadership and, in its absence, will look to creating their own. For example, Interviewee A.U.'s comment in this respect aptly summarises the general tenor of many interviewees on the issue:

> *'People in Turkey always wait for a leader to descend. This is the same for the societies of the East. Turks frequently bemoan the fact that an Ataturk [the founder of modern Turkey] has not yet come along and fulfilled people's expectations for a saviour. An Ataturk is always needed in Turkey (though this is not the case in the Western world). We need a leader as a saviour [in the East]. This, I think, is a reflection of the structure and perceptions of the society. In Western societies, people expect and are content with more than one voice rather than a single voice; there are institutions and establishments are full of multiple voices. But in our society we are used to saying that a person shall come who we will follow, and that he shall do great things.'*

Eight district governors underlined their thinking in this regard by making specific reference to the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. They also each conveyed their admiration for his leadership style, pointing out that he is still widely regarded in contemporary Turkish society as a role model of leader and saviour of the people.

Interviewee N.C.S, a female governor from central Turkey, for example, explained that,

> '…in my childhood years a most prominent figure for me was Ataturk because we had always been exposed to his ideas and leadership throughout our school years. He was the kind of leader who was able to create things from nothing; he worked to raise his society from the brink of extinction and people followed him.'

Furthermore, it was clear that, for many governors as well as citizens, this historic leader is regarded as having shaped the Turkish people's sense of duty towards the leader of their local communities.

Indeed, this is something that other scholars have also commented upon (see for example, Heper and Sayari, 2002 and Karaman, 2013), and was aptly summarised by Interviewee Y.T.as follows:

'Our society always awaits a saviour. This is a cultural thing. The other point to make thing is, upon the discussion in literature about whether the state or the homeland (watan) is more important, the Turkish society prefers the state over the homeland, I reckon. So, the clan culture and khan culture, dates back to before the Ottomans, affected this [preferring state over the land]*. The old Turkish culture is an excellent example of this. So, the society had changed its land, frequently settled in different lands but never changed its state. The state was seen a priori before everything. The society was expecting an act of saviour from Mustafa Kemal [Ataturk] and from Recep Tayyip Erdogan [then-prime minister and incumbent president] they performed what they were expected to do. When it comes to governors in district administration the society has long been expecting leadership from them.'*

6.1.1 The Challenge of the Devolution Dynamic

As explained earlier, the past decade has seen significant devolutionary development towards local government in Turkey. As a result, much more day-to-day business concerning the governance of local communities and strategic planning of local public services is now

undertaken by democratically elected local authorities and municipalities. Such devolution has also involved the abolition of the special city administrations that had previously been headed by the provincial governors and responsibility for village and town infrastructure development has been transferred from the governors to the local authorities (Akca, 2015). In recent years, this process has been further promoted and accelerated by Turkey's pursuit of candidacy to join the European Union (Çiner, 2014).

In light of such a localising trend, it was unsurprising that most governors who were interviewed had much to say about the issue and its implications for their own leadership roles. Most seemed very clear about their perspectives on the effects of decentralisation which was widely viewed as a project of the ruling elite, and particularly of the ruling political party. Indeed, it was generally felt that the development would inevitably end up with substantial power devolution from the central state to the municipalities and other local authorities. However most governors also expressed their view that, while the centre was driving the devolution process and, in so doing, passing power from governorships to the municipalities, it was hardly applying decentralisation principles within its own Ankara-centred agencies and bureaucracy. In this respect, rather than passing more discretionary power down to governors at the district level, it was felt that the centre

was preferring to retain its authority and as much power as possible into the future. This point was aptly illustrated by Interviewee A.C. as follows:

> *'If we look at recent developments in legislation that seeks to restructure the public administrative system, we will see that it is full of examples of the transfer of authority from governors to municipalities and local authorities. But central government itself is not devolving power. Instead it is simply reducing the authority of governorships whether at the province or district level.*

Although there has been a strong one party in power in the country since 2002 with bold promises of devolution, it might perhaps seem somewhat surprising that there has been no complementary or more systematic devolution of responsibility for many public services as well as local governance to local areas, in the manner seen in so many other countries in past years. One explanation for this that was proffered by a number of Governors was the so-called 'Kurdish question'[1] that has been of considerable concern in Turkey for more than 30 years now. Particularly in its south-eastern and eastern parts, the fear has been that areas with predominantly Kurdish populations

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[1] Since the 1980s a Kurdish rebellious group, the PKK, has aimed to separate Turkey's eastern and south-eastern parts and establish an independent Kurdish state with the help of dwellers in those predominantly Kurdish areas.

would seek to claim autonomy from the Turkish state; especially so if district governorships were to be abolished. As Interviewee A.U. argued,

> 'since we act on behalf of the central government, we symbolise national unity and serve to send an important message to Kurds and other separatist-seeking groups.'

Indeed, following the attempted coup in Turkey in 2016 and the subsequent political fall-out, the central government has moved to increase its powers over localities and to replace 'Kurdish' local governments with centrally-appointed trustees, i.e. governors (Akca, 2017; Hurriyet Daily News, 2016).

A Bleak Future?

In similar vein, the interviews also revealed little sense of confidence or clarity about the future for district governorships among the sample of office holders. Some imagined that their community–based roles would most likely end up being transferred to the popularly elected local governors/mayors, and several others indicated their pessimism about their future. Others, however, felt the governorship system was more likely to be reformed than abolished, though acknowledging the

likelihood of their roles as governors becoming more marginal and ambiguous.

Almost all interviewees acknowledged the significance of the national mood for devolution in Turkish public administration and the currents of popular opinion that were fuelling reform in this regard. As Interviewee Y.O. said:

> *'It is true that our people [Turkish society] believe that we are the main backbone of the system. However, there have been reformation projects since the Tanzimat (serious of reforms in the Ottomans). We turned our face towards the West. So, our institutions will increasingly take their lead on devolution from western countries that have already moved in that direction.'*

Interviewee Y.O. was one of the several who also thought it likely that governors' roles would steadily shrink into the future as more power became transferred to local authorities. In fact some five governors expressed the view that there might no longer be sufficient need or case for retaining governorships in the emerging context of Turkish public administration. Instead, they suggested that powers could, and perhaps even should, be transferred to some kind of supervisory and regulatory authority. For example, Interviewee Y.T. acknowledged that the various powers of his governorship could, with little difficulty, be

transferred to other existing institutions with functional responsibilities for representation, security and regulation respectively. However, such perspectives were hardly shared by the majority of interviewees, who were far more sceptical of the potential for such transfer of powers.

Indeed, most took the view that the recent enactment of laws to create new local authorities had exacerbated governance problems in their districts. Interviewee O.C. for example, who explained how his district had recently become part of larger city municipality, lamented that,

> *'there is now no need for village heads to come to us and ask for cooperation and help because the larger city municipality is now responsible for most of the matters they want addressing.'*

Although a more recent development, since completion of the fieldwork for this thesis, it is perhaps pertinent here to mention that a referendum held on 16 April 2017, granted sweeping new powers to the Turkish president and also heralded the abolition of the primeministry and the weakening of the authority of parliament. Indeed, almost all executive powers are now concentrated in the hands of the president, and the destiny of all public institutions, as well as governorships, are currently in his hands.

6.2 Implications of a Paternalistic Culture

When asked about the significance of the local context and society on their leadership approach as a governor, around half of the interviewees expressed the view that local culture and public expectations were indeed highly important for them. Many of them referred to the significance of Turkish culture in this respect, and particularly to the point made earlier about public expectations of having strong leaders, as 'father figures'. This 'father figure' notion, so strongly rooted in traditional Turkish family culture, was similarly commented upon by one of the female governors who was interviewed. Indeed, like her male counterparts, Interviewee N.S. strongly endorsed the idea, explaining that she too was seen as a 'father figure' for her district.

As she went on to emphasise, although governors are expected to carry out the wishes of the centre without questioning, they often find themselves in conflicting situations where the centre's expectations clash with the needs and priorities at local level. The challenge for governors, she argued, was to seek to reconcile any such tensions by being simultaneously a 'father of the state' and a 'father for the community'. In similar vein, Interviewee E.G. suggested that

> *'I've got both patrimonial and fatherly approaches in my administrative exercises. So, what I mean that I have a father-*

state mind-set. In this set you are expected to carry out orders coming from the centre and you have a perception that citizens should obey the decisions you have taken or implemented. At the same time however, you have to carry out wishes of local communities so that you can look after them properly. If you apply a blunt top-down leadership in your governance you will be doomed. There is no way out to claim you are a leader. But you have to be a father figure who shows compassion and treat communities kindly.'

Five other governors also commented specifically on the notion that they were father figures for their communities. In their different ways all five indicated that as *father* figures in the community they strove to demonstrate their care and concern towards members of the community. As such they felt they were generally popular figures who generally won much admiration. However, to achieve such a reputation inevitably took time, and steadily developed over the course of their experience in the role. Probably on first appointment, it was suggested, district governors would have only limited public profile and only occasional contact with members of the general public. As indicated earlier, their attentions in the early years would, they mostly concurred, would typically be focused more on the application of the state laws within their districts and, while not autocratic, they felt they were

generally likely to have been less flexible in their approach than later in their careers in light of more experience and as their confidence grew.

Governors also had much to say in the interviews about the nature of their practice of community leadership. For example, Interviewee Y.T. talked about his efforts to build positive relations even with staunch opponents of the state, notably Kurdish rebels. He also spoke of how he had sought to address tensions between certain ethnic groups, again by working to build trustful relations. Similarly, Interviewee E.U. discussed the positive relations he had tried to broker with local community leaders and how he had striven to correct misunderstandings and what he considered to be counter negative propaganda by the PKK (an outlawed political network). Such efforts were considered (by the governors at least) to have lessened tensions between the state and local groups and to have generally helped to build stronger respect and understanding among different groups within the community as well as earning greater respect for the office of the district governor.

6.3 The Impacts of Local Culture on Leadership Practice

While, as already indicated, the research revealed generally high public acceptance of their governor's exercise of a community leadership role, it also highlighted the significance of local cultures in mediating and shaping the ways in which this was practised. Indeed, a number of the interviewees emphasised the significance of the cultural differences, particularly those between the West and East (by 'East', meaning all the countries of Eastern Europe, not just the eastern regions of Turkey). Several also referred to a 'mentality of the East', under which a strong paternalistic and more authoritarian styles of leadership tended to be more characteristic (see, for example, Özen (1993); Sözen (2012); and Avcı and Yaşar (2016)).

However, from various comments in the interviewees it was apparent that there was more to the issue of culture in relation to community leadership than just an east-west dichotomy. In this respect the comments from different governors suggested a much more varied range of community leadership approaches were called upon in response to more subtle, but no less important, regional differences in local culture, particularly reflecting the different ethnic composition of the local populace. Interviewee S.D, for example, illustrated the

significance (for herself as governor) of such variance in the community leadership styles she adopted when commenting that:

> '*You have to talk the language of the area where you are appointed'*

by which, as she went on to explain that she meant responding to the culture of the local area, and to the needs and circumstances of the local community.

Another governor, interviewee A.D., also commented on the need for different styles of leadership between urban and rural communities. He argued that

> '*There are some attitudinal differences between people in the towns and cities as opposed to the more rural areas to which as governor you have to respond and which necessarily affect your approach to your leadership role'.*

In similar vein, a further governor, Interviewee C.G.T, posited that

> '*You have to behave differently to your service user or client in accordance with their cultural norms and expectations. For example, when I was a Bodrum Governor [a famous Turkish holiday resort], in which the social norms are fairly relaxed and tolerant, I could act in accordance with my own instincts and*

personality. But in Goksun [a more central and less developed

area] where the culture is more reserved, I need to behave in a

more conservative way.'

6.4 Impacts of Ethnic and Religious Affiliations

The interviews similarly highlighted the impacts on their community

leadership of the very diverse ethnicity and religious affiliations in

Turkey (as discussed earlier in Chapter 4). Primarily for reasons of

courtesy and respect, the interviews did not probe governors on their

own ethnic backgrounds or religious affiliations. However, several

proffered comments on the subject, on their views on the significance of

cultural diversity, and on how these in turn influenced their leadership

practice. For example, Interviewee A.C. commented as follows:

'I think the [Interior] Ministry needs to ensure that governors are

properly informed about the ethnic and religious composition of

the local community ahead of commencing any new post. I'll

give you an example. I went Altinozu district of Hatay province.

There are Alawite Arabs, Sunni Arabs, Sunni Turks, Christians,

Jehovah Witnesses. But at the time when I embarked on my

new post I had no idea all these groups were there. Governors

should be briefed beforehand. This is also particularly important for the south-eastern and eastern parts of the country. If you are going there you should know in advance about the different ethnic groups there and about the ethnic tensions that sometimes spill over into acts of terrorism.'

Another governor offered his perspectives by reference to two similar incidents that had occurred in two different locations, and on the importance for governors in responding and acting differently in each locality and situation in this respect, Interviewee E.U., for example, described how he had witnessed a car accident in which a police vehicle had hit a pedestrian and which had resulted in public outrage among the dominantly Kurdish population in the local town (in the southeast of the country). He went on to suggest that

'Had the same accident happened in many other places in the country, including that of his current governorship, it most likely would have been regarded as just another unfortunate incident'

In the town where the accident had occurred, the governor said he felt it part of his duty to pay a visit to the family of the deceased, to show his sympathy and solidarity and to try and create a positive atmosphere among the community and its leaders to minimise the sense of public outrage and to prevent any retaliatory behaviour. He emphasised again

that, had it happened elsewhere, he would not have felt the need to become personally involved and would instead have been able to leave the matter to the emergency services. The same governor also emphasised that, in the south-eastern districts of Turkey, people would more often perceive an intervention by a government official with suspicion. This, he said, was because most of the residents were Kurds and were fearful that the state might try to sanction them simply on account of their ethnicity or because of the acts of terrorism being committed by the outlawed Kurdish rebel groups occupying parts of the area.

Another governor, Interviewee T.T. – a Kurd herself – also highlighted the differences in attitudes between communities in the eastern parts of the country and those in more westerly parts. She went on to describe a problem that she had addressed involving an army personnel convoy that was journeying through an eastern city as follows,

> *'I resolved a tense situation between the military personnel and local residents by citing my own identity and ethnic background as being the same as some of the military personnel. Hailing from the same town helped me to address the issue. You could adopt this approach when dealing with people from the eastern side of Turkey. However, you couldn't do so in the western*

towns and cities. People in the western parts [of the country]
have quite different attitudes and expectations, for example,
behaving more individualistically and insisting on making their
own decisions. People from the east have a much stronger
sense of identity with the group. So, by revealing my own place
of birth in the eastern districts I was able to ensure respect and
understanding from local people and use it to advantage in my
leadership. A different approach and technique would be
needed for the communities in the west. What I mean is Kurds
[people of the east] are very different from Turks [people of the
west] and you have to be aware of these differences and adapt
your leadership approach accordingly.'

As already indicated, while interviewees were not asked directly about their own ethnicity or religious affiliations, most chose to talk openly and from personal experience about the significance of their personal background and identity and its impact on their leadership practice as a governor. From such comment, as well as by drawing on published biographies and other available information, the following estimations were made as to the ethnic background, beliefs and religious affiliations of the sample of interviewees (Figure 6.1).
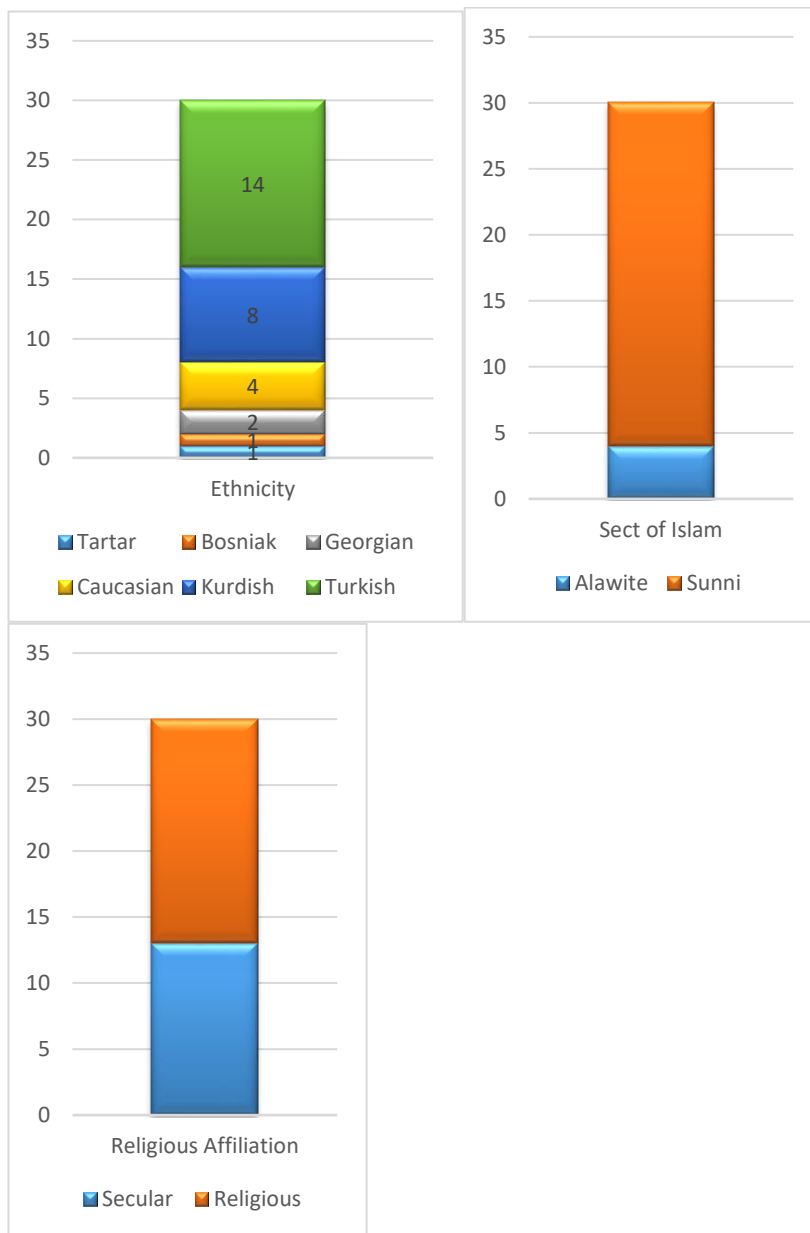
Figure 6. 1 Ethnicity, sect and religious affiliation of the participant governors

Almost half the sample of governors were of Turkish origin, and about a further quarter were Kurdish, but a few others were Caucasian or Georgian. All were thought to be followers of Islam and all but four were Sunni (the other four being Alawite). As far as religious affiliations

were concerned, it was estimated that just under two thirds practiced their faith regularly.

While it was probably always going to be difficult to identify any clear relationship between ethnicity (of the governors) and particular practices of community leadership from a sample of just thirty, there was no doubting the perceived significance of local ethnic considerations for their leadership practice, and most notably in the governors' prioritisation of attendance at particular community activities and events. Likewise, it was readily apparent from the interviews that those who talked at some length about their faith and religion regarded this to be personally important in shaping their approach to leadership and to their engagement with communities. Interviewee Y.T. for example, made reference to Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz, an Umayyad caliph who reigned between 717 and 720, and also to Alija Izetbegovic, a Bosniak leader during the split of former Yugoslavia, as follows:

> *'The key distinguishing characteristic of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz was his view of administration not as a means of livelihood but as a means of altruism. He commenced his caliphate by giving all his belongings away and having nothing in his possession when he started his service. After couple of years when he completed his term of duty he still had no possessions. Even*

though he was a ruler he died a poor man without any worldly possessions. This is extraordinary. He gained nothing worldly from his administration but he administrated his society in full justice and fairness.

When it comes to Alija Izetbegovic, he managed to save his society with minimal harm at a time of unprecedented crisis. He managed to raise his state from its crisis simply by applying all his leadership skills. It was an incredible achievement though for him, only the most rational thing he could have done at the time.'

6.5 Perceptions about Personal Development for Community Leadership

As indicated previously, the majority of interviewees viewed leadership as being something for which innate ability was necessary. However, most also acknowledged that a sound formal education had been vital to their prospects for realising any such natural ability. Without exception, the interviewees all recognised the developmental nature of their leadership practice and the impact both of learning and development on a day-to-day basis through experience as well as through further specific training in aspects of the role.

That said, while most of the interviewees felt they would be able to apply their leadership as a governor in any district regardless of the local circumstances and community composition, eleven were more doubtful about this and took the view that there needed to be some match between the individual's background, their skills and other personal affinities and the local context and community make-up.

Among the 19 interviewees who expressed the view that they considered themselves to be sufficiently flexible and able to act effectively in any district to which they were assigned Interviewee M.E. suggested that:

> *'Targets may not be achieved but a leader can use the circumstances and resources at full capacity in the area in which s/he works and yields results accordingly. So, his/her leadership should be assessed in the conditions of his/her own working environment. If the resources are not at the desired amount along with other instruments to leader's disposal the person can again be successful but this success should be assessed in its own environment and resources. If you compare these results of the leader to a leader who has resources abundantly you can see the former's success. So, contingencies do not make a*

governor leader but if s/he is a true leader who can turn the tide

and use everything to achieve great things.

6.5.1 Governors and Politicians: An uncomfortable relationship?

From almost all of the interviews it was abundantly clear that governors felt the key challenge to their community leadership role came from politicians. Without exception, the governors referred in their different ways to difficulties that they had encountered with politicians, whether from local or national level. Interviewee E.G.'s comments illustrate the widely held perspective on this issue:

'The main obstacles before governors are politics and politicians. There is no middle way in governorship, unfortunately. You are either submissive to, or at odds with the politicians. It requires great ability to be able to manoeuvre a middle way; you must have excellent diplomatic skills [ilm-i siyaset in Turkish]. Personally, I have experienced nothing but trouble from politicians. They ask you to do something that you think unacceptable or unfair; they pressurise you and demand appointments immediately. They impose on your private time

family life. Overall, I see politics and politicians as a main challenge to my professional role as a governor, and something that has been growing in recent times. They want to see governors being subservient to themselves.'

Another interviewee, E.E., commented that:

'Politicians have no concerns to follow the truth. I have standards of integrity - one of which is being truthful. In this respect my standards are at odds with those of politicians. Politicians seem not to have such standards and can turn anytime and make demands.'

and he continued,

'…if you look at leaders in public administration you always find they are pressed by the system of politics. Either their decisions are not being applied or they are marginalised in the system.'

Another governor, Interviewee Y.T, also commented on what he termed 'the heavy hand of politicians on governors', saying

'One of the key handicaps for governors is the effects of politicians in parallel with, or in front of, us. This is ever apparent, and governors are increasingly expected to behave in ways that the political system desires'.

One governor, interviewee T.B., suggested that many politicians were jealous of the work that governors were doing in their constituency areas. Like a number of others, he felt the high public support for governors was viewed negatively by many politicians who often feared their own support within the community was undermined by the generally superior reputation of governors.

Moreover, during the process of conducting the interviews, signs of such tension between politicians and governors were apparent first-hand to the researcher. In this respect, as explained in Chapter 4, the fieldwork was carried out in two stages, first in April 2015 and then again, three months later, in July-August 2015. Between these two rounds (in June 2015) the national government had announced a decree to institute changes in the appointments system for district governors. This involved an unprecedented number of relocations of governorships which, unsurprisingly, had been viewed with dismay within the profession and as potentially damaging to the future status and terms of service for governorships. Significantly then, and perhaps unsurprisingly, in the second series of interviews, most of the interviewees seemed less relaxed and generally more reluctant to comment on the political climate in Turkey or on their relationships with politicians in the district. That said, a few did speak out about the issue and explained how they now felt themselves to be under greater

pressure. Interviewees O.C. and C.G.T., for example, both talked about the strategies they were personally pursuing by way of response to the demands and expectations of local politicians. As relatively recently appointed governors, they both indicated that, initially, they had tried to ignore the politicians and, whenever possible, had avoided engaging with them. But others with longer experience in the role, felt that it was better to try more conciliatory approaches, including reasoning with local politicians and seeking to explain to them why some of their expectations were unrealistic or impossible to implement.

Governor A.U., for example, commented that he had come to realise that it was best to be civil with the politicians:

> '… and offer two glasses of tea for those who are members of the ruling political party and just one for opposition members!'

It was also made clear in several of the interviews that district governors generally did not welcome receiving demands for action from politicians or, indeed, from those with political affiliations. Their reason for this was explained as being their desire to be impartial and neutral in the conduct of their public administrative roles. While they recognised that elected politicians were under much pressure from their constituents to get problems resolved and services improved, and that this in turn meant that they would be looking to themselves, as governors, to make

things happen, the widespread feeling was that local politicians were too often unrealistic and unreasonable in their attitudes towards governors and that the relationship was more often one of tension than of partnership.

6.5.2 Inter-action between Governors: Collaborative or Competitive Relationships?

As indicated in Chapter 4, the interview schedule included coverage of perceptions about the career path of governorships and many talked at length about their motivation and aspiration not only to achieve a position as a district governor but also to progress to the higher level of a provincial governorship (for which all district governors are eligible after 15 years-service). Most interviewees talked about their personal ambition to progress to becoming a provincial governor at some stage in their careers. Moreover several also alluded to a certain degree of competitiveness between governors for such promotion opportunities, given that there are only 81 provincial level posts and some ten times that number of district governors potentially competing for such advancement opportunities. As they several acknowledged, this all resulted in many district governors actively self-promoting and

promulgating their capabilities and aptitudes for promotion through their community leadership endeavours.

Interviewee N.C.S. for example, expressed her thoughts as follows:

> *'Competition is one of the leading factors that influences governors in the way they approach and perform their leadership roles. The career path is narrow towards the top. Sometimes, this means that the district governors who are most determined to be promoted will take decisions and actions that are motivated more by personal career ambitions than by a sense of duty and service to the locality.'*

Governor, T.T., also confirmed his view of unstated, but nevertheless fierce, competition between many governors by commenting similarly on the potential for negative outcomes for community leadership. Others also talked more specifically about some of the practices and tactics by which some governors sought to position themselves better for career enhancement at provincial level, notably by self-aggrandizement even in relation to their routine duties, and sometimes even by seeming to take advantage of any local crisis as a means of demonstrating particular capabilities in leadership. In this context Interviewee Y.T. also commented on the habits of some of his

colleague governors in networking with influential politicians or with business leaders and, inevitably, with (other) provincial governors.

On the other hand, such competition for a higher place in the Turkish public administrative system could, as many pointed out, also have some positive benefits, particularly in ensuring that governors made the best of their leadership roles. In this respect, several interviewees talked about some of their achievements in crisis management, about their communication skills, and about other leadership competencies of which they felt especially proud to have employed during their tenures. However, at times, it was suggested, being in fierce competition could also lead governors to pursue unrealistic goals or embark on unreasonable, unsustainable or untimely ventures. For example, Interviewee A.U. said;

> *'I knew a governor who decided to undertake projects involving the planting of pistachio and poplar trees and establishing an organic farm for community benefit. But each of these projects quickly failed because the climate in the district was inappropriate and insufficient attention was given to nurturing and harvesting the plantations. Despite the failures here, the governor in question achieved his promotion to provincial*

governor and continued to promote himself as an entrepreneurial

governor.'

6.5.3 The Constraints of Law on Community Leadership in Practice

Several of the interviewees also commented on legal constraints as being a further factor affecting their community leadership practice, with around half (n=14) citing legal complexities or legislative boundaries as especially relevant here. Several also commented on ambiguities in the key legislation defining their responsibilities and duties as governors, including the much debated boundary between 'management' and 'leadership' (as discussed in Chapter 3).

Governor N.S. for instance, regarded the legislation as the second most significant challenge to his leadership role - behind politics and politicians - and commented that:

> '*Although you may have a strong vision and a desire to achieve good things for your district, the legislation does not support you in pursuing them*'.

Interviewee V.D. similarly expressed his views of the obstacles that legislation made for his leadership role, as did Interviewee E.E. who

additionally talked of how the legislation (and the underlying official mentality) constrained not just himself but all public employees from thinking and acting innovatively, as follows:

> *'How can I express it? - Let me give you an example: Imagine a village full of mad people except one. Who do they elect as their village head (mukhtar)? Of course not the sane one! Even if he promises to make everyone sane, they still won't elect him. Because he is out of step with the rest of the village community and not 'one of us'. He is pushed aside, and undervalued. They might even think he is the insane one! Our situation [in Turkey] is similar to that. Unfortunately, this is the reality of life in our society as a result of efforts to engender one model person. Our politics and our legislation have created this kind of system. You just can't find an innovative leader in our public sector. If anyone tries to break the mould and offer non-standard leadership, they are quickly removed from the role and their decisions are not progressed; they are pushed out of the system.'*

Summary

In this chapter the focus has been on governors' practices and experiences of leadership in looking outwards towards the local communities within their districts. Much consistency of viewpoint was found through the interviews, particularly about the perceived importance of community leadership as a key component of the office of district governor. This, it was widely suggested, was supported by high expectations within the community for leadership, particularly by a paternalistic or father-figure.

The interviews also highlighted the perceived significance for their leadership of respect for, and sensitivity towards, cultural, ethnic and religious affiliations and diversity more generally. They also identified the key and emerging challenges that governors experienced or sensed in carrying out their community leadership roles – notably the tensions with politicians, especially at local level; the unhelpful competitiveness between governors because of aspirations and ambitions for promotion to provincial governorship roles; and the ambiguities in the legislation defining their responsibilities as community leaders.

CHAPTER 7

GENERIC LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

Introduction

In the preceding two chapters, Turkish governors' administrative leadership and community leadership have been discussed in turn. In these chapters, governors' approaches to internal (office-oriented) and external (locally-focused) leadership have been separately examined. However, as findings from the interviews confirmed, there is much commonality about governors' perspectives on their leadership practice in each of these two contexts. In this chapter, therefore, the focus is placed on those personal qualities of leadership that are regarded as bridging the two or, in other words, that are more generic in nature, and as qualities of leadership that were identified by the sample of governors as being important to both their administrative and community-oriented responsibilities.

From the various responses to the interview questions some six different leadership attributes were most consistently cited – indeed, alluded to by all thirty governors, albeit in slightly differing ways. Each was cited in response to interview questions about what were perceived

to be the key attributes for success in both internally and externally-oriented leadership (i.e. for both administrative and community leadership or, put another way, for both state-derived and local-focused leadership). The six such attributes that were most consistently mentioned were as follows: a) accessibility (whether to staff or to members of the public); b) responsivity (again both to staff and to the public in relation to ideas and demands); c) communication (of vision, strategy and plans); d) expertise (for both public administrative and community governance issues); e) decisiveness (in decision-taking and action); and f) exemplary values (to establish and promote high standards for staff and local people alike). In the subsequent sections, each of these will be discussed in turn, followed by a shorter summary of various other, frequently cited, attributes (i.e. those mentioned by a majority of the sample).

7.1 Accessibility

The interviews revealed that governors pay great deal of attention to their accessibility – both to their own staff in their offices and also to the communities and individuals over whom they have jurisdiction. 25 of the interviewees, or 83%, commented on the importance in this respect of their operating an *open-door policy*. Several interviewees

emphasised that, as far as they were concerned, whoever wished to meet and communicate with their governor they did not need to book an appointment in advance, but instead could simply turn up at the door. As Interviewee O.M. said:

> *'I always say that we never refuse to receive those who are insane, let alone those who are sane. Whoever comes to the office we will welcome them and listen mindfully. I have never rejected anyone who wanted to see me. Similarly, it is unacceptable to close the door on any of our own personnel, however junior. They should not need to wait to see me, but just turn up; that is what I want and expect. I always say this to my staff. They have every opportunity to talk to me about their concerns and needs'.*

Likewise, interviewee, C.P., underlined the importance to him of accessibility in the following way:

> *'I have good relations with everybody. I do not look at things in a narrow way. My door has always been open to everyone. No matter who turns up at my door, I accept and welcome them, because my purpose in being there [as district governor] is to serve the local people. If you can create open channels with the public, you can always benefit – whether from individuals or*

groups. You have to create ways of establishing and maintaining relations and for gathering different viewpoints from different people because this is the way to increase your potential both as a district administrator and as a local leader. Of that I am very clear and certain.'

Other governors also acknowledged that applying an open door policy would help create trust both with staff and communities. For instance, Interviewee O.C., (a junior governor from a midland district), said,

'I've kept saying to people that my door is open and I am available to be called by phone. Please contact me. It creates trust between you and them and you are more likely to engender satisfaction and resolve peoples' problems if you hear first-hand what are their concerns. Ensuring citizen satisfaction is at the core of my administration'.

The interviews, indeed, highlighted that Turkish governors generally prefer to be accessed face-to-face rather than by telephone or email. Although each governorship has its own website and most governors make use of social media quite frequently, interestingly, none of the interviewees mentioned these sources of interaction and access in any depth. Some governors (n=14), however, did indicate that they made much use of their mobile phones. For example, Interviewee C.C. said:

'I am available to my staff and people of the district 24 hours a day. If I am not at my office, I can always be accessed by my mobile phone. My [phone] number has been made available to scores of individuals in the district. They can reach me by this whenever they want.'

All governors are also allocated a police radio and may use it at any time. However, only one of the interviewees indicated making frequent calls from it. Similarly, few governors indicated making much use of email in their communication with local people.

7.2 Responsivity

All the interviewees expressed in their own ways their love of their profession as governors and acknowledged that a strong level of patriotism underpinned their work. This sense of loyalty and appreciative commitment to the state seemed especially strong among those in their early years of governorship, and the sense that that this tended to wane somewhat over time was confirmed by several longer-serving governors and conveyed particularly clearly by Interviewee Y.T. as follows:

'You commence your career as a governor with strong emotion and excitement. You feel your work is special and precious since you've just started your role on completion of your university education. This positive perception of yours continues for some while but, gradually, as you become more familiar with the role, you develop a more 'feet on the ground' approach and begin to behave in a more rational and less emotional manner.'

It was also acknowledged by several governors that their sentimental attachment to their jobs tended to increase their responsivity to the demands of staff and the public, and this in turn ensured strong empathy in their leadership roles. Interviewee E.Y. illustrated his views in this respect with a short epigram:

'The prosperous state does not belong to anyone for ever, / The matter is to save a broken heart.'

and he continued:

'I treat people with love and compassion. After all, it is my job to show empathy and to embrace everyone within the district. I always try and respond quickly to people's requests and to find solutions to the problems they raise.'

Indeed, one third of the interviewees emphasised the importance of empathy in their treatment of people. Interviewee S.D.'s comment illustrates this especially aptly:

> *'As a governor I tend to provide much more empathy than I would normally do in life. But, I do so because it is part of the job. Showing empathy and dealing with the problems of others makes me very emotional. I love to be accessible and to understand people's needs. I can only imagine myself in the shoes of some of the poorer citizens or a distressed member of staff and try to understand from their point of view'.'*

The four female governors who were interviewed struck the researcher as particularly demonstrating such empathetic attitudes. For example, Interviewee T.T. reported that she had arranged official wedding registration ceremonies for some 129 couples who had not previously been able to afford marriage. She said she had even personally helped the brides with their make-up; arranged for the invitation letters to be printed and delivered to guests and organised transport where it was needed.

A rather different example of governor responsivity was provided by Interviewee S.D. who talked about a project for women entrepreneurs that she had assisted in an economically and socially deprived town.

Here she explained that she had helped by arranging the conversion of an old building to create a lakeshore workshop and store where the group of women could produce their goods and sell them.

Conversely, Interviewee N.C.S spoke of a 'breakfast club' initiative that she had established for her own staff – enabling them to have breakfast with her so that she could get to know them better and to appreciate better and respond to any issues they wanted to discuss. Likewise, Interviewee M.E., was one of nine governors who talked about the benefits of creating opportunities to share ideas and plans at an early stage with staff and the local public, by suggesting:

> *'It is crucially important to be open and honest with your staff and communities. If you are sincere and communicate with integrity with people, then they are more likely to be respectful and understanding in return. It always helps people to trust you and your plans if they have been informed early and been given a chance to have their say and to put forward their ideas.'*

Similarly, another governor, Interviewee S.D., expressed her opinions about sincerity as follows:

> *'If you approach people sincerely, they will generally understand and appreciate your intentions better. You cannot win people's*

hearts by pretence. People will mostly react more positively if you are honest and sincere with them.'

All this said, however, the interviews also highlighted how, when it came to decision-making, governors seemed less keen on sharing responsibility, whether with staff or other community leaders. The interviews also revealed much reluctance to delegate their authority to their subordinates or to local politicians. Moreover, very few interviewees indicated being personally receptive to criticisms of the decisions they had taken, while the vast majority expressed the view that, when it came to final decisions, the responsibility had to be theirs alone, and that it was unreasonable for these to be challenged thereafter. One exception here was Interviewee E.E., who, took the view that it was perfectly understandable and acceptable for others to criticise his decisions, including his staff. In this respect, he suggested that he would be quite understanding if one or more members of his staff were to come into his office and question a decision he had taken. One other governor, Interviewee C.P., also claimed to be operating in an open and democratic manner and indeed would personally ask his staff about their opinions after, as well as before, decisions were made.

Similar limits on responsivity were disclosed in relation to district governor accountability towards their superiors at provincial level.

Here, several interviewees expressed their unhappiness, and in some cases, apparent resentment, at the involvement (or, as some saw it, interference) in their work. Being accountable to provincial governors was seen by most district governors as problematical, with 12 interviewees expressing dissatisfaction about the idea of accountability to the provincial level. In this vein, Interviewee C.G.T. argued that

> *'The provincial governor didn't take sufficient account of indicators of performance within the district, but instead was overly-concerned about 'loyalty' and about the number of complaints that local politicians had raised.'*

Similarly, Interviewee M.A. suggested that

> *'Your merits [as a district governor] are not assessed fairly by your superiors' [at the provincial level]. It is a fine line between success and failure in the provincial governor's eyes irrespective of how you are perceived and appreciated by locals'.*

Another governor, Interviewee C.C., talked about his disappointment with a previous superior when he awarded commendations to several other district governors within the province. In C.C.'s view, awards were made not so much on the basis of the achievements of recipients but more on the basis of friendship relations and patronage. Indeed, he went further and suggested that several of the more worthy district

governors had been disregarded simply because they were not close colleagues of the provincial governor.

Another interviewee, Y.T. similarly recounted an example of what he saw as the unprofessionalism of one of his ex-superiors:

> '*I worked with two different provincial governors in the same area, both being quite dissimilar characters. One of them espoused completely different viewpoints from mine on many issues and generally perceived me in negative light – viewing many things I did as being wrong. But the latter demonstrated an entirely different side and consistently supported me and the actions I took. He even recommended me for an award by the Turkish Association of Administrators and he himself turned up to make the presentation.*'

Times of crises were discussed by several governors as being key moments for demonstrating responsivity and most recognised the need for them to have a high profile at such times. Interviewee M.A., for example, talked about an avalanche that had occurred when he was governor in a south-eastern district. He explained that many people had been badly affected by the incident and that there had been much pressure from relatives and friends of victims for something to be done

immediately by way of relief and aid provision. Accordingly, he had immediately met the people outside his offices and declared that:

'*I am ready to go to the site of the disaster*',

Even though he knew it was likely to be difficult to reach the spot because of poor weather and road conditions. He added,

'*I am the governor; there are people who are dying and so I can't stay here in my office doing nothing. Let's go together.*'

Interviewee C.C. similarly emphasised the importance of being responsive in times of emergency, for example, following a flood, landslide or some such natural disaster. He said that at such times he would always prioritise early presence at the scene and added:

'*It is crucial in the event of a natural disaster or a terror assault for the district governor to arrive on site immediately, and become involved in the issue. This is really important.*'

Likewise, Interviewee T.T., recounted her reactions in an emergency that she had experienced as follows:

'*While I was in the city centre, I heard that a terror assault had taken place and targeting the district' police headquarters. I immediately made my way home, collected my gun from my*

house and went directly to the police building where I waited to see how I might help. When a crisis like this happens, I need to be directly involved in planning and executing the response'.

Interviewee A.T. also described his actions by way of response to a major incident involving an explosion and fire as follows:

'When I was a district governor in a southern region in 2007 a heavy machine, working in a motorway construction zone, accidently ruptured one of the major petrol pipelines in the country. There was a blast and a huge fire started As soon as I was briefed on the incident I attended the scene and got involved in directing the flow of the traffic on the motorway and directed this flow to an alternative road'.

Another governor, Interviewee M.A., similarly illustrated his responsivity in a situation of crisis that he had encountered. He described how, when, as a young district governor in a central part of the country, a serious forest fire had started in his locality and how he had immediately gone to the scene of the fire and begun coordinating the efforts to extinguish the blaze and to evacuate the surrounding houses. He also described the difficulties he had encountered in mobilising the local people who, he explained, had been badly traumatised by the situation and the prospect of losing their livelihoods.

Likewise, Interviewee M.E., also talked about his responsiveness and leadership in a time of crisis in discussing his experiences while on secondment to a temporary role in the immediate aftermath of the Van Earthquake in October 2011. Here, he said, he had quickly appreciated the value of calmness in conducting the rescue response and described a key lesson he had learned from the event as follows:

> *'If you panic or lose your calmness in crisis management, it can have a multiplier effect on the people affected by the crisis. In such times, the calmer you are, the more people are likely to listen to you and follow your instructions.'*

7.3 Communication

Two-thirds of the interviewees cited the importance of good communication as key to success of their leadership, whether with members of their own staff or with civic organisations and the public at large. One of the key arguments here, as expressed by several governors, concerned the potential benefits in terms of raised public interest in governance of their districts and in garnering support for the implementation of the governors' policies and initiatives at local level. The value in this respect of governor speech-making, for example, the

annual speech on Republican Day, and others delivered at opening ceremonies and events, were mentioned by several interviewees, as was the perceived importance for nurturing and sustaining good relations with groups in all sections of society.

Equally important, many governors asserted, were communications with staff and the motivational effects that they could achieve by maintaining a visible profile and positive open relationships within the offices, including taking opportunities to address staff as a group. As Interviewee M. A. pointed out:

> *'The average and effective working time for state employees is three hours [in a normal working day]. This is ridiculous but in this environment, it is not easy to motivate them. But you have to try and the key to doing so is to provide an example for staff of commitment and passion for the job – and, crucially, communicating that to staff. I use the phrase 'speaking-eyes' by which I mean conversations that come from the heart, rather than just the mouth, or in other words, without the necessary underlying commitment. Administrators may not have the drive for and interest in their jobs, but we leaders must have, and be able to demonstrate it for our staff to appreciate, and hopefully replicate. It's the same in relation to the wider communities of the*

district. When I go out and speak to people I want them to recognise my commitment to them through my mood and body language, not just by my words'.

Several interviewees also commented on the importance of listening as part of effective communication, again, whether in relation to staff in the office or with the public out in the community. For example, Interviewee C.G.T. talked about how he had changed his approach to communication when he had commenced duty in a metropolitan city and realised he need to develop a less top-down autocratic and more engaging and inclusive approach.

Interviewee M.E. agreed that good communication required good listening as much as good speaking, suggesting that:

'A leader should be an excellent listener. You should be happy when an organisation from civil society criticises you. You need to listen to criticism, and if it seems fair, to acknowledge it and your preparedness to learn from the experience'. '

Similarly, Interviewee V.B. argued that:

'The society has important social problems ranging from education, agriculture and so on and so forth. We need innovation and initiatives to address such problems. You are

likely to learn about the problems and about what should be done by listening to people. Mere personal observation is not enough'.

As many governors acknowledged, and as discussed in the previous section on 'responsivity', effective communication is especially important in times of crisis. For example, Interviewee Y.T. talked about his approach in responding to community concerns following a series of terror-related incidents involving Kurdish rebels. Establishing positive dialogue with local people, he said, helped him in no small way to address the problems promptly and to good effect. Indeed, his effectiveness in this regard, together with his positive reputation as a governor earned him the award of 'administrator-of-the-year' in 2013 from the Turkish Association of Administrators.

Additionally, in their interviews, a number of governors argued the importance of 'eloquence' and an ability to present a case or an argument effectively as a key part of their approach to communication. For example, Interviewee M.G. argued that:

'As the German social philosopher Max Weber said at the turn of the 20th century, eloquence plays an important role in creating a sense of charisma.'

Interviewee M.G. also spoke about the value of eloquence in suggesting that:

'it can be developed and thus education is important in our profession.'

As indicated above Turkish governors all apply an open-door-policy for their both staff and members of the community. This, they said, helped them to extend their knowledge and revise and, at times, moderate their leadership practice. Interviewee E.Y., for instance, said,

'I've never been such a governor who insists he is the top person, this is the crown (chair of the governor); everybody should know their place, take appointment, will come and so on and he will see them only if he is available. This is not my style and I am not that kind of person. I rather prefer to be accessed easily.'

This philosophy was also emphasised as enabling governors to apply an impartial approach to their leadership. For example, Interviewee T.T. talked about the importance of impartiality during her tenure in a district where diverse ethnic and religious groups co-exist, when she said:

'…we left the door open and showed them we are not sided with anybody else. Rather we explained them that, in an appropriate language, we are the state.'

Governors' treatment of others were also acknowledged by several interviewees to have changed and developed over the years. In their early years in office, several recognised they had presented with more rigidity towards their staff and communities. However, over the years, they had softened their manner and behaviour. For example, Interviewee S.D., described how at a later stage in her governorship her manner changed to become more flexible and understanding of her staff as well as members of the community. Similarly, Interviewee C.G.T. said he had learned of the need to relax his rather top-down approach when he embarked on a post in the megalopolis city of Istanbul. He explained that later on, he had developed a more inclusive and equal relationship with service recipients.

Finally on the theme of communication, the interviews revealed that most governors took the view that they had generally been left to themselves to develop their own approached to communication, and while they had been aware of training courses on the subject, and indeed, that many had attended, for the most part, learning 'on the job' and by experience, were far more important.

7.4 Expertise

In much the same vein, many of the interviewees talked openly about their wider expertise as governors having largely been acquired 'on the job'. Although they acknowledged that they had benefited in general terms through having been students of public administration at university, they were all of the view that their expertise in the role had grown mostly through experience rather than formal education and training. All but three of the interviewees acknowledged that the formal (and compulsory) leadership course that they had attended during their trainee years had bene insufficient in preparing them for the role of district governor. Indeed, most felt they had learned relatively little of practical value for the role. Many were also quite critical of the 'in-service' training courses that they had attended as follow-up refresher training, and of the courses on specialist subjects too. To a person, interviewees expressed the view that most of the expertise they had acquired in their leadership roles had derived from the experience they had gained in undertaking the role. As interviewee M.A. suggested:

> '*In this job you are on your own. Nobody comes to your help. You have to do it all on your own. The training provided by the*

[Internal Affairs] Ministry is nothing but a waste of time. I remember the years when we were introduced to governorship on the introductory course in our internship years. I did not attend all the sessions because there was so little that was of value and nothing original. Instead, I went a nearest teahouse to play cards with my peers. O dear!, Over the years, I have had to do many things to develop my administrative skills; making mistakes and learning a lot as a result. This is the way we improve gradually.'

Interviewee C.G.T. made similar remarks as follows:

'In governorship course we were taught how to conduct meetings; how to wear appropriate and suitable outfit and manners about dining. Now go and look out at the governors, everybody wears white socks and brown suits. This is a sole truth. We are not learning from what we were taught but from what we are doing.'

Interviewee Y.T. spoke at some length about the manner in which he felt his expertise as a governor had developed as follows:

'You commence your job with emotion and excitement. You feel your work is extraordinary and precious since you've just started your job upon completion of your university education. This state

of mind continues for a while but after that you begin to find your feet because you are encountering real life situations. In such circumstances you quickly begin to learn and behave differently – there is certainly less emotionalism and more rationality in your approach to your leadership role, though whether or not you are an expert is difficult to say!'

Other interviewees spoke in like-minded terms about their development within the role, though several felt the need for caution in using the word 'expertise because of uncertainty about what it might imply in governorship. Several also referred to their growing sense of disappointment at persisting problems, both within their administrations and out among the district's communities, and at their apparent inability to resolve them to the extent that they had wished. For example, Interviewee C.P. one of the oldest and longest serving governors in the sample, spoke candidly about his unfulfilled ambitions in the role, saying:

'I swear to God, I started this profession with love and full of idealism. But, my ideals and ambitions have not been realised in practice. Things haven't gone as well as I would have wished or to the expectations I had at the beginning of my career.'

The issue of governor expertise was also brought into question in relation to their interactions with other leaders, notably the politicians at local, provincial and national levels. As indicated earlier, the interviews also highlighted a tendency for governors to become more moderate and more accepting of the influence of other leaders as their experience developed over time. In general, the more long-serving and experienced governors were the ones with the most relaxed, modest and temperate leadership style. For example, Interviewee A.U. said:

> *'In the first few years of my career I did not give proper attention to other with power. I simply continued to do things in my own way and declined any demands from such people that I considered 'illogical' or unrealistic. However, over the years, I came to realise that there is no point in being arrogant and self-centred. As long as others are working for the benefit of the people too, I concluded that it was better to listen them and to drop my negative attitudes. I now encourage other leaders to come and share their thoughts and ideas with me.'*

Moreover, a small number of interviewees (five in fact) also indicated that they had quickly learned the value of moderation in relation to their dealings with staff and other community leaders, pointing out that circumstances simply did not allow them to behave as they might have

instinctively wished and, indeed, perhaps had in their earlier years of practice. For instance, Interviewee E.G. said that:

> '…You have family; you can't simply walk away from your district because you find you can't work with some of your colleague staff, with the local politicians or with the provincial governor. You need career stability, your children are going school and moving is out of the question. So, I changed my attitude and behaviour towards others, so I no longer refuse their demands. I listen to them - that is something I used not to do. For the sake of your sanity and your family's well-being you have to adapt your leadership – as I have done over the years.'

Interviewees also acknowledged that their expertise had developed to a significant extent through comradely interaction and exchange with counterpart governors – particularly some of those with whom they had initially trained. This, it seemed, was particularly characteristic among governors at the early stages in their careers. While, the traditional expectation was said to be that junior governors should look to their more long-serving and senior counterparts for advice and guidance, the more common reality, it appeared from the interviews, was of peer support among comrade governors (and despite this being at odds with the By-laws of Candidate District Governors (1994) that state that each

candidate governor should be assigned to a senior governor for observation and guidance in leadership development).

A dozen of the interviewees also emphasized the significance to their own development of expertise of the (often long) hours they had committed to personal study and to attendance on courses of their own choice; some expressing the view that choice here were a reflection of the perceived inadequacies of the official leadership developmental programme provided by the Turkish Government. In this regard, Interviewee O.M. spoke as follows:

> '*Since you are not provided with proper training you are to a large extent on your own. You might manage to fil the gap by private reading and personal study. What I can say is that I, like finding books that might be helpful to me as a leader. Reading the newspapers may also help. What I particularly did was to read books on as diverse a set of subjects as possible. This has really helped me through my career.*'

It was suggested by several governors that one of the best practical ways of gaining expertise was simply through maintaining closer contact with staff and communities. The open-door-policy, as discussed earlier, in this sense, was felt to provide governors with the best first-hand information to help them become more effective leaders.

Interviewee Y.O. on the other hand, claimed that his expertise was mostly enhanced by his practice of listening to all points of view and weighing them up before making his decisions.

Although all district governors indicated using every opportunity to gather knowledge and appraise different perspectives before making decisions as discussed earlier, most signaled their unhappiness at having any of their judgements questioned (an exception here being Interviewee E.E. who, as indicated in section 7.2 stated his receptiveness to such challenge). That said, another interviewee, C.P., also talked about how he was trying to work more democratically and asking the opinions of his staff and the community on various contentious or difficult policy and practice decisions, though emphasizing that the final decisions would have to be his own.

Similar to non-participative decision-making Turkish governors also showed reluctance in delegation. Only two interviewees, Y.G. and M.E., underlined the importance of delegation. Nevertheless, majority thought otherwise. Although governors expressed their heavy workload, this did not urge them to do something like delegation. It was understood that Turkish governors wanted to cling to power and authority all the time and they are reluctant to share them with staff and citizens.

As to self-criticism, only a small number of interviewees, (n=5), volunteered any further thoughts on the extent to which they wrestled with themselves in their leadership role when reaching decisions and making judgements. One of these, Interviewee T.B. acknowledged that there was only fairly weak accountability for governors and that, for the most part, they were perfectly able, if they chose, to operate in a strongly top-down manner, dictating to staff and citizens alike. Another interviewee, C.G.T., expressed his concerns about such top-down approaches when he said,

'In our profession people [governors] cannot easily embrace the general public. Because we see ourselves in the upper level.'

and he continued,

'We have been raised in a wrong way [by those to whom governors have deference] and this cannot be told to you by anyone. So, we have brothers and they used to say that, you have to seat at rear in your official car and nobody can seat beside you. They tried to raise us like this. A senior governor once told me that, he had never taken anyone into his [official] car. I asked why, he replied: it is not a dolmush [a public transport with a capacity of 15-20 persons halts wherever a passenger wants to get on or off]. Nevertheless, I didn't follow

the advice that I was given, I take into my car whoever I saw as a pedestrian on my way and talked to the person. I will retire tomorrow, go out and live among them. I will go to the market, fill out my basket, and wander around. You will live within the public. We couldn't learn to live in the public and thus we fear to retire. How would we live when we retire because there won't be any chauffeur, nobody will call us as sir governors. We are afraid of it.'

7.5 Decisiveness

Twenty of the interviewees cited the importance of decisiveness as a key attribute in successful governorship. This, they explained, related not only to the making of specific decisions but also more generally in their leadership behaviour. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the dominant view was that, while governors felt the need to be decisive at all times in their daily work, this attribute would always be especially important in times of crisis. In this respect, all interviewees inclined towards the view that, in times of crisis, their ability to demonstrate decisive leadership would be vital. Interviewee A.T. expressed himself on this issue as follows:

'As a governor I have always felt that I have to be firm and decisive regardless of the weight of the work I have before me. In everyday routines, I am coming to the office, to do mostly ordinary things but this does not mean that I can be indecisive. Quite the contrary, you have to be firm in your resolve and consistent in whatever you decide because the way you act as a leader affects your staff and communities who must follow. If you waver or show indecisiveness, you may leave people confused or untrusting of you. Being decisive is particularly important in times of crisis when decisions and actions need to be taken promptly. You will be being watched by the staff and public and if they perceive you to be at all uncertain you will lose their confidence and can no longer claim to be leader in the district.'

Several governors also used the word '*cesaret'* (courage) in this context – considering it to be closely associated with 'decisiveness' and, indeed argued this to be one of the attributes that helped distinguish leaders from managers in their experience. As Interviewee A.U. suggested:

'*Taking initiatives and risks defines whether you are a leader or not. This may be the most important thing you do as a governor. If you are brave enough to take initiatives and you have the*

courage to accept whatever outcomes will result, then you are demonstrating leadership qualities. Those who are more inclined to take the position that 'law does not authorise me to do this' and to play safe, - and many do think like this - are not leaders but only managers or indeed administrators!

As outlined earlier in the section on 'responsivity', the importance of decisiveness was similarly emphasised as being especially important whenever a disaster or calamity occurred. Some twenty eight of the interviewees, indeed, referred to the importance for them of arriving at the scene of any disaster as quickly as possible and so being able to provide leadership and take decisive action. Interviewee Y.O. gave an example as follows:

'Last year, I learned from my gendarme commander (the police chief for a rural area) that there had been a big fire in a village and that it had already damaged, if not destroyed, almost half the houses there, because, the houses there are built in close proximity to one another. I immediately stopped the meeting I was in and quickly headed out to the area of fire. When people saw me arriving and getting into action you could see them suddenly starting to get involved too and doing what they could to assist the fire fighters and ambulance crews. I stayed for

some time after the fire was out to help the displaced people. There were thankfully no human casualties. I know that my decisive action and determination to lead in this incident and its aftermath touched people very much and to this day they still look at me with respect and appreciation.'

That said, also highlighted in the interviews were some differences of viewpoint in this respect between those with least experience of crisis (as governors) and their longer-serving counterparts, many of whom were able to talk about a string of difficult events that they had overseen in their governorship careers. While two more recently appointed governors said they felt insufficiently experienced to comment on what it might mean to be decisive in a crisis, their longer-serving colleagues all accepted they had developed personally and learned much about themselves as decisive leaders through direct experience. Interviewee M.G., one of the recently appointed governors from central Turkey, was frank and honest about his lack of experience in saying:

'… I know I am talking about the things that should be done in a crisis but they are only what I have learned so far from my reading books. That is all. I have not encountered any disasters in my district. So, honestly, I am not sure that I quite know what

it means to be a decisive leader in terms disaster management.

I have no direct experience at all but only theoretical knowledge.'

However, in some contrast, Interviewee Y.T. a much more experienced governor responded on this issue by conceding that he had encountered several moments of crisis when he had had to 'grasp the nettle', take difficult decisions quickly, and show demonstrate decisive leadership in a manner quite different from his normal experience in his office.   As he said:

'An administrator, who feels constrained by the boundaries of the laws can only have a public profile when extraordinary things happen – particularly a crisis. Otherwise, it simply isn't possible to become well-known and respected by the people. Although, I don't personally look to advertise myself, there is a reality in which we governors are in fierce competition with one another and each of us wants to be out front in the race. But, as I say, it simply isn't possible to achieve this in the office during periods of ordinary times. Crisis times are the moments when you can project yourself and enhance your public reputation.'

7.6 Integrity and Fairness

As well as attributes of leadership, interviewees were also asked about the 'values' that they considered especially important to their personal practice as governors – and those of integrity and fairness were cited by the majority of respondents (67% in fact). Interviewee M.A., for example, referred to two key notions in expanding on his views about integrity in leadership. He said:

> *'In leadership there are good-beautiful-right and bad-ugly-wrong things. If a person is able to reduce the bad-ugly-wrong things, then s/he is a good leader. I will tell you the secret of this business [of governorship]. The trick is truthfulness. If you your followers see you as truthful and honest, they will trust and follow you. Your words also need to be sincere and to reflect what you are honestly feeling. It is no good if you say one thing but mean another. People will see through you.'*

Another participant, Interviewee A.K., talked about his understanding as to why he thought governors had generally been more popular in Turkish society than politicians saying:

> *'There is a long history of public trust in governors. Unlike politicians, governors, throughout history, have mostly been well*

regarded for their truthfulness. As such, they have earned more credibility in the society [than politicians].'

Like Interviewee M.A., Interviewee M.E., also emphasised the word 'sincerity' as critical to the demonstration of integrity. When talking particularly of relationships with his staff, he said:

'It is crucially important to be sincere in leadership and also to trust your followers. If you are sincere and you demonstrate to your followers that they have your trust, then you will receive sincerity in return. In this way you will be able to rely on your team to implement your projects and plans.'

Interviewee S.D., made much the same point when commenting on her community leadership role in saying:

'If you approach people with sincerity, they will understand you as being genuine. You cannot win people's hearts by pretence. People can easily detect who is sincere and who is not. So, except those who are against you however sincere you are, people will generally respond positively to your sincerity.'

As indicated in the choice of title for this section, the other key word that was much cited in the context of interview discussions about integrity was 'fairness' – a notion explicitly mentioned by one in three of

the governors. Probably this was unsurprising since it is a concept that is enshrined in the Turkish public administrative system, with public servants being duty-bound to behave impartially in public service provision and being entirely neutral towards citizens irrespective of race, religion, class, rank and any other attributes (State Personnel Law, 1965, Article 7).

Interviewee E.E. was one of several who spoke at length about fairness as a key value for leadership, explaining that:

> *'In the societies of the Middle East, Turks had made an excellent job in terms of leadership. Their commitment to justness and fairness created admiration and acceptance among the hearts of the people; otherwise, they would have been at each other's throats all the time. Although, from earliest times, district administrators were themselves rarely hailing from the communities over which they had jurisdiction, people generally and quickly accepted them because of their perceived fairness. The position is no different today. It is just the same. Governors need to be fair, and if they are, there is no reason for them to be unsuccessful. What I mean is, they will achieve whatever they set out to do even if peoples' initial reactions are negative. If the action is fair most people with accept it and acknowledge it.'*

Interestingly, most of those who talked about fairness were also among those who indicated having a strong faith. For instance, Interviewee M.A. suggested that:

> *'There is only one sound purpose in being a governor. It is the same as Islam, which also has one purpose, those being to implement justice.'*

7.7 Intellectual Ability and Emotional Intelligence

Research on the backgrounds of the sample of governors highlighted that they are indeed an elite of highly intelligent and well-educated individuals. As discussed in Chapter 4, however, they are by no means an elite drawn from the upper echelons of society. Indeed, it was shown that most governors come from lower middle or working class backgrounds, have mostly attended quite ordinary schools, but have succeeded in their careers because of their high intellectual abilities and their hard working ethic. In this way, they were able to overcome any relative disadvantage and advance to higher education at one or other of the top universities. As most of the interviewees indicated (some 26 out of the 30) they all benefited from encouragement from their primary and secondary school teachers by going on to university for bachelor's

degrees (see Table 7.1). Moreover, a significant proportion have gone further and completed as Masters (n=12) and/or Ph.D. (n=4). Six of the sample of governors reported being competent in at least two other languages (besides Turkish), and 22 of them were competent in at least one.
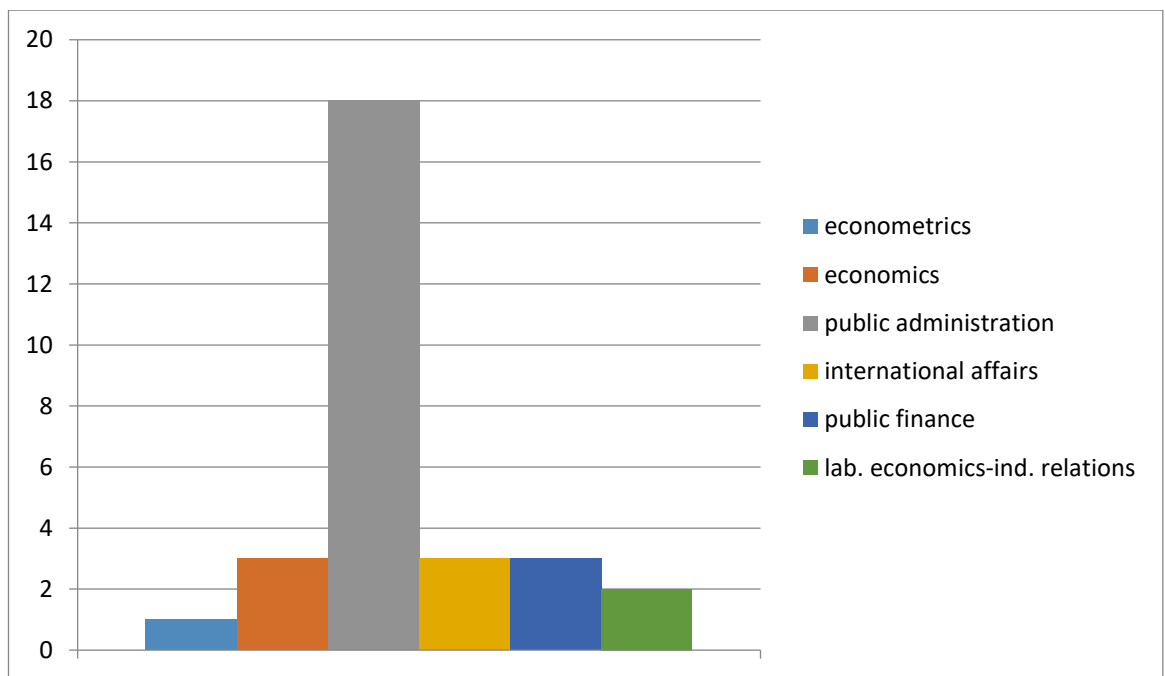

Figure 7. 1 Undergraduate majors completed by the sample of district governors (n=30)

In addition to their academic credentials, many of the interviewees also underlined the importance of emotional intelligence. All acknowledged loving their work and talked of their strong emotional attachment to their

profession. For example, Interviewee S.D. expressed her feelings as follows:

> *'You will not believe how much I love what I am doing. Actually, from early childhood it was my dream job to be a governor. I don't know if it is related to being a woman and wanting to succeed in a male-dominant culture and conquer the lower expectations of females in society and outside the home. I wanted to be a female governor and a successful one. I believe, I am doing fine, and still have the same compassion and love for this profession as I did at the outset.'*

However, not all governors shared such thoughts and some conceded that, for them, the initial love and commitment to the profession had waned somewhat over the years. For example, Interviewee C.P., 60 years old, explained that:

> *'As a child of Anatolia [by which he was referring to a disadvantaged background in a rural area] I wanted to do something big and I chose this [profession] at an early age. At first, I absolutely loved it and wanted to achieve great things. But this love and idealism gradually receded as I encountered various obstacles, mostly coming from above.'*

Emotional intelligence was also a theme to which several other interviewees easily related, regarding it as important to their leadership and in their interactions with staff and communities alike. For example, Interviewee O.C. commented that:

> *'I want to show people that I understand their joy and sorrow. I want to cry with them and I want to share their enjoyment. Their happiness should be my happiness and their distress should be my distress. I want to be here to help people and this is all about emotional involvement.'*

Likewise, Interviewee T.T., explained how she was now particularly prioritising girls' education due to her recognition of the general discouragement through societal pressures on girls to leave school prematurely. Similarly, S.D. reported having launched a women-only course in entrepreneurship and indicated her commitment to raising female pay levels.

Summary

This chapter complements chapters 5 and 6, respectively focusing on administrative and community leadership, by considering generic leadership – i.e. leadership qualities that are considered equally important within the administrative offices and in relation to governance of the local communities over which they have jurisdiction.

The interviews highlighted a number of attributes that governors regarded as particularly important to their effectiveness as leaders in both contexts, these being their accessibility (to staff and the public), their responsivity (again to staff and members of the public), their communication skills, their expertise and knowledge (as a basis for credibility), their decisiveness in making decisions and taking action, their integrity and fairness, and their intellectual ability and determination to make a success of their governorship.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

Introduction

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the interviews conducted during this research revealed interesting insights on numerous aspects of the leadership practice of Turkish district governors. Amongst such insights, of particular interest and significance, however, was the challenge for governors in balancing out the demands and expectations of the central state, whose appointees they are, with those of the local community over whom they have jurisdiction. This circumstance of competing demands and divided loyalties, it will be recalled, formed the first of the two key research questions underpinning the objectives and design of the research study as initially conceived. Accordingly, in this next section of this discussion chapter (8.1), the aim is particularly to draw out the evidence that addresses and responds to that research question. The chapter then turns to the second research question established for the study which concerned the relative significance of personal traits and contingent circumstances in accounting for variance in the approaches to leadership as practiced by different governors.

Accordingly, in the subsequent section (8.2) the focus is similarly on drawing out the evidence from the fieldwork that provides insights in response to that question.

8.1 Between Centre and Locality: The Challenging Role of Turkish District Governors

In various ways, all the Turkish governors highlighted the challenge they felt in reconciling their strong sense of duty and obligations towards the centre with their sense of responsibility and commitment towards their local communities. It was made very evident that both spheres, i.e. the central government and local communities, were perceived as being significant both in terms of the demands made on governors' time and also in defining and shaping their perceptions of the governorship role. Most interviewees, however, also indicated that often, if not most of the time, these two aspects were in some tension with one another, and sometimes even in direct conflict. Indeed, most felt that they were constantly having to manage the division within their responsibilities, as an agent of the centre, on the one hand, with those of a local community leader and figure-head, on the other. This, most

agreed, frequently presented them with dilemmas in prioritisation and decision-making.

That said, several governors indicated their acceptance – in some instances, enthusiasm for – the challenges that such duality of role presented for them – a kind of 'in the middle form of leadership' as one interviewee summarised it. It was also clear that the same duality of role accounted for the tendency of almost all the interviewees to feel obliged to deal with every issue that was brought to their attentions, inevitably leading to heavy work pressures, overload and not a little frustration at times too. Indeed, one of the clearest conclusions from the research concerned the very long hours and hard endeavour put into their roles by all thirty of the interviewee district governors – evidently, for the most part, in serving the interests and expectations of both the central state administration and the communities within their respective local areas.

As explained in Chapter 2, most of the work of the District Governors as agents of the central government tends to be underpinned and shaped by the plethora of regulations and legislation the enactment and compliance with which they are responsible at local level. However, for most of the governors interviewed – and, according to some, probably

for most governors across the state of Turkey – the key priority regarding responsibilities in relation to central government concerns the sustainment of public order and security. Moreover, this is a responsibility that is inevitably likely to have implications for community leadership. This is because governors' actions to maintain public order locally can easily inflame local tensions if due sensitivity is not shown. Particularly if Ankara is urging a tough response to instances of public disorder by a particular group, it was pointed out, the governor's reputation with that group would likely be greatly damaged, and especially if the actions taken were perceived to be unduly harsh or repressive. Governors in such situations evidently face particularly difficult dilemmas in balancing out their central and local responsibilities.

More positively, however, as several interviewees suggested, sensitive handling of difficult public order and security issues at local level can also play to the advantage of the governors if, by careful diplomacy and even-handed choice of actions, they are able to satisfy both sides in a conflict and show themselves to be perceptive and understanding leaders as well as neutral and fair. Furthermore, as a number of interviewees also pointed out, while local politicians seek appeal from their supporters by naturally taking sides, governors need to demonstrate their impartiality and their commitment to serving all

interests if they are to retain respect and recognition as local leaders of the community.

In this sense, it was clear that, in the Turkish context at least, central and local governance responsibilities are often intimately bound up together – with effective local community leadership being a key means by which governors can satisfy central expectations for the maintenance of public order and keeping of the peace. Furthermore, the research highlighted a number of instances where the strong local profile and hands-on actions taken by particular district governors in times of crisis or in response to particular local incidents or difficulties, were similarly recognised as being likely to prove beneficial in terms of both central and local governance.

Another key aspect to emerge from the research, however, in relation to this issue of balancing out responsibilities towards the centre and the locality concerns the significance of differences in the experience levels of governors. In this respect it was clear in the pattern of responses from interviewees that the younger, more recently appointed, governors (and particularly those in their first governorship posts) tended to be especially alert to the expectations of the centre – perhaps

understandably so, given the relatively short time since their appointment by the Internal Affairs Ministry in Ankara. In contrast, those governors who had been in-post for significantly longer, and who had perhaps held office in several different locations around the country, conveyed in their interviews a much stronger focus on their personal profile and reputation within their localities. For them, the primary objective of providing strong paternalistic leadership of their local communities seemed much more evident in the narratives they told and, as older, more experienced and perhaps wiser, governors, they seemed to understand better the importance of success in community leadership, even if, at times, this might involve handling things somewhat differently from the manner expected or wished for by their Ankara-based seniors. That said, they also took the view that, in due course, their efforts on behalf of local communities would probably reap dividends for their careers and for their reputations in the eyes of the centre.

In short, the main finding from the research regarding the first key research question (i.e. balancing out of the demands and expectations of the central state with those of the local community) is that age and experience are key mediators in determining how governors prioritise these respective and potentially conflicting foci of responsibility. For

sure, more than one interviewee was quick to challenge the basis of the research question here by asserting that such conflicts of responsibility between centre and locality were rarely, if ever, profound or problematical. In this respect it was suggested that prioritising community leadership and working closely with local communities and their leaders, would generally also involve serving the interests of central government, a particularly cited example being the gathering of intelligence on potential disorder and security issues (a central government expectation of governors) helping to anticipate and perhaps pre-empt troubles actually breaking out locally.

However, the very clear indication from among the longer-serving governors was that what was felt to matter most, and what, above all, tended to shape their sense of priorities and day-to-day actions, was their commitment to nurturing a strong positive relationship with their local communities, to providing the form of engaged patriotic leadership that they understood local people to want and expect from their governor – indeed, that many of them had personally recalled themselves having appreciated in their formative years as young people in their home communities.

Also very clear from the interviews were the kinds of strategies deployed by governors in seeking to build such a sense of patriotic community leadership. Key here, it was repeatedly emphasised, was to become as involved as possible with local people in as many different settings and contexts as possible; and doing so from the earliest days of assuming a governorship. Getting out and about, to meet with as many people as possible, for example, by visits to teahouses, and by arranging meetings with other local leaders, it was emphasised, were valuable steps in signalling commitment to the locality. Likewise, creating a warm and receptive atmosphere with people; of friendship and of concern to provide support in whatever ways possible, was felt to be very important, again especially early on, to establish positive relationships and to minimise any barriers and negative pre-conceptions about the new governor.

Particularly significant in the testimony in this respect of many governors was also their preparedness to put themselves at some personal risk at times of strife or danger in their desire to ensure satisfactory resolution of the situation. For example, Interviewee S.D., recounted how, on hearing unconfirmed reports about an impending terrorist attack on the police headquarters of her district, she had personally rushed to the police building with her gun at the ready in

anticipation of an attack. Although, she appreciated that her presence could hardly add anything to the strength of the local police force on hand there, she explained her actions wholly in terms of demonstrating courage and leadership to the people of the district and also her support for the police officers whose morale, she said, had been greatly lifted by her presence that day.

In similar vein, Interviewee Y.T. also highlighted the importance of his being at the centre of things when crises occurred and how such visible presence was deemed so important among his community. As he explained:

> *'It is important for a governor to go beyond routine work when a crisis occurs. It is moments like that where your reputation as a governor is on the line and when the community can see who you are and appreciate your qualities as their leader'.*

But he also acknowledged that it was also in times of crisis, if governors were able to achieve good outcomes, their achievements would also be noted by central government and their prospects for future promotion probably enhanced accordingly.

8.2. Personal Traits or Circumstantial Contingencies? Understanding the Leadership Drivers of District Governors

Turning to the second key question of this thesis brings us to the issue of the respective significance of personal traits and context in accounting for variance in leadership practice among district governors in Turkey. As with the first question on managing the balance between the centre and the locality, the research design was essentially qualitative rather than quantitative in nature. It therefore did not seek to measure and explain variance through statistical modelling. However, the set of responses gathered from interviewees certainly provided good insights on how governors themselves perceived the relative significance of their own personal traits, on the one hand, and of the particular circumstances and contingencies prevalent in the local area, on the other. Here, too, from the mass of data gathered through the interviews, a few salient findings were easily distilled and together these provided a clear narrative on the subject.

All thirty interviewees emphasised the significance of geographical, ethnic and cultural diversity of Turkish districts – not just in historical terms but persisting into the contemporary context too. They also all

acknowledged that their approach to leadership had to vary according to the particular locality and its circumstances for a district level governing process to be effective. At the same time, however, there was acknowledgement that, as individuals, each brought their own style and personality to the role and that their approach as a leader was a reflection both of their own character and their response to the context of the local setting and its issues and priorities.

A common reaction in discussion on this subject was for governors to suggest that personal traits were more likely to be the key determinants of their leadership practice within their offices, i.e. in relation to the conduct of administrative duties and in overseeing their teams of staff, but that context and circumstance were all important in relation to their practice in community leadership. In this respect, all interviewees were of the view that their actions and responses as community leaders needed to be carefully tailored to the particular situation and to a particular set of prevailing circumstances, threats and opportunities.

Certainly much testimony was provided by governors to underline the importance of personal traits as they understood the shaping of their own leadership practices, for example, the many comments proffered

about operating an 'open door policy', and being inclusive in relation to all staff in the governor's office, and similarly adopting a 'hands on'/'out-and-about' approach to their community leadership responsibilities. Moreover, interviewees all accepted that the more personal characteristics such as decisiveness and extraversion/introversion, and values such as integrity and fair-mindedness, were likely to be expressed equally in both their administrative and community leadership roles.

A particularly interesting question here, however, concerned the gender dimension to leadership, and whether female governors consider their leadership approach to be significantly different from that of their male counterparts, and vice versa. Again, the nature of the research design and the imbalance in the gender balance of the sample (that was more than proportionate in relation to the pattern across Turkey as a whole, but meant just four females in the sample) made drawing anything more than tentative conclusions on this aspect very difficult. Nevertheless, like their male peers, female governors tended to practise more managerial and less visionary form of leadership, in their earlier years of governorship. In some fields, however, such as girls' education and business development for women's groups, female governors

demonstrated particular courage and innovation in leading and supporting new initiative.

On the whole, interviewees agreed that, while initially in their careers they had followed their instincts and behaved as their natural selves, with the benefit of experience and the learning they had acquired from the special training they had received in preparation for governorship, their leadership practice had evolved as they developed the confidence to adapt their approach and become more flexible and responsive to the confronting issues and opportunities. In particular, this was widely felt to be the case in relation to community leadership, where growing proficiency, self-assurance and familiarity with the role enabled governors to approach issues in more tailored and bespoke ways, and above all to have the courage and resolve to do things differently when the confronting situation suggested a fresh approach was needed. Again, age and experience, were felt to be all important here, with the longer-serving governors acknowledging that they would be less likely now than in their earlier years to consult and follow the formal rule books or official guidance, or indeed to seek help from Ankara, but instead to be by driven by their instincts and experience.

More than that, longer serving governors tended to be more preoccupied with developing and pursuing their own agendas for the benefit of their local districts rather than with following the expectations of the centre as to the priorities of a district governor. This was especially evident from the extensive range of community leadership initiatives and actions that the interviewees chose to talk about to illustrate their leadership practice, so many of which were clearly responses to particular needs and problems for groups and individuals in the locality.

Moreover, most such examples that were cited were place-specific and, according to the interviewees, would probably have been handled differently had they arisen in another city or district. Interviewee E.U., for instance, talked about his response to a traffic accident that was brought to his attention and in which an official police car had hit and killed a pedestrian. The incident, he explained, created uproar among members of the community and prompted some worrying anti-governmental demonstrations that in turn created a risk to public order and safety. The governor went on to say that:

> *'Had the same accident happened in many other places in the country, (including that of his current governorship), it would*

most likely would have been regarded as just another unfortunate accident'.

But because it had happened where it did, and because the police were directly involved in the incident, he felt it inappropriate to follow the normal procedure of relying on the police and security forces to follow up. Instead, he personally visited the local leaders, not just to discuss the circumstances of the accident but also to try and convince the demonstrators to suspend their actions and, instead, to work with him constructively to address the concerns underlying their anger – happily, to which they agreed. He went on to explain that, not only was a dangerously escalating security situation averted that day, but that the subsequent on-going engagement he established with the community as a result, did much to improve relations with the police and other state institutions thereafter.

Another example that was cited and which again illustrated governors following their instincts, and personally planning and overseeing projects and initiatives specifically to address local problems and for the betterment of their areas, rather than following any standard template or pre-formulated regional policy agenda of the central state, concerned cultural identity and girls' education. Again, interviewee M.E., the

governor who related this example, pointed out that the project that he had inspired and led, though well respected and appreciated in its locality – an eastern district - would probably have been viewed negatively in some other places – as he emphasised, '*context is all'*. In his district, as in others in the east of Turkey, he explained, girls' education has always suffered as a result of gender-based prejudices that result in a lack of parental support for sending their daughters to school. The situation, he emphasised, is quite different in most western districts where gender equality in education in much more deeply rooted.   Accordingly, he had become determined to address the obstacles and to work with the schools and with parental groups to change attitudes and to effect a culture shift to close the educational attainment gap between boys and girls in his district. To this end he had embarked on a long-term and culturally very challenging initiative, but one, for which, he suggested, there were already positive signs of progress having already been made.

The overarching narrative, then, that emerged from such interview discussions regarding the second research question about personal traits and context was of broad similarity between governors with regard to the personal qualities of leadership that defined and shaped their practice. These in turn reflected the broad commonality of upbringing,

education, training and career paths as office holders. However, particularly with regard to community leadership, difference in approach and practice reflected the significantly diverse range of contexts within which governors were operating, and the variance in the needs and expectations of the communities over which they had jurisdiction and in the kinds of issues they had to confront and respond.

In discussing their personal approaches to leadership, or in other words, those (broadly similar) qualities or traits that the interviewees themselves considered important hallmarks of their own leadership style, almost all cited the following five: decisiveness, integrity, fairness, intelligence, and patriotism. As suggested above, the fact that all governors are appointed by the state, having been successful in their school and university education, having been applicants to a carefully devised and rigorously conducted state-run recruitment and selection process, and then passed through an extensive governor training and induction programme, probably goes a long way in accounting for such apparent commonality in relation to personal traits among the district governors, as highlighted among the interviewees for this research. As previously discussed, all referred to the importance to their leadership practice of being decisive in both decision-making and in enacting those actions and to their assessment of themselves as purposeful, focused,

resolute and positive in their determination to get things done. All also spoke about the importance they attached to their leadership behaviour being recognised as honest and fair-minded, even when their decisions might not be popular with some parties. All referred also to the importance to their leadership practice of their intellectual abilities – their capacity to absorb and analyse complex and often contradictory information, to be able to question and challenge those presenting arguments and to make sound cases for particular actions and interventions, and their competence at diagnosing problems logically and identifying realistic solutions. Interestingly, all also referred to their patriotism and loyalty towards the Turkish state and to their devotion to duty as a governor in serving the interest of all citizens within their districts.

Yet, all were also very clear in their intent to emphasise the 'specialness' and distinctiveness of each of the districts of Turkey with which they had experience – whether in office as a governor or in their upbringing preceding their career choice. All talked with their own examples and stories about how their leadership practice, particularly in terms of their prioritisation of issues and of how their ways of working with communities needed to be shaped and developed, adapted and customised to the local situation and the particular presenting problems

and expectations in the community. As indicated earlier, all felt that their success as a district governor depended above all else on their willingness and ability not only to be flexible in addressing local issues but also to be outward-looking and visible, open and receptive to the people and to build confidence within the community as to their leadership qualities and motivation. But then those with longer service records in governorship and who had held office in several different districts, were very clear that their competence in these respects grew far more through experience of both successful and unsuccessful efforts, than by formal training or by following instructions and advice from their superiors at province or state levels.

Summary

Findings of the research have been discussed in this chapter with a particular focus on the two research questions. The first section has taken stock of the evidence gathered on how governors balance out the conflicting demands and expectations of the centre and the locality. Then in the second section, the focus moved on to the respective significance of personal leadership qualities and context and contingencies in shaping the leadership practice of governors, thus

addressing the second key research question. In both respects, the evidence suggests the significance of age and length of experience of governorship as mediating factors, with the leadership of the older, longer-serving office-holders being both more strongly driven and shaped by local community interests, context and circumstance than either by central government or their own personal leadership traits and preferences.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter begins with a brief summary of the main findings of the thesis. It then considers the contribution of the research as a whole and reflects upon its implications for the future development of leadership within Turkey's district governance system. Finally, it offers thoughts about the future for that system based on the findings of the research in relation to the two key questions respectively concerning the balancing out of responsibilities towards the centre and the locality and the significance of personal traits and contextual factors on governors' leadership practice in Turkish districts.

9.1 Summary of Key Findings

This study set out to provide insights on two key research questions: respectively concerning the ways in which Turkish governors balance out their responsibilities towards the central government and the local communities over which they have jurisdiction and the impact of personal traits and contingent circumstances upon their approach to

leadership. Key findings in these respects were the principal subject of discussion in the preceding chapter, but can be summarised as follows:

9.1.1 Research Question 1: The Central-Local Balance

The first research question was about how Turkish Governors balance out their responsibilities towards the central government with those of towards the locality and the communities over which they have jurisdiction. In essence, in this regard, the research found that experience is a particularly significant mediating factor in relation to the first research question with the interview evidence suggesting that, initially in their careers, governors are more likely to prioritise their responsibilities and accountabilities towards their superiors in central government in Ankara, but that, with time and experience, they are increasingly likely to prioritise their responsibilities and sense of duty towards their local communities.

9.1.2 Research Question 2: Balancing Personal Qualities with Local Context

The second research question concerned the impact on the leadership practice of governors, of, on the one hand, context and local circumstances and, on the other, personal traits. Here, the key finding was that, while personal traits are inevitably significant in shaping leadership approaches and behaviour within the internal environment of their own offices, and particularly in relation to their staff, the approach towards community leadership is much more strongly contingent upon the particular circumstances and issues prevalent in the locality. Whereas the education and training programmes through which governors have been inducted tend to result in relatively similar patterns of administrative leadership behaviour within the offices of different governors, approaches to community leadership are generally more diverse and context-specific. This is because of variance in the nature of the communities themselves and the confronting problems and expectations with which governors have to deal. Again, age, length of service and diversity of experience are key factors in shaping governors' approaches to community leadership and their ability to sustain public confidence and respect.

In addition to these key findings, and along the way, the research has also uncovered and highlighted a number of other significant aspects about district governorship in Turkey, which are summarised in the following paragraphs.

9.1.3 Governorship: A Career Ambition from an Early Age

Turkish governors mostly hail from lower middle or working class backgrounds and often from rural areas. Most of them had aspirations from an early age to become a governor; their role model in this respect typically being the one they remember visiting their school or neighbourhood when they were very young and whom they witnessed receiving warm salutations from the local public who, in the highly hierarchical society that has always characterised Turkey, held their governors in high esteem and regarded then as father figures to be respected and venerated. Such early childhood recollections had powerful impacts on the career decisions of most interviewees and drew them towards the pursuit of higher education in public administration with a view to bettering themselves and their families through a public service post in their state of Turkey.

9.1.4 Belief in Leadership as being In-Born

Most governors regard leadership as innate and consider themselves naturally inclined both to want to lead and to be effective as leaders. At the same time, however, they also acknowledge and appreciate the importance of education and training in leadership development, as preparation for office not only to gain knowledge of Turkish legislation and the duties of district administration, but also to introduce them to a wide range of experiences in the field of district administration.

9.1.5 The Individualistic Nature of Leadership Practice

Despite the commonalities in their education and training, and in their patriotic commitment to duty, a clear and defining characteristic of the leadership practice of Turkish governors is its individuality, with each governor administering their district in their own style and personality and with their own priorities and perspectives to the fore. Closely connected with this commonly felt patriotic, yet very personal and individualistic approaches to leadership, is a shared passion for the role, which is reflected in exceptional hard-working by all governors. Perhaps understandably, however, the research noted a tendency for

that passion for the role to wane with time over the duration of governors' careers.

9.1.6 Democratic Approaches in Office Management but Autocratic Tendencies in Decision-Making for Community Leadership

Governors commonly seek to create an engaged and participative working environment within their administration teams and pay close attention to their staff, with most operating an open-door policy for all. They understand the benefits of having strongly motivated teams and generally regard the rewarding of hard work and achievement as more important and effective than the application of sanctions for those who slack or disappoint in other ways.

That said, when it comes to decision-making, governors to a person, tend to take personal responsibility and are usually reluctant to share their authority, whether by delegation or by shared participation. From the research findings, it seems that such tendencies reflect above all the sense of paternalistic responsibility that pervades governors' leadership practice, and which is as evident among female governors as it is of male members of the profession.

9.1.7 The Significance of Leadership in Times of Crisis

Crises of one form or another are not uncommon occurrences for Turkish governors and, while unwelcome and unfortunate, they do tend to provide the moments when the leadership aptitude and talent of office holders becomes most apparent and put to the test. This is all the more so in that, with limited resources at their immediate disposal to commit to resolving a crisis – whether in monetary or staffing terms, governors have to a large extent to rely on their own personal skills and interventions in their leadership practice to address the presenting problems.

9.1.8 Good Governance and the Maintenance of Cordial Community Relations

As the thesis has highlighted, the districts of Turkey each have their own distinct character in terms of local culture, ethnic mix, religious practices and other social attributes and patterns. Governors recognise the considerable significance for their leadership practice of all such local circumstances and generally take the view that the most important part of their role concerns the maintenance of cordial relations with local communities, a task that, in many districts of Turkey, implies sensitive

management of inter-relations between different community groups, particularly as defined by culture, ethnicity and religion. Accordingly, their approach to governance and community leadership tends frequently to be shaped above all by the particular social differences and sensitivities that are unique to the specific geographical settings, and for which there is rarely much preparatory education or prior training. But from the research findings, it seems governors are quick to learn and adapt their leadership behaviour to apply themselves to the particular challenges in the districts to which they are appointed, recognising that their success in winning and sustaining public confidence and respect depends more than anything on the harmony and well-being between, as much as within, community groups.

9.1.9 Decisiveness, Fairness, Emotional Intelligence and Communications Skills: The Perceived Key Personal Qualities for Effective District Governance and Leadership

From a governors' point of view, the four most important key personal qualities for effectiveness in leadership are regarded to be 'decisiveness', 'fairness', 'emotional intelligence' and 'communication skills'. Courage in the taking of decisions, a sense of fairness and justice for all, sensitivity towards others in confronting situations and the

ability to show empathy, plus a concern to commune with others, to keep people informed and confident that their interests are heart, are considered by district governors to be the key hall-marks of good governance, albeit recognising that at different times and in different localities and contexts, the priority of these four attributes is likely to differ somewhat.

9.1.10 The New Power of Local Politicians; Meagre Resources for Local Investment; and Rivalry Between Colleagues: Three Key Challenges to the Leadership of District Governors

The leadership of Turkish district governors faces many challenges – and again, these vary by place and time. However, three particular issues identified in the research by governors as being especially testing for their leadership are the emergence of competitive power and influence from locally elected politicians; the inadequacy of the centrally-provided financial resources available to governors to invest in their localities; and the competitive rivalry between governors as each seeks to make their mark and achieve more than their colleagues. While the establishment and growth of democratically elected local governance across Turkey could be said to herald many potential benefits, and not least in terms of accountability and representation, for

district governors, it is viewed more negatively for the competitive and complicating impacts it is having with regard to their own relations with local communities. Governors are also quick to compare in negative terms the short-termist and electorally-driven instincts of local politicians with what they perceive to be the more strategic and long-term objectives that shape their own priorities in local leadership.

They are also mindful, however, that their capacity to realise such strategic objectives is hindered by the insufficiency of resources afforded to them by their superiors in central government thus limiting the pace and scale of impact that they would wish. This, they suggest, is also a constraint that plays into the hands of locally elected politicians who will be quick to promise improvements and new projects, and so endear themselves to their voters, irrespective of the possibility of funding for such initiatives. Unhelpful competitiveness and rivalry between governors to become renowned for success within their districts, and particularly for such success to result in further career advancement and promotion to a provincial governorship, is also regarded by many as counterproductive through creating tensions and raising public expectations that are unlikely to be fulfilled, at least in the short term. As a result, most governors would like to see a stronger

spirit of collaboration and mutual support among all their peers rather than additional pressures to have to live up to.

9.1.11 The Devolution Debate and an Uncertain Future for District Governorships

As indicated in Chapter 2, successive governments since the 1980s in Turkey have been working on the reform and development of local government and particularly on a process of devolving power from the centre to local authorities. Driven by the Turkish intelligentsia and reflecting wider global developments in public governance, the trend of decentralisation continues although it is something that the majority of governors see largely in negative terms and as threatening the future of their governorships.

Turkish lawmakers have been busy in recent decades introducing new laws and amending older ones to shape this devolution programme, and particularly so in the past fifteen years or so under the leadership of the AKP (Justice and Development Party). Indeed, most governors suggest that only national security issues, including the Kurdish question, have prevented the government from pushing ahead more

quickly with the establishment and development of local government as a replacement framework for the district and provincial governorships. Moreover, without doubt, the political upheaval following the military coup attempt of mid-July 2016 and the consequent introduction of a state of emergency across Turkey, has provided a further block on the local government development agenda, albeit, probably a temporary one only.

Unsurprisingly, governors are generally pessimistic about the future for their role in public administration in Turkey and regret the trend towards devolution through the development of local government. Mostly, they take the view that stability, security and social and economic development across such a large and diverse country will be better served through the 'tried and tested' framework of provincial and district governorships as appointed by the centre.

9.2 Research Contribution

The field-research for this thesis has generated much evidence about the nature and practice of leadership in the particular public organisational setting of Turkey's district administration. As such, it has helped to fill a significant gap in the leadership literature, especially in relation to public organisations within developing state contexts. The vast majority of the published literature on leadership centres on its practice within the Western world, and with a particularly dominant focus on the private-business-sector. However, by focusing both on leadership in Turkey's public administrative sector, the contribution of the thesis can be assessed in terms of helping to balance up appreciation and understanding of leadership in quite different context and circumstances.

By its design, moreover, and its fieldwork across the highly diverse state of Turkey, the study has also been able to cast light on the range of factors that shape and make leadership what it is and what it can be in different public administrative settings, some of which are shaped by personal qualities or traits, others by circumstances and context. Furthermore, the study has focused on, and highlighted, issues that

serve to assist understanding of a practical nature, quite as much as for academic interest. For leadership is, of course, a very practical subject, and appreciation of the factors that account for different behaviours in different real-life settings and situations, is always going to form a potentially valuable component of any leadership training and development programme. Indeed, a particular motivation for this research from the outset was, it will be recalled, the author's interest to assess the suitability and effectiveness of the existing leadership programme provided by the Turkish Internal Affairs Ministry and which must be undertaken by all prospective district governors in the country. In this context, the findings of the research should surely provide a helpful body of knowledge and a strong strand of analytical thinking that should usefully inform any such learning and development experience.

As was pointed out by several governors in the course of the fieldwork for this research, learning about leadership tends to be strongest through individual experiences and which, in most cases, it was suggested, takes at least a decade of practice in the role. Perhaps such time might be shortened for many newly appointed governors if they were aware of the findings of this thesis and of the experiences of, and insights into, governorship that the research here has provided.

9.3 Reflections on the Research Contribution

Although the research for this thesis was carefully designed, planned and executed, inevitably, with the benefit of hindsight, it is not difficult to think of aspects that might have been done differently and better, and to identify limitations to what has been learned and to understanding of the issues at the heart of the study.

A study of just 30 out of more than 900 Turkish district governorships itself must be seen as a limitation, and evidently there would have potentially been much more to be learned had the sample been larger or, indeed, perhaps even if differently compiled. There have also been limitations to the extent of learning that have resulted from the choice to rely almost wholly on interviews with governors personally – not least because of limited amounts of time that each could give to the research, given that all are extremely busy people. While all thirty were extremely generous with their time and supportive of the aims and value of the research, inevitably, in many instances, more insights would surely have derived from still longer, or follow-up, interviews, or by triangulation through interviews with some of the office staff or local politicians. Also relevant here to mention is the fact that the interviews

were all conducted in Turkish, yet eventually, of course, with many quotations from those sessions, having to be translated and presented in this thesis in the English language.   Much care was taken in undertaking such translation to present the comments in equivalent verbatim form. However, inevitably, in some instances, some degree of the full meaning of certain comments will have been 'lost in translation', especially where Turkish idiom or humour lacks any obvious English counterpart.

9.4 Conclusion

This research has examined the leadership practices of Turkish district governors and the manner in which they balance out their responsibilities to the central government of the state with those towards local communities and, in so doing, the significance of personal qualities and traits of leadership on the one hand and context and circumstance of place and confronting local issues on the other. The study has highlighted the complex and demanding leadership role that governors are expected to undertake and the individualistic approaches and styles that are pursued to address diverse issues and problems within their respective districts.   Personality and personal competence

are evidently important differentiators in this regard. However, the overriding common theme that emerges from the evidence gathered through the research is the exceptional affection and commitment of district governors towards their role and for the local communities that they serve as well as lead.

Despite a looming sense of uncertainty about their future as office-holders, district governors remain resilient and, above all, confident in their belief that the leadership that they are able to provide at the interface between the central state and the locality in public administration holds most hope for the future in the ever-changing social, economic and political environment that is modern-day Turkey.

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