

# **REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN**

*On the rights of the manuscript*

## **ABSTRACT**

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

### **ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES IN THE STATE-BUILDING PROCESS OF THE NEW INDEPENDENT TURKIC REPUBLIC**

Speciality: 5909.01 – Public Administration

Field of science: Political sciences

Applicant: **Saliha Gizem Ali Onder**

**Baku – 2025**

The dissertation has been completed at the “Department of Public Service and Human Resources Politics” of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Scientific supervisor: doctor of philosophy in political sciences,  
associate professor  
**Rajab Zakir Rahimli**

Official opponents: doctor of political science  
**Elnur Beybala Hajaliyev**

doctor of philosophy in political sciences  
**Vasif Sultan Ismayilov**

doctor of philosophy in political sciences  
**Sanubar Adishirin Babashova**

Dissertation council FD 2.30 of Supreme Attestation Commission under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at The Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Chairman of the  
Dissertation council:



Scientific secretary of the  
Dissertation Council:

Chairman of the  
scientific seminar:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "A. Naxif", is written over a horizontal line.

academician

**Urxan Kazim Alakbarov**

doctor of political science,  
associate professor  
**Sevda Aghamirza Aliyeva**

doctor of political science,  
professor  
**Aqiya Habib Nakhchivanli**

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISSERTATION

**Relevance of the topic and degree of development.** The nation-state is a stage and form of state development based on the principles of national sovereignty and citizenship, as well as a unified language, culture, legal, and financial system.<sup>1</sup> Nations can be categorized into Western Europe's "permanent nations" (such as England and France), "immigrant nations" that emerged from colonial nationalism (such as the United States, Canada, and Australia), "ethnically-based nations" that arose after the collapse of empires in Central and Eastern Europe (such as Germany), and "state-based nations" in Africa and Asia.<sup>2</sup> A key feature of the Turkic republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus, which Smith classified as state-based nations, is that they not only established a national state but also restored the state structure.

During the Tsarist Russian period, a permanent local administrative structure existed in Central Asia and the Caucasus, which demonstrated a bureaucratic partnership that did not align with national interests. During the era of the People's Republics, administrative structures were established to a certain extent. In the Soviet period, these republics adopted the characteristics of existing as components of a federal state. Between 1917 and 1922, these republics existed as independent states; between 1922 and 1936, they transitioned to a regional administrative status; and between 1936 and 1991, they became part of the Soviet Union as unified republics.<sup>3</sup> Throughout this process, local administrative structures operated in accordance with the policies set by central governing bodies.

In the post-independence period, uncertainty arose regarding which ideology would replace Marxism-Leninism, the dominant ideology of the Soviet era. The most notable policy implemented during this time was the creation of a national identity free from Soviet influence. In

---

<sup>1</sup>Abbasbəyli, A.N. Qloballaşan dünyada milli dövlət. / A.N.Abbasbəyli, N.S.Məmmədşadə - Bakı: Elm və təhsil, - 2015. - 228 s.

<sup>2</sup>Smith, A. D. State and Nation in the Third World: the Western state and African nationalism / A.D.Smith. - Britain: A Member of the Harvester Press Group, - 1983. - 171 p.

<sup>3</sup>Aslanov, E. Azərbaycan'da Kamu Yönetimi Reformu : / siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. / - Ankara, 2007. - 362 s.

other words, the national identity shaped within the Marxist-Leninist framework was replaced by one based on the social affiliations of the pre-Soviet era. The formation of national identity in the Central Asian and Caucasian republics after independence was carried out through a series of reforms. The processes occurring in the economic, political, cultural, social, and international spheres varied in scope across each republic.

The existence of an organization that unites all countries in the region where the new independent Turkic republics are located could make significant contributions to nation-state building. With the aim of promoting cooperation in economic, diplomatic, and cultural spheres and developing a network of multilateral relations, the Summits of the Heads of State of Turkic-Speaking Countries were initiated in 1992 and continued until 2010, marking the initial phase of the formation of the Organization of Turkic States. Established by the Nakhchivan Agreement in 2009 and officially defined at the Istanbul Summit in 2010, the Turkic Council was renamed the Organization of Turkic States at its eighth summit, held in Istanbul on November 12, 2021. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkey are full members, while Turkmenistan and Hungary hold observer status within the organization.

The factors that generate mutual interest and underscore the relevance of the dissertation topic include the following:

- The effects of the various integration methods implemented by Moscow during the Soviet era to reduce tendencies toward independence among the nations and republics of the Soviet Union and to create a unified Soviet people continue to persist today.

- The Turkic republics aimed to replace the hierarchical and centralized structures inherited from the Soviet era with administrative systems that prioritize national interests. However, the successful implementation of this transformation required not only comprehensive reforms but also the deep-rooted institutionalization of these reforms within society.

- These new independent countries, while implementing various policies in their economic structures and state and municipal administration, have also taken steps toward establishing a state model

based on modern principles such as the rule of law, democracy, and human rights. These efforts have been shaped according to the unique conditions and needs of each country.

- As the new independent Turkic republics implement various policies in state and municipal administration, the study of territorial organization holds significant importance. Local executive authorities and self-governing bodies play a central role in shaping the administrative and political framework of these states.

- Executive authority is characterized by hierarchy, universal applicability in practice, and systematic functioning, maintaining its relevance at all times. The organization of local self-governing bodies in each country is directly linked to the establishment of decision-making, executive, and other administrative institutions.

- Regional and ethnic conflicts, along with supranational and subnational identities, not only influence the nation-building process of independent Turkic republics but may also lead to changes in the boundaries of administrative-territorial divisions.

- For integration efforts in the Turkic world to reach a stage that considers the interests of all parties, it is essential that initiatives based on shared history, language, and identity progress in a stable and structured manner. One of the key examples of regional integration efforts today is the Organization of Turkic States.

The aspects mentioned above make the study of the organizational development of central and local administrative bodies in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan during the post-Soviet nation-building process scientifically relevant. This research also involves examining the interactions between administrative institutions in each country and conducting a comparative analysis of these structures.

The focus of the dissertation on the organization and development of central and local administrative bodies in new independent Turkic republics necessitates the study of the historical evolution of administrative structures. This, in turn, makes the analysis of the Soviet-era central and local administrative systems essential. Therefore, the dissertation first examines the economic and social conditions of the late Soviet period, along with its central and local

administrative systems. It then analyzes the institutional reforms undertaken by the Turkic republics in their nation-building processes after gaining independence, specifically addressing the organizational structures of the presidency, the cabinet of ministers, local executive authorities, and self-governing bodies.

In the context of research on socio-economic and political-administrative changes in the nation-building processes of the new independent Turkic republics, the book "National State in a Globalizing World" by A.N.Abbasbəyli and N.S.Məmmədşadə not only provides general information about globalization but also explains the global institutions and threats related to it. H.Alkan's article "The Political Institutionalization Process in Turkish Republics" outlines the key concepts regarding post-Soviet regimes. E.Kurubaş's article "An Evaluation of New Nation-Building Processes in Post-USSR Turkic Republics" identifies the influence of the Soviet legacy on the nation-building processes in the new Turkic republics.<sup>4</sup>

There are also studies that focus on and analyze changes in nation-building and administrative systems in the post-Soviet period within a single country. In his 2023 article "Reorganization of State Administration and Public Personnel Regime in Azerbaijan", R. Rəhimli discusses the development of state administration and the state personnel regime in Azerbaijan. M. Həsənov, in his article "Reorganization of the State and Efforts to Strengthen Local Governments in the Republic of Azerbaijan", analyzes Azerbaijan's state administration both in the pre-independence period and in the subsequent periods.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>Abbasbəyli, A.N. Qloballaşan dünyada milli dövlət. / A.N.Abbasbəyli, N.S.Məmmədşadə - Bakı: Elm və təhsil, - 2015. - 228 s. ; Alkan, H. Türk Cumhuriyetlerinde Siyasal Kurumsallaşma Süreci: Geçen Yirmi Yılın Bir Bilançosu // - Ankara: Bilig, - 2012. № 61, - s. 1-30. ; Kurubaş, E. SSCB Sonrası Türk Cumhuriyetlerinde Yeni Uluslaşma Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme // - Türkiye: Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika, - 2006. 2, № 5, - s. 112-133.

<sup>5</sup>Rehimli, R. Azərbaycan'da Devlet Yönetiminin Yeniden Yapılanması ve Kamu Personel Rejimi // - Türkiye: Uluslararası Yönetim Akademisi Dergisi, - 2023. 6, № 3, - s. 593-609.; Hasanoğlu, M. Azərbaycan Cumhuriyeti'nde Devletin Yeniden Yapılandırılması ve Yerel Yönetimlerin Güçlendirilmesi Çabaları // - Ankara: Sayıştay Dergisi, - 2008. № 69, - s. 73-90.

The book chapter "Public Sector Reforms in Kazakhstan" by A.Ibrayeva and T.Nazhina identifies the reforms related to the presidency, local executive authorities, and local self-governing bodies. In the article "Public Administration in Central Asia after Independence: The Case of Kazakhstan—Structure and Reforms", Ş.Zavalsız and H.Ateş discuss the state administration in Kazakhstan, focusing on central and local administrative bodies during the Soviet era and after independence.<sup>6</sup>

In her article "Kyrgyzstan's Public Sector Reforms: 1991–2010", M.Baimyrzaeva argues that changes in formal legal measures were implemented and identifies the negative side effects of the reforms. In their article "Public Administration in Kyrgyzstan", S.Liebert and M.Tiulegenov discuss the problems arising in state administration and examine the social aspects of governance.<sup>7</sup>

In his article "Ethnicity, State Structure, and Foreign Policy: Uzbekistan and Uzbeks Abroad", M.Fumagallini discusses state building and foreign policy in the post-independence period, using the thesis that nationhood is based on geographical foundations. In the book chapter "Uzbekistan Republic: The Uzbek Model" by Ç.Balım and Y.E.Gürbüz, information is provided about state building and political life in Uzbekistan.<sup>8</sup>

In his article "The Future of the Political Regime in Turkmenistan: An Evaluation from the Perspective of Internal and External Dynamics", H.Alkan focuses on socio-economic, institutional, and

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibrayeva, A. R. Public sector reforms in Kazakhstan / A.R.Ibrayeva, T.Nezhina // Public administration in post-communist countries, - Washington: - 2013. - p. 43-68.; Zavalsız, Ş. Bağımsızlık Sonrası Orta Asya'da Kamu Yönetimi: Kazakistan Örneğinde Yapı ve Reformlar / Ş. Zavalsız, H.Ateş // Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi, - İzmir: - 2022. 22, № 2, - s. 515-547.

<sup>7</sup>Baimyrzaeva, M. Kyrgyzstan's public sector reforms: 1991–2010 // - United Kingdom: International Journal of Public Administration, - 2011. 34, № 9, - p. 555-566.; Liebert, S. Public administration in Kyrgyzstan / S.Liebert, M.Tiulegenov // Public Administration in Post-Communist Countries, - London: - 2013. - p. 69-102.

<sup>8</sup>Fumagalli, M. Etnisite, Devlet Yapılanması ve Dış Politika: Özbekistan ve 'Ülke Dışındaki Özbekler' // - Türkiye: Orta Asya ve Kafkasya Araştırmaları, - 2007. 2, № 4, - s. 203-224.; Balım, Ç. O'zbekiston Respublikasi:'Özbek Modeli' / Ç.Balım, Y.E.Gürbüz // Bağımsızlıklarının Yirminci Yılında Orta Asya Cumhuriyetleri, - Ankara: - 2012. - s. 221-311.

international dynamics, as well as inter-elite political struggles. In the book chapter "Turkmenistan: From Tribe to Nation" by E.Yıldırım, state building and political life in Turkmenistan are explained.<sup>9</sup>

In the example of works based on the structure and development of local self-governing bodies, R.Rəhimli's 2011 book "Azerbaijan State Personnel Management" provides information about the constitutional structure, central, and local administrative bodies. In M.Həsənov's 2019 article "The Change in Public Administration and Its Impact on the Local Government System of Azerbaijan", the state structure and public administration of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan are discussed.<sup>10</sup>

In M.Makhmutova's book chapter "Local Government in Kazakhstan", the functional structure of local administration and the relationships between state administration and local self-governing bodies are analyzed. A.Uçar and U.Çağatay, in their book chapters "Local Governments in Kazakhstan", discuss the functional structure and legal foundations of local self-governing bodies.<sup>11</sup>

In the book chapters "Local Governments in Kyrgyzstan" by D.Aseinov and S.Najimudina, topics such as the regional and administrative structure of Kyrgyzstan are discussed. In the articles "Local Governments in the Kyrgyz Republic" by A.Narmambetova and Ç.Akman, the executive bodies of local administration in Kyrgyzstan are examined.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Alkan, H. Türkmenistan'da siyasal rejimin geleceği: İç ve dış dinamikler açısından bir değerlendirme // - Erzurum: Orta Asya ve Kafkasya Araştırmaları, - 2006. № 02, - s. 1-26.; Yıldırım, E. Türkmenistan: Aşiretten Ulusa // - Ankara: Bağımsızlıklarının Yirminci Yılında Orta Asya Cumhuriyetleri, - 2012. - s. 397-481.

<sup>10</sup>Rehimli, R. Azərbaycan Devlet Personel Yönetimi / R.Rehimli. - Ankara: Kültür Ajansı Yayınları, - 2011. - 256 s.; Hasanoğlu, M. Kamu Yönetiminin Değişimi ve Azərbaycan Yerel Yönetimler Sistemi Üzerindeki Etkisi // - Türkiye: Uluslararası Yönetim Akademisi Dergisi, - 2019. 2, № 1, - s. 111-133.

<sup>11</sup>Makhmutova, M. Local Government in Kazakhstan // - Hungary: Developing New Rules in the Old Environment, - 2001. - p. 403-468.; Uçar, A. Kazakistan'da yerel yönetimler / A.Uçar, U.Çağatay // Türk Dünyasında Yerel Yönetimler, - İstanbul: - 2013. - s. 99-118.

<sup>12</sup>Aseinov, D. Kırgızistan'da Yerel Yönetimler / D.Aseinov, S.Najimudinova // Kırgızistan Tarih Toplum Ekonomi Siyaset, - Bişkek: - 2017. - s. 225-245.;



In R.Urinboyev's article "Local Government in Uzbekistan", the internal structure of local administration and the relationships between central and local administrative bodies are analyzed. In the book chapter "Public Administration System and Local Governments in Uzbekistan" by Ökmen and Şeker, topics such as state administration in Uzbekistan and the functions of local administrative bodies are discussed.<sup>13</sup>

In the book chapter "Local Government Structure in Turkmenistan" by K.Özkulluk and G.Jorayev, the local government associations and structures in Turkmenistan during the post-independence period are identified.<sup>14</sup>

The Organization of Turkic States has also influenced the nation-building processes of independent states in the region. This is discussed in the research of Akçapan, Aydılek, Mustofaev, Bağhirov, and in the study "21st Century's Rising Star: The Organization of Turkic States", published by the Republic of Turkey.<sup>15</sup>

The dissertation comparing the central and local administrative bodies in the nation-building processes of the new independent Turkic

---

Narmambetova, A. Kırgızistan Cumhuriyetinde Yerel Yönetimler / A.Narmambetova, Ç. Akman // - Türkiye: Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi, - 2018. 6, № 13, - s. 457-475.

<sup>13</sup> Urinboyev, R. Local Government in Uzbekistan // - Switzerland: Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance, - 2018. - p. 1-8.; Ökmen, M. Özbekistan'da Kamu Yönetim Sistemi ve Yerel Yönetimleri / M.Ökmen, G. Şeker // Türk Dünyasında Yerel Yönetimler, - İstanbul, - 2013. - s. 153-178.

<sup>14</sup>Özkulluk, K. Türkmenistan'da Yerel Yönetim Yapılanması / K.Özkulluk, G. Jorayev // Türk Dünyasında Yerel Yönetimler, -İstanbul: - 2013. - s. 81-99.

<sup>15</sup>Akçapa, M. Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı'nın tarihsel gelişimi: Teşkilatın dünü, bugünü ve yarını // - Türkiye: Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi, - 2023. 11, № 34, - s. 473-491.; Aydılek, E. Türk devletleri teşkilatının siyasi ve ekonomik potansiyeli // - Türkiye: Uluslararası Yönetim Akademisi Dergisi, - 2022. 5, № 3, - s. 716-728.; Mustofaev, M. The organization of Turkic States: a new approach to global and regional challenges // - Ankara: Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs, - 2022. 27, № 1, - p. 105-120.; Bağhirov, O. The organization of Turkic States' economic potential and cooperation prospects among its members // - Ankara: Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs, - 2022. 27, № 1, - p. 53-73.; 21. Yüzyılın Parlayan Yıldızı: Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı / Ankara: Cumhurbaşkanlığı İletişim Başkanlığı Yayınları, - 2023. - 358 s.

republics is based on the constitutions of each country, as well as legislative acts related to local executive authorities and local self-governance.

**The object and subject of the research.** The object of the research is the organization and development of central and local administrative bodies in the nation-building processes of the new independent Turkic republics.

The subject of the research is the comparison of the formation characteristics of the national state ideology, changes in the administrative system, and the organizational structures of central and local administrative bodies in the new independent Turkic republics.

**The purpose and tasks of the research.** The aim of the research is to examine the organization and developmental stages of central and local administrative bodies in the nation-building processes of the new independent Turkic republics, as well as to compare their structures and interrelations.

To achieve the research objective, the following tasks have been identified:

- Justify the emergence and realization characteristics of the national state ideology in the new independent Turkic republics;

- Determine the impact of regional and ethnic conflicts on nation-building processes in the Turkic republics;

- Identify the process of national awakening in the Turkic republics and its associated changes in the administrative system;

- Analyze the reforms of central and local administrative bodies in the Turkic republics during the independence period;

- Examine the structures of the presidency, cabinet of ministers, local executive authorities, and local self-government bodies, as well as their interactions at central and local levels, based on the constitutions and laws of the independent Turkic republics;

- Compare the structures of central and local administrative bodies in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan;

- Investigate the dialogue and cooperation efforts of the Organization of Turkic States in the nation-building processes of the new independent Turkic republics.

**Research methods.** The proposed research has been conducted using qualitative and comparative methodologies, incorporating content analysis to study the subject matter. The research materials include official documents, primary and secondary sources. To examine this topic, constitutions, laws, decrees, academic articles, books, and book chapters have been utilized. The organizational structures and development processes of the presidency, cabinet of ministers, local executive authorities, and local self-government bodies in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan have been analyzed comparatively. Each chapter of the dissertation presents the common and similar aspects of the Turkic republics, followed by an explanation of the unique characteristics of each republic. In the appendix section, tables comparing the central-local administrative bodies of the republics have been provided.

**Main provisions for the defence.** -The transition strategy of Central Asian and Caucasian countries coincided with a period in which new state administrative models were widely adopted, and liberalization and globalization policies gained prominence, making it impossible to implement a soft adaptation policy.

-In the process of nation-building, the main issue lies in the need to maintain relations with Russia, while also addressing the negative legacy of the past and the demand to eliminate the influence of Russian culture, which undermined national characteristics.

-In the Central Asia and Caucasus regions, national identities could become a zone of conflict. However, this situation is not limited to national identities alone. The confrontations caused by supranational and subnational identities in the new independent Turkic republics are also significant.

-Administrative reforms, as part of a comprehensive reform process, have led to the redefinition of the roles of the state. In the reform process, not only internal dynamics of the state but also external dynamics and the interests of multinational partners have been taken into account.

-The local executive authorities in Azerbaijan are headed by the head of the executive authority, who is responsible for the republic-subordinated cities, districts, and city districts; in Kazakhstan, they are

led by the akim (head of executive authority), overseeing oblasts (regions), republic-subordinated cities, and districts within oblasts (regions); in Kyrgyzstan, the akim (head of executive authority) is responsible for oblasts (regions) and districts; in Uzbekistan, the hakim (head of executive authority) supervises provinces, districts, and cities; and in Turkmenistan, the hakim (head of executive authority) is in charge of provinces, etraps (districts), and cities.

-In the process of organizing central and local administrative bodies in the new independent Turkic republics, Azerbaijan is observed to have a distinct experience, as it began establishing executive authorities before the dissolution of the Soviet of People's Deputies. Unlike Azerbaijan, similar bodies to the Soviet of People's Deputies in other countries continue to exist under different names: in Kazakhstan, they are called maslikhat; in Kyrgyzstan, they are referred to as consultative collegiums; in Uzbekistan, they are known as the Council of People's Deputies; and in Turkmenistan, they are called people's councils.

-In Azerbaijan, local self-government is carried out by municipalities, which are formed through elections and operate in cities, towns, and villages. In Kazakhstan, local self-government is implemented by akims (heads of executive authorities) within the framework of districts, city districts, villages, towns, and rural districts. In Kyrgyzstan, local self-government bodies are municipalities known as village and city mayors. In Uzbekistan, citizens' assemblies serve as self-governance bodies in urban-type settlements, wintering areas, villages, and neighborhoods. In Turkmenistan, local self-government bodies are established in the etrap (district) within cities, urban-type settlements, and village districts.

-The Organization of Turkic States plays a significant role in advancing national state-building to a regional level. Alongside the specialization of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan in energy and rich mineral resources, and Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in human capital, Turkey and Hungary can be distinguished for their expertise in technology and manufacturing industries.

**The scientific novelty of the research.** In the new independent Turkic republics located in the Central Asia and Caucasus regions, with the exception of Azerbaijan, the number of studies written in Azerbaijani regarding the central and local administrative organizations is relatively low. This dissertation, along with Azerbaijan, covers the process of nation-state building in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, including the presidential institution, the cabinet of ministers, local executive authorities, and local self-government bodies, while also providing, for the first time, a comparison of the structures of central and local administrative bodies across all republics. In this regard, the scientific novelty of the dissertation can be summarized as follows:

- The process of forming national state ideologies in the new independent Turkic republics has been comparatively studied under different models of development.

- Attention has been given to the role of regional and ethnic conflicts, as well as supranational and subnational identities, in the nation-state building process in the new independent Turkic republics.

- The organization and operational mechanisms of the presidential institution in the constitutions of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan have been studied comparatively for the first time, and the main institutional differences in this area have been analyzed.

- A comparative analysis of the institutional structure and operational principles of the Cabinet of Ministers in the new independent Turkic republics has been conducted for the first time, and the main differences regarding the Cabinets of Ministers in these republics have been identified.

- The structures of local executive authorities in the new independent Turkic republics have been comparatively studied for the first time, and the distinct characteristics of their administrative models have been identified.

- The models of local self-government in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan have been studied comparatively for the first time, and their legal, administrative, and institutional characteristics have been identified.

-Changes in the central and local administrative systems during the national awakening process of the new independent Turkic republics have been identified comparatively, and laws related to reforms in this area have been analyzed.

-In the supplementary section of the dissertation, tables comparing the presidential institution, the cabinet of ministers, local executive authorities, and local self-government bodies have been created for the first time.

-The impact of the Organization of Turkic States' summit meetings on the nation-state building process of the new independent Turkic republics has been identified.

**The theoretical and practical significance of research.** This dissertation, which discusses the organizational structure and development processes of the central and local administrative bodies in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, can serve as a valuable resource for elective courses, books, and articles in the field of public administration at universities.

Including general information on the central and local administrative bodies of the new independent Turkic republics, this dissertation holds practical significance due to its comparative analysis. It provides insights into the provisions regarding the presidential institution, the cabinet of ministers, local executive authorities, and local self-government bodies in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.

**Approbation and application.** The dissertation has been discussed and recommended for defense at the "Public Service and Personnel Policy" department of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The main scientific propositions and conclusions presented in the dissertation are reflected in the author's academic articles. The author has participated in various scientific conferences and symposiums both within the country and abroad related to the dissertation work.

**The name of the organization in which the dissertation was performed.** The Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

**The total volume of the dissertation with a sign indicating the volume of the structural sections of the dissertation separately.** The structure of the dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters covering seven sub-chapters, a conclusion, a list of references, and appendices. The introduction contains 31.044 characters, Chapter I, consisting of three sub-chapters, has 69.115 characters, Chapter II, comprising two sub-chapters, includes 70.971 characters, and Chapter III, also consisting of two sub-chapters, contains 71.112 characters. The conclusion is 12.021 characters in length. The total length of the dissertation, excluding appendices and the list of references, is 254.263 characters.

## **MAIN CONTENT OF THE STUDY**

**In the introduction section of the research,** the relevance of the topic is justified, the level of study of the problem and the bibliographical foundation are analyzed, theoretical and methodological issues are clarified, the object and subject of the research, as well as its objectives and tasks, are defined, and the scientific novelty and practical significance of the work are clearly outlined.

The first chapter of the dissertation, titled **"The Collapse of the Soviet Administrative System and its Impact on the Turkic Republics"**, is divided into three sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter, **"Formation and Realization Features of the National State Ideology in the New Independent Turkic Republics"**, analyzes the transition period of the Turkic republics in the Central Asia and Caucasus regions. During the Soviet era, these republics operated under a repressive political and economic system, which further complicated their transition process. Their cultural development was shaped within the confines of Soviet literature and Russian culture, ensuring strict control over content beyond these boundaries.<sup>16</sup> After gaining independence, these republics shifted from a centralized

---

<sup>16</sup> Önder, S.G. Medeni inkılap ve ulusal politika ikileminde sovyetler birliğı ideolojisi // - Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri Humanitar Elmlər, - 2023. № 2, - s. 214.

economic model to a market economy and transitioned from a federative state structure to independent nation-states.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the process of nationalization was aimed at weakening Russian cultural influence and preserving national identity. Azerbaijan primarily focused on Azerbaijani identity, with national leader Heydar Aliyev pursuing a balanced foreign policy strategy. Kazakhstan, in its nation-building process, avoided choosing between ethnic identity and citizenship, instead opting to foster national unity. Kyrgyzstan sought to reduce regional disparities among its population and prevent the marginalization of ethnic groups. Uzbekistan, while defining the concept of nation from a territorial perspective, emphasized the idea of shared homeland over ethnic identity. In Turkmenistan, the traditional tribal structure played a dominant role in society, and the state-building process was directed toward overcoming tribal divisions. Alongside the establishment of nation-states and capitalist state institutions, these republics also pursued modern neoliberal reforms.

The second section of the first chapter, titled "**The Impact of Regional and Ethnic Conflicts on Nation-Building in the Turkic Republics**", explains that from the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union faced deep economic and political crises. The weakening of the Soviet state led to an increase in ethnic conflicts, and unresolved disputes escalated into armed confrontations, further strengthening nationalist tendencies. After gaining independence, these republics attempted to redefine their national identities, a process that, in several cases, resulted in conflicts.

The roots of ethnic problems extend to the pre-Soviet period; however, conflicts in the new independent Turkic republics are not solely limited to national identities. Supranational and subnational identities have also played a significant role in shaping tensions. In the early years of independence, the absence of well-established formal institutions capable of ensuring political transformation led to the continued influence of informal institutions such as family and tribal relations, as well as subnational identities, on political structures. Since 1991, tribal affiliations and regionalism have often been closely



interconnected, posing challenges to national unity and integration efforts.

The third section of the first chapter, titled "**National Awakening Process and Changes in the Administrative System in New Independent Turkic Republics**" discusses how, after 1991, the Turkic republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus began to nationalize their public administration structures. This process involved the transformation of federal state structures into nation-states, following the break from the communist system. The administrative structures inherited from the USSR were reformed into new institutions. For example, the Communist Party Secretariat evolved into the Presidential institution, the Council of Ministers into the office of the Prime Minister, the Supreme Soviet into the parliament, regional party organizations into local executive authorities, and city, town, and village local people's councils into local self-governments.<sup>17</sup>

It is emphasized that in the Soviet Union, state administration was shaped based on communist ideology and was subordinated to party structures. A rigid hierarchical and control-based administrative model was implemented in the USSR, with local administrations being organized under strong central government control. The administrative structures of the Soviet era limited democratic processes and citizen participation in the Turkic republics. After gaining independence, although these republics implemented reforms, the centrally controlled structures inherited from the Soviet period obstructed the application of these reforms. The delay in the reform of administrative systems can be attributed to these countries' more distant connection to Western European markets, their longer period under a centralized planning system compared to Central and Eastern European countries and the Baltic republics, the excessively industrialized structure of the former Soviet system, and the lack of sea access for the Central Asian republics and the Caucasus region.

---

<sup>17</sup>Akyıldız, F. SSCB sonrası dönemde Orta Asya ve Kafkasya Türk Cumhuriyetleri'nde devletin yeniden yapılandırılması: Neoliberal politikalara eleştirel bir yaklaşım : /siyasi elmlər üzrə fəlsəfə doktoru dis. / - Malatya, 2008. - 389 s.

As a result, a certain period was needed for a full transition to the Western-style administrative model and the establishment of democratic processes.

The second chapter of the dissertation is titled **"The Development of Central and Local Administrative Bodies in Turkic Republics in the Context of Public Administration Reforms"** and consists of two subsections. The first subsection of the second chapter, titled **"Public Administration Reforms in the Turkic Republics During the Independence Period"** explains that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Turkic republics that gained independence implemented large-scale reforms in their administrative structures. Through these reforms, they began to establish state institutions. The goal was to replace Soviet-style state administration structures with competitive economic models. Although different approaches were applied based on the needs and conditions of each country, the overall objective was to build an effective administrative system.

In Azerbaijan, the creation of the State Commission by a presidential decree in 1998 marked the beginning of reforms being carried out in a more systematic and structured manner. The transition of Azerbaijan's state administration system from the Soviet model to a national administrative model aimed at strengthening independent statehood. The reforms were mainly focused on ensuring the efficiency and accountability of the state administration system, which led to the development of administration in line with modern requirements. The strategic goals aimed at ensuring the future development of the country also targeted further improvement of governance.

In Kazakhstan, during the establishment of the state administration system, the main focus was on moving away from Soviet legacies and forming national state institutions. Reforms were implemented to modernize and improve the existing state administration system. These reforms were aimed at making the administrative structure more efficient and effective, and included important steps to increase agility, transparency, and citizen participation in state governance.

Kyrgyzstan's early independence period is notable for the implementation of reforms aimed at promoting economic and political

diversity. Local administrative powers were transferred to local councils (kenesh), marking the beginning of a shift from centralized administration to a more participatory approach based on local involvement. With support from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank, significant administrative reforms were carried out in the country. As a result, the direct election of the mayor of Bishkek by the city's population contributed significantly to the development of local democracy. Additional reforms in local administration and electoral systems aimed at further improving administration and increasing local citizen participation.

In Uzbekistan, reforms were aimed at actively involving citizens in local administrative processes. The reforms focused on the creation of local assemblies and strengthening administrative structures. At the same time, the flexibility of local executive authorities was increased, and significant opportunities were created for quickly and effectively responding to the needs of local communities. The implementation of these reforms had a positive impact on strengthening local self-administrative institutions and, ultimately, on the development of a modern administrative system.

In Turkmenistan, the development of the local administrative system was accompanied by the adoption of the Western model and democratic principles, as well as legal regulations. The modernization of the local administrative system aimed at providing self-governance opportunities to local communities and ensuring services that meet their needs. As a result, the goal was to increase the powers of local administrative bodies and ensure the transparency of their operations.

The second section of the second chapter, titled **"Organizational Structure and Interrelations of Central and Local Administrative Bodies in New Independent Turkic Republics"** discusses that the functionality of local administrative structures was limited during the early years of independence of the Central Asian and Caucasian Turkic republics. The weakness of local administrative institutions in these republics can also be explained by the fact that individuals who had held leadership positions within the former Soviet system continued to occupy significant positions within the new administrative mechanisms. As a result, the implementation of the

proposed reforms and institutional innovations was delayed, which hindered the formation of an effective institutional framework, one of the key requirements for the democratization process. Thus, the development of local administrative systems highlighted the need for modernization of structures formed under the influence of the Soviet legacy.

During the Soviet era, the "Soviets of People's Deputies" that existed were composed of representatives elected by workers and peasants in accordance with the requirements of socialist ideology, and these institutions formed the foundation of the local administrative system. With the exception of Azerbaijan, other republics retained traces of the Soviet administrative system at the beginning of their independence period. In contrast, Azerbaijan, through a decree adopted in 1991, ended the existence of the Soviets of People's Deputies and began to establish executive authorities.<sup>18</sup> This step aimed at strengthening central administrative mechanisms; however, other republics did not undertake such changes. Furthermore, in the early years of independence, some republics retained certain aspects of the local administrative concepts from the Soviet period. For instance, local administrative bodies operating under the names of "maslikhat" in Kazakhstan, "kenesh" in Kyrgyzstan, "Soviet of People's Deputies" in Uzbekistan, and "genesh" in Turkmenistan can be seen as a continuation of the Soviet model of governance. These tendencies led to a slowdown in democratization and institutional changes in those countries.

The third chapter of the dissertation is titled **"Functional Comparison of Central and Local Administrative Bodies in the Nation-Building Process of New Independent Turkic Republics"** and consists of two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter, titled **"Mutual Characteristics of Central and Local Administrative Bodies in New Independent Turkic Republics"** compares the

---

<sup>18</sup>Azərbaycan Respublikasının rayonlarında, şəhərlərində, şəhər rayonlarında, kəndlərində və qəsəbələrində dövlət hakimiyyət və idarəetmə orqanlarının strukturunu və fəaliyyətini təkmilləşdirmək haqqında Azərbaycan Respublikası Prezidentinin Fərmanı // 18 oktyabr 1991-ci ildə qəbul edilmişdir. - Bakı: Fərman, - 1991.

central and local government bodies of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan to identify their similarities and structural differences. The provisions related to the presidential institution in the constitutions of the new independent Turkic republics possess distinct characteristics. For instance, unlike Azerbaijan, the constitutions of the other countries establish an age limit for presidential candidates.<sup>19</sup> According to the constitutions of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, an individual can be elected president consecutively only once, whereas there is no such limitation in the constitutions of Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. Additionally, the presidential term varies: in Kyrgyzstan, the president is elected for a six-year term, while in the other republics, the term is seven years. Presidents of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are required to suspend their membership in political parties during their term in office. However, this requirement is not regulated in the constitutions of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.

Unlike the other republics, Azerbaijan has introduced the institution of the vice presidency. According to the Constitution of Azerbaijan, in the event that the president leaves office or is unable to perform their duties, the powers are transferred to the First Vice President. If the First Vice President is also unable to assume these duties, the powers are passed on to the Vice President who holds the status of First Vice President, and if that is not possible, to the Prime Minister, and in the absence of that, to the Speaker of the National Assembly.<sup>20</sup> In other countries, these powers are distributed differently: in Kazakhstan, the president's powers are transferred to the Chairman of the Senate of Parliament, in Kyrgyzstan to the Chairman of the Jogorku Kenesh, in Uzbekistan to the Chairman of the Senate, and in Turkmenistan to the Chairman of the People's Council.<sup>21</sup> In Turkmenistan, the president serves as the Chairman of

---

<sup>19</sup> Конституция Республики Казахстан, - 1995. - 41. Кыргыз Республикасынын Конституциясы, - 2021.- 62. Конституция Республики Узбекистан, - 2023. - 106. Конституция Туркменистана, - 2008. - 68-70.

<sup>20</sup> Azərbaycan Respublikasının Konstitusiyası, - 2016. - 105.

<sup>21</sup> Конституция Республики Казахстан,-1995.-46-48. Кыргыз Республикасынын Конституциясы, - 2021. - 67-68. Конституция Республики Узбекистан, - 2023. - 112-113. Конституция Туркменистана, – 2008. - 76.

the Cabinet of Ministers,<sup>22</sup> whereas, in the other countries, there is an institution of the Prime Minister.

The structure of local executive authorities also significantly differs between these republics. In Azerbaijan, local executive authorities are headed by an executive authority leader who oversees republican-subordinated cities, districts, and city districts. In Kazakhstan, the akim (head of the executive authority) manages oblasts (regions), republican-subordinated cities, and the districts within oblast-subordinated cities. In Kyrgyzstan, the akim is responsible for oblasts (regions) and districts. In Uzbekistan, the hakim (head of the executive authority) oversees vilayats (regions), tumans (districts), and cities. In Turkmenistan, the hakim manages vilayats (regions), etraps (districts), and cities.<sup>23</sup>

Unlike Azerbaijan, similar bodies to the Soviet of People's Deputies continue to exist in other countries under different names: the “maslikhat” in Kazakhstan, the “məşvərətçi kolegiya” in Kyrgyzstan, the “xalq deputatları kengəsi” in Uzbekistan, and the “xalq maslahatları” in Turkmenistan. The person holding the position of head of the executive authority cannot simultaneously serve as the chairman of these bodies. In the case of Kazakhstan, unlike other countries, the appointment of akims (heads of executive authorities) requires not only the approval of the President and the Cabinet of Ministers but also the consent of the “maslikhat”.<sup>24</sup>

The system of local self-governance is regulated differently in each republic. In Azerbaijan, municipalities, formed through elections, carry out their duties in cities, towns, and villages. In Kazakhstan, the implementation of local administrative is carried out by akims (heads of executive authority) in oblasts (regions), districts, cities, city

---

<sup>22</sup>Конституция Туркменистана, – 2008. - 91.

<sup>23</sup>Yerli icra hakimiyyətləri haqqında Əsasnamə.-Bakı,-2012.-2; О местном государственном управлении и самоуправлении в Республике Казахстан, - 2001.-1/4; Закон Кыргызской Республики О местной государственной администрации и органах местного самоуправления,-2021.-11; Закон республики Узбекистан о государственной власти на местах,-1993.-2; Закон туркменистана о местных представительных органах государственной власти,-2011.-1.

<sup>24</sup>Конституция Республики Казахстан, - 1995. - 85-88.

districts, and within rural areas that do not fall under a specific rural district or township. In Kyrgyzstan, the representative bodies of local self-governance include local councils (kenesh), and the municipal bodies known as “ayil okmotu” and city mayoralities. In Uzbekistan, citizen assemblies in villages (qışlaq), rural areas, and neighborhoods within cities, towns, and villages serve as the local self-governance organs. In Turkmenistan, local self-governance bodies, called “genesh”, are established in etraps (districts), towns, and urban areas.<sup>25</sup> This diversity illustrates that the republics have sought to move away from Soviet administrative traditions and are attempting to develop unique state-building models.

In the second subchapter of the third chapter titled **“Dialogue and Cooperation in the Nation-State Building Process of Turkish Republics within the Organization of Turkic States”** In the second half of the period, the establishment, objectives, and development stages of the Organization of Turkic States are explained, focusing on dialogue and cooperation in the nation-building processes of the Turkic republics. It is highlighted that the Organization of Turkic States is classified under the category of "intergovernmental regional organizations,"<sup>26</sup> with its foundation being laid through summit meetings starting in 1992, and its official establishment in 2009 through the Nakhchivan Agreement. The main objective of the organization is to promote cooperation among member countries in the diplomatic, economic, and cultural fields. Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan are members of the organization, while Hungary and Turkmenistan hold observer status.

It is emphasized that the member countries possess significant economic and natural resource potential, with Azerbaijan being a global energy supplier, Kazakhstan a producer of wheat and minerals, and Uzbekistan a supplier of gold and uranium. The potential

---

<sup>25</sup>Azərbaycan Respublikasının Konstitusiyası,-2016.-142; О местном государственном управлении и самоуправлении в Республике Казахстан, – 2001.-2-1; Кыргыз Республикасынын Конституциясы,-2021.-111-113; Конституция Республики Узбекистан,-2023.-127; Закон Туркменистана О местном самоуправлении,-2022.-8.

<sup>26</sup>Aydilek, E. Türk devletleri teşkilatının siyasi ve ekonomik potansiyeli // - Türkiye: Uluslararası Yönetim Akademisi Dergisi, - 2022. 5, № 3, - s. 718.

advantages arising from Hungary's membership in the European Union are also highlighted. The change in the organization's name is seen as an indicator of its focus on the unity of member countries and their common goals. Additionally, the negative stances of regional powers such as Russia and China towards the Organization of Turkic States, as well as the border and cooperation issues of Central Asian countries, are cited as weak points of the organization.

**In conclusion**, the research is summarized, and based on the findings, theoretical and practical recommendations are put forward. While political, economic, and legal issues are significant factors contributing to the underdevelopment of state administration in Central Asian and Caucasian countries, the most significant challenge has been related to the administrative system. At the heart of administrative reforms lies the precise definition of the state's role, the creation of a regulatory state, the implementation of localization principles, as well as the involvement of capital and non-governmental organizations in administrative processes. These reforms have aimed at increasing the efficiency of state governance, creating the opportunity for the state to carry out its functions in a more balanced manner.

**The content of the dissertation is reflected in the following published articles of the author:**

1. Kolektif üretilimin Azerbaycan'daki etno-dinsel temsilcileri: Malakanlar // 18. Uluslararası Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, - Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi, -12-14 Aralık, - 2020, - s. 457-462.
2. Orta Asya'nın uluslaştırılmasında korenizatsiya (yerlileştirme) politikalarının etkisi // IV. Uluslararası Türklerin Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Sempozyumu, -Kıbrıs: Kıbrıs İlim Üniversitesi-Türklerin Dünyası Enstitüsü, - 17 Aralık, - 2020, - s. 461-466.
3. Yeni müstəqil türk respublikalarının anklav-eksklav torpaqları // Doktorantların və genc tədqiqatçıların XXIV Respublika elmi konferansı, - Bakı: AzTU, - 23-14 noyabr, - 2021, - s. 200-201.
4. İdare kandidate: siyasetnamelerin ışığında yönetim anlayışı // - Ankara: Adam Akademi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, - 2022. -12 (2), - s. 465-495.



5. Özerk cumhuriyetlerin siyasal sistemlerinin karşılaştırılması Nahçıvan ve Karakalpakistan örnekleri // 20. Uluslararası Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, - Bişkek/Kırgızistan: Kırgızistan-Türkiye Manas Üniversitesi, - 18-20 Ekim, - 2022, - s. 129-134.
6. Medeni inkılap ve ulusal politika ikileminde sovyetler birliği ideolojisi // - Bakı: Bakı Universitetinin Xəbərləri Humanitar Elmlər, - 2023. № 2, - s. 214-225.
7. Sovyetler birliyinin “bir etni-bir toprak” ilkesi çerçevesinde Türkistan halklarının kendi kaderini tayin hakkının mümkünlüğü // - Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, - 2023. № 1, - s. 195-200.
8. Şiddetin haritası: Türkistan coğrafiyasında siyasi topraklar // - Bakı: Sosial tədqiqatlar, - 2023. № 1, - s. 205-213.
9. Toprak üzerinde örgütlenme: Azərbaycan örneği // - Bakı: Sivilizasiya Bakı Avrasiya Universiteti, - 2023. № 3, - s. 34-40.





Dissertasiyanın müdafiəsi "5" iyun 2025-cı il tarixində saat 11.00 -da Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti yanında Dövlət İdarəçilik Akademiyası nəzdində fəaliyyət göstərən FD 2.30 Dissertasiya Şurasının iclasında keçiriləcəkdir.

Ünvan: AZ 1001, Bakı ş., Lermontov küç., 74

Dissertasiya işi ilə Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti yanında Dövlət İdarəçilik Akademiyasının elmi kitabxanasında tanış olmaq mümkündür.

Dissertasiya və avtoreferatın elektron versiyaları Azərbaycan Respublikasının Prezidenti yanında Dövlət İdarəçilik Akademiyasının rəsmi internet saytında yerləşdirilmişdir.

Avtoreferat "5" may 2025-cı il tarixində zəruri ünvanlara göndərilmişdir.

Signed for print: 05.05.2025

Paper format: A5

Volume: 36.856

Number of hard copies: 20