AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFUSION OF STRUCTURES AND PRACTICES IN A HIGH-LEVEL BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION IN TURKEY BY USING "NEW INSTITUTIONAL THEORY"

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

SEMİH SERT

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

JUNE 2008

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Sencer AYATA
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Prof. Dr. Ali YILDIRIM
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Prof. Dr. Hasan ŞİMŞEK
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Ali YILDIRIM	(METU, EDS)	_____
Prof. Dr. Hasan ŞİMŞEK	(METU, EDS)	_____
Prof. Dr. Abdulvahit ÇAKIR	(GAZİ, TEFL)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet OK	(METU, EDS)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet AYPAY	(18 MART, EDS)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Semih SERT

Signature :

ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFUSION OF STRUCTURES AND PRACTICES IN A HIGH-LEVEL BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION IN TURKEY BY USING "NEW INSTITUTIONAL THEORY"

SERT, Semih

Ph.D., Department of Educational Sciences

Supervisor : Prof. Dr. Hasan ŞİMŞEK

June 2008, 258 pages

This study analyzes the process of the diffusion of structures and practices in an organizational setting using the theory of new institutionalism as the theoretical basis. The explanation of the diffusion process has been subject to major variations due to epistemological and ontological reasons. Former theories of organizational reality looked at organizations as their sole units of analyses and accounted for the diffusion process accordingly; however, today, it is widely observed and accepted that organizational behavior is shaped by historical and environmental factors.

This investigation aims to provide evidence for how certain structures and practices diffuse through organizational settings while others do not. Consequently, a qualitative design was conducted to explore the diffusion process in the case of the Council of Higher Education, a high-level bureaucratic organization in Turkey. Fifteen key informants, present or former

university rectors and members of the Council, were interviewed and the accumulated data were analyzed qualitatively. Also, the findings were matched and supported with relevant documents analyzed additionally.

The findings drawn from the investigation indicate that the emergence of the Council implicates a pattern visible throughout the history of Turkish higher education. The Council is spotted as an important agent in redefining Turkish higher education and thus creating a new organizational field for it. Yet, highly dynamic and interactive face of today's higher education calls for reconsideration of the Council and its functions.

A major conclusion that can be reached in this context is that the issue of legitimacy depends on the satisfaction of several demands and expectations at various levels. Therefore, even a formal and regulative organization, such as the Council of Higher Education is prone to the pressures of the organizational field it operates within and is called upon to redefine its structures and implementations accordingly in order to secure its legitimacy.

Keywords: New Institutionalism, isomorphism, diffusion, legitimacy, organizational field, the Council of Higher Education

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE ÜST DÜZEY BİR BÜROKRATİK KURUMUN "YENİ KURUMSALCILIK" KURAMI YOLUYLA ÇÖZÜMLEMESİ

SERT, Semih

Doktora, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi : Prof. Dr. Hasan ŞİMŞEK

Haziran 2008, 258 sayfa

Bu çalışma, yeni kurumsalcılık kuramından yola çıkarak, örgütsel bir ortamda yapıların ve uygulamaların nasıl yayıldığını incelemektedir. Yayılmanın açıklanmasında, epistemolojik ve ontolojik sebeplerden dolayı temel farklılıklar olmuştur. Örgütsel gerçekle ilgili önceki kuramlar örgütleri incelerken sadece örgütlerin kendilerini ele almaktaydılar ve yayılma sürecini de buna göre açıklamaktaydılar. Bugün ise örgütsel davranışın tarihsel ve çevresel etkiler tarafından şekillendirildiği gözlemlenmektedir.

Bu araştırma örgütsel bir ortamda bazı yapı ve uygulamaların nasıl yayılıp, bazılarının da nasıl yayılmadığı hakkında bulgular elde etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Sonuç olarak, Türkiye'de üst düzeyde bürokratik bir kurum olan Yükseköğretim Kurulu bağlamında yayılma sürecini incelemek üzere nitel bir araştırma deseni oluşturulmuştur. Halen görevde olan ya da daha önce görev yapmış olan on beş üniversite rektörü ve Kurul üyesi ile görüşmeler yapılmış ve elde edilen veriler nitel olarak analiz edilmiştir. Ayrıca, bulgular ek olarak incelenen konuyla ilgili yazılı belgelerle eşleştirilmiş ve desteklenmiştir.

Araştırmadan çıkarılan bulgular Kurulun ortaya çıkışında Türk yükseköğretiminin tarihi boyunca gözlemlenebilen bir örüntünün mevcut olduğunu ima etmektedir. Kurul, Türk yükseköğretimini yeniden tanımlayarak yeni bir örgütsel alanın ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmuştur. Yalnız, günümüz yükseköğretiminin hayli dinamik ve etkileşimci yüzü, Kurulun ve işlevinin yeniden gözden geçirilmesi gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır.

Bu bağlamda ulaşılan önemli bir sonuç da meşruiyet konusunun pek çok seviyedeki talep ve beklentilerin giderilmesine bağlı olduğudur. Bu bakımdan, Yükseköğretim Kurulu gibi resmi ve düzenleyici bir örgüt dahi içinde hareket ettiği örgütsel alandan gelen baskılara maruz kalmaktadır ve meşruiyetini güvenceye almak için yapılarını ve uygulamalarını yeniden tanımlamak durumundadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yeni Kurumsalcılık, eşbenzeşme, yayılma, meşruiyet, örgütsel alan, Yükseköğretim Kurulu

To My Beloved Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere admiration and gratefulness to Prof. Dr. Hasan ŞİMŞEK, my supervisor, for his contributions to the buildup of this study and for leading me through this jungle of scholarly challenges. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Ali YILDIRIM for his invaluable contributions and insight in making this qualitative analysis as good as possible. My additional thanks go to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet OK and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet AYPAY for their comments and contributions during the preparation of this dissertation.

Prof. Dr. Abdulvahit ÇAKIR, who has always been a mentor and, above all, a good example for me, has my deepest appreciation and gratefulness. I would like to acknowledge my further thankfulness to Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlhan DÜLGER and the group with whom I enjoyed having unforgettable moments of discussions and debates as regards current matters in educational issues.

I would like to extend my feelings of love and appreciation to my wife, Dilek, and my daughters, Zeynep and Ece, for the patience and endurance they have displayed in putting up with me at times when I was completely occupied with reading, writing, searching, and thinking.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to thank Cengiz BOZAY, Özcan BİLGETÜRK, Hasanbey ELLİDOKUZOĞLU (Ph.D.), Ali IŞIK (Ph.D.), Asım YALNIZ, Ercan ÇANDIR, Dilek ÇETİNKAYA, and Gazi Kemal PERVANE for their assistance in technical matters.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the distinguished members of the Council of Higher Education and the rectors who provided invaluable information and comments during the interviews.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii
ABSTRACT iv
ÖZ vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS x
LIST OF TABLES xiv
LIST OF FIGURES xv
CHAPTER
1. INTRODUCTION 1
1.1. Background to the Study 1
1.2. Purpose of the Study 6
1.3. Significance of the Study 7
2. LITERATURE REVIEW 12
2.1. Changes in Perception and Diffusion 12
2.1.1. Discussions Prior to the Emergence of New Institutionalism (NI) 13
2.1.2. Systems View and Contingency Theory 15
2.1.3. Theory, Methodology, and Rationale 16
2.1.4. Diffusion 16
2.1.6. The New-institutionalism (NI) and a Shift in Paradigm 20
2.1.7. The New Institutionalism and Diffusion 21
2.1.8. The New Institutionalism and Organizational Field for Diffusion 24
2.1.9. Isomorphism 29
2.1.10. Culture 32
2.1.11. Metaphors, Myths, and Rituals 34
2.1.12. Decision Making and Rationality 38
2.1.13. Formal Organizations 43
2.2. Higher Education in the World 45

2.2.1. The Emergence of Coordinating and Controlling Mechanisms 46
2.2.2. Convergence 49
2.2.3. A Historical Perspective in Higher Education Governance in Turkey 50
2.2.4. Rationale Behind Higher Education Reform and the Rise of the CHE 51
2.2.5. The 1981 Reform and its Results 54
2.3. Early Research on the New Institutional Theory 56
2.3.1. Studies Conducted in Turkey 67
2.4. Implications for Diffusion and Development of a Frame 68
2.4.1. Realization of the Frame in Turkish Context 73
2.4.2. A Context-Related Discussion: the Council of Higher Education 74
3. METHOD 79
3.1. The Overall Design of the Study 79
3.2. Statement of the Problem 82
3.3. Data Sources 84
3.4. Data Collection Instruments 89
3.5. Data Collection Procedures 91
3.6. Data Analysis Procedures 96
3.7. Assumptions and Limitations of the Study 99
3.8. Validity and Reliability 101
3.9. The Case: The Council of Higher Education 103
3.9.1. The Two Stages in Turkish Higher Education before 1946 104
3.9.2. The Transition to Multi-Party System in 1946 106
3.9.3. From 1960 To 1970s 107
3.9.4. Reconsidering the Freedom Granted in 1961 108
3.9.5. Up Until 1980 110
3.9.6. The Rise of the Council of Higher Education Era 111
4. RESULTS 113
4.1. The Incentives in the Establishment of the Council of Higher Education 114
4.1.1. The Actors behind the Incentives 117

4.1.2. The Nature of the Changes Planned 120
4.1.3. How Were the Changes Introduced? 123
4.2. The Operational or Organizational Field of the Council of Higher Education 126
4.2.1. What Interactions Is the Council Involved In? 128
4.2.1.1. Interactions with the Political Actors 128
4.2.1.2. Interactions with the Business and Industrial Sectors 133
4.2.1.3. Interactions with the International Higher Education Sector 137
4.2.1.4. Interactions with Universities 141
4.2.2. Consolidation of the Findings on Interactions 144
4.2.3. What Norms and Values are Influential for Legitimacy and Survival? 146
4.3. The Council of Higher Education as an Organization of Myths and Rituals 152
4.3.1. The Relations Based on Informal Power Base in the Field 158
4.3.2. The Coordination and Communication Mechanisms Used 160
4.3.3. The Stories Reported to Draw a Mental Image of the Council as an Institution 164
4.4. How Can the Legitimacy Process Be Accounted For? 167
4.4.1. To What Extent Can the Council Be Claimed to Have Attained Legitimacy? 168
4.4.2. What Conclusions Can Be Drawn on the Legitimacy of the Council? 176
4.5. How Likely Is It That the Council Will Survive? Should It Continue To Exist or Not? 181
5. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS 185
5.1. Conclusions 185
5.1.1. The Council of Higher Education and its Historical Context 185
5.1.2. The Organizational Field of the Council of Higher Education 189
5.1.3. The Council of Higher Education as the Organizational Context 193
5.1.4. Implications for Practice 197
5.1.5. Theoretical Implications 200

5.1.6. Consolidation of the Theoretical Frame and Analytical Generalizations 204
5.1.7. Research Implications 208
REFERENCES 211
APPENDICES
A. YÖK Üyelerine Sorulan Sorular 231
B. Rektörlere Sorulan Sorular 234
C. List of Codes 237
D. Sample Indexing Page 239
E. Curriculum Vitae 240
TURKISH SUMMARY 242

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1 Different versions of organizational field concept in NI 27
Table 2 Background on the informants 85
Table 3 Research questions and interview questions 91
Table 4 Timeline of the study 93
Table 5 A sample page for coding 98

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1 Classical Management Theory 13
Figure 2 Neo-classical Theory 14
Figure 3 Organizational behavior according to institutional theory 19
Figure 4 Influential elements shaping organizational structure and practices according to new institutionalism 23
Figure 5 Isomorphism 30
Figure 6 Organizational Survival 37
Figure 7 Summary Model of Sources of Barriers and Facilitators to Diffusion of Best Practices Moderated by Level of Occurrence 62
Figure 8 Proposed framework of interaction 64
Figure 9 Research framework for changes in German paper industry 66
Figure 10 Frame 1 - a model of institutional theory 72
Figure 11 Frame 2 - Diffusion Flowchart 77
Figure 12 The interplay of the incentives in the establishment of the CHE 116
Figure 13 Mechanisms used in implementing the measures in 1981 reform 122
Figure 14 Interactions of the CHE with sectors in its organizational field 145
Figure 15 Law 2547 and its impact on Turkish higher education system 148
Figure 16 Perceptions of higher education 151
Figure 17 The CHE practices as a combination of myths and rituals 157
Figure 18 An analytic flowchart for the diffusion process of structures and practices in the Council of Higher Education 177
Figure 19 Retention and rejection of the forms of the Council of Higher Education through time 180
Figure 20 Centrifugal and centripetal mechanisms that characterize social groups 204

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Organizational analysis has gone through several stages so as to allow a better understanding of modern organizations. Improvements in analytical thinking, which demonstrated leaps of perception, enabled scholars to have a better idea about the social phenomena and about organizations that are a part of them. Most of the time, the definition of organizations progressed along with the advances in natural sciences. Consequently, it was observed that organizations are like organisms that are born, live, and die (Morgan, 1986).

But the most significant leap in understanding the nature of organizations is perhaps the one that assumes a non-linear approach in identifying the factors affecting organizations. In other words, instead of thinking that organizations are established for a reason and are to be viewed within the realm of their productivity and efficiency, nowadays, they are taken as more elaborate and multifaceted societies. The theory of institutionalization identifies organizations as entities having ties with the environments they are embedded in, the cumulative interactions among those that constitute them, and a set of institutionalized activities. The emergence of an organization as an institutionalized phenomenon is “the emergence of orderly, stable, socially integrating patterns out of unstable, loosely organized, or narrowly technical activities” (Selznick, 1996, p. 271).

1.1. Background to the Study

The distinction between organization and institution as a unit of analysis was first drawn by Philip Selznick (1957) as he maintained, “as an organization is

‘institutionalized’ it tends to take on a special character and to achieve a distinctive competence, or, perhaps, a trained or built-in capacity” (Selznick, 1996, p. 271).

The most significant aspect with which Selznick (1957) contributed to institutional theory was the process of institutionalization, which, he described, was a process of instilling value. Therefore, institutions were seen as agents that helped with instilling values and meanings in the communities that constituted them. However, Selznick’s approach has been elaborated on with additions and more insights that aimed to account for how these values are instilled.

With methodologies and ontological foundations borrowed from sociology and philosophy, organizational analysis and institutional theory assumed a slightly diverse course in explaining the phenomena. Phenomenology developed by Husserl and Dilthey, both German idealists, persuaded scholars to seek for the ultimate reality behind the way the things were. Luckman and Berger (1967) laid the foundation for the emergence of historical institutionalism where they claimed institutions are derived from human action through a historical perspective. Therefore, to understand institutions, one needs to understand the past events and accumulation of culture that constitute the phenomena. Thus, institutionalization was seen as a process of creating reality (Scott, 1987).

Meyer and Rowan (1977) defined institutions as a distinct form from the intent of the human agents in them. They attributed the functioning of organizations to the “way things are” (cited in Scott, 1987, p. 496). Here, culture, as a set of beliefs, norms, values, traditions, habits, namely as a collection of “myths and ceremonies”, a metaphor used by Meyer and Rowan (1977, pp. 340-363), constitutes the action frame of reference for organizations. In order to institutionalize their actions and survive, organizations prefer to draw their rules and regulations in conformity with myths and rituals and, consequently, have themselves legitimized and survive. At other times, organizations may be observed to be imitating others, due to coercive or regulatory reasons (Aypay et al., 2003) and the prevalent structure and character of the field in which they operate may push them into isomorphic adaptations where they imitate others and take similar measures as others do to persist (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991b).

The transition from the classical and positivist understanding of organizational theory to the breakdown of classical bureaucratic theory governing

operations and practices as well as ideas and postulations that were adamant until recently is marked by seven scholarly milestones identified by Douglas E. Mitchell (1995): (1) Mayo's *'Hawthorne Effect'* and *the emergence of human relations theory*; (2) Herbert Simon's concept of *'satisficing'*; (3) Talcott Parsons' *recognition of the dilemma of professionalism*; (4) Charles Lindblom's *'Science of muddling through'*; (5) Cohen, March, and Olsen's *'garbage can' decision making*; (6) Karl Weick's *'loosely coupled systems'*; and (7) Meyer and Rowan's *'logic of confidence'* (pp. 167-168).

With the build-up of the theory of new-institutionalism, new concepts have started to emerge. For example, the rational actor model in classical and neo-classical schools emphasized individual rationality in choice-making and failed to account for the fact that organizational behavior is not at all the product of the individuals involved (Meyer & Rowan, 1977); whereas, Thompson's "bounded rationality" (cited in Reed, 1992) maintained that "… all complex organizations needed to achieve a suitable balance between their internal operations core and their external environmental circumstances if they were to ensure their long-term survival and effectiveness" (p. 82).

The divergent rationality issue mediated by new institutionalism has had its repercussions in many characteristics and aspects of organizations. Powell and DiMaggio (1991a) stressed the course of action that organizations pursue did not coincide with what was normally and rationally expected of them. Sometimes they act in ways independent of the expectation that it will benefit them by ensuring productivity or efficiency. Hence, as Zucker (1991), puts it, they may be found to be performing activities or conforming to norms that will bring them suboptimal outcome.

The way policies, norms, structures, and values are diffused through institutions are dependent upon interest relations among agents (Scott, 1987). This view is related with the political structure and the relevant power it has in imposing what aspects are to be normatively and coercively diffused and how this will be done. As it is argued, "[o]utcomes will also be influenced by the structure of the state itself and its relation to and penetration of society" (Scott, 1987, p. 509).

Apart from the ways these organizational assets, both structural and administrative tools upon which institutions are erected, further reading of the

literature refers to the various definitions of these assets. Giddens (cited in Sewell, 1992) argues that structures are both rules and resources. He further emphasizes that structures determine the ways people act but also they are reproduced as a result of people's actions, a process called "duality" (p. 4). In his explanation, resources can be nonhuman such as objects, natural or manufactured, and human such as knowledge, skills, and other characteristics.

Institutionalization of social forms and socialization of individuals within the realm of the way things are owe a lot to the diffusive characteristic of practices and applications in schools (Pajak & Green, 2003). Though bearing an accusing tone, this claim is thought to hold true especially with the case of education possessing an authoritative means of controlling the course of events and the diffusion of policies and reproduction of social statuses, as Pajak and Green (2003) put it, are manipulated through this authority that is vested upon the educators. Keeping things as taken-for-granted or, as Meyer and Rowan name it, through a "logic of confidence" (pp. 167-168) aligns with what Weick (1976) proposed with schools as "loosely-coupled organizations" (pp. 1-19).

The influence of the political incentives upon forms and structures in universities is evidenced in the voluminous account of Brint and Karabel (1991) in their discussion on the rise of the Community Colleges in the United States. The impact of education on the socialization process of individuals and how it helps shape social expectations are explained in Meyer's (1977) landmark article, "The Effects of Education as an Institution". Littrell and Foster (1995) present evidence that shows how universities adjust their service according to the funding policies in the context of a college in Southern California.

Classical and neo-classical theories of organizational analyses are known to take organizations under scrutiny as their sole units of analyses and assume a prescriptive approach in accounting for how organizational structures are formed and practices implemented. In other words, the diffusion of structures and practices were assessed from the perspective of how productivity could be enhanced. The metaphorical explanation depicting organizations as structural communities running on mechanical components and meticulous job descriptions help understand the extent of precision observed in trying to achieve the maximum outcome (Morgan, 1986).

The rise of the institutional theory and the perception it entailed marked the onset of a new spree of observing organizations as collection of (informal) relations and value-infused entities (Selznick, 1957). However, other than internal dynamics and mechanisms, the existence of external factors such as pressures imposed by the environment the organizations exist in and the influential role played by the actors were noticed to be worthy of analysis.

Current literature stresses the existence of such internal and external dynamics as coercion, regulation (normative), and isomorphism in how organizations are shaped up and how they function. Meyer (1977) pointed to how universities shaped the individual and set the standards for socialization, whereby predetermining the lanes within which the roles individuals will assume were institutionalized. Also, Meyer and Rowan (1978) claimed that the bureaucratic structure of education institutions were nothing but merely sets of rituals that solely controlled the form and left instructional activities "uncontrolled and uninspected" (p. 79). Aypay and his colleagues (2003) mentioned that normative, regulative, and cognitive mechanisms are influential in determining the level of institutionalization in higher education, namely those that are related with education of teachers.

Rowan (1982) observed bureaucratic isomorphism in public schools over the period where he concluded that organizational practices are advocated during the build-up of the institution, second, these practices are repeated and are diffused through the organizational field, and finally, this social state becomes institutionalized.

Kim (2005) points to a need for considering internal mechanisms and dynamics within a nation such as power relations and ideological setup before concluding that the models of globalization in education suit the national context. He goes on to ascribe the success or failure of educational reform efforts to the internal conditions of a nation. Tolbert (1985) finds associations between institutional environments/resource dependence and administrative structure in institutions of higher education.

In Turkey, a few studies relating to methods in organizational analysis, organizational theory, and the new institutionalist approach in organizational analysis include numerous issues ranging from diffusion of practices and norms to organizational change, institutionalization, and organizational field. Özen (2004), on

the other hand, has indicated that the implications of new institutionalism in Turkish context has not attracted much attention due to the existing attachment to empiricism stipulated by imported models from the West (p. 92).

Studies relating to dynamics of institutional change (Erçek, 2004), institutionalization and emergence of organizational fields (Özkara & Özcan, 2004), diffusion of knowledge (Özkara & Kurt, 2004) have been conducted and contributions have been made to the study of institutional theory in Turkish context.

Also, a few studies relating to the context of higher education and departing from similar conceptual frames emphasizing institutional theory can be named among the ones that have contributed to drawing the background of this study. In this respect, the investigations on the institutionalized relationship between the State and the Mülkiye College (Aypay, 2003), the patterns of institutionalization affecting restructuring efforts in education faculties (Aypay & Kalaycı, 2007), and the chaotic nature of the factors influencing teacher education establishing a mismatch with the course of the reforms planned for it (Somuncuoğlu, 2003), and the study on the Turkish higher education field to understand plurality and its effects on an organizational field in an effort to extend new institutional theorizing (Erden, 2006) relate to the conceptual and contextual realms of this dissertation.

More readings related with the CHE and higher education in Turkey can be linked with the reform efforts, administrative and financial issues and teacher education in the area of higher education.

1.2. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to explore the diffusion of the structures and practices in an organizational setting in the context of the Council of Higher Education (CHE) in Turkey, using the theory of new institutionalism as a tool in drawing the conceptual framework. The primary focus of the investigation will be on the Council of Higher Education that exists to regulate and control higher education in the country. Also, the university-CHE interaction at the administrative level will be looked at to see how these interactions configure the diffusion process and what factors interplay to give direction to it. Within the scope of the study, how the CHE is conceptualized as an institution, the rationale behind its establishment, its

organizational field, its cultural/cognitive structure consisting of myths, rituals, beliefs, and values, the organizational interests within its structure, change, adaptation, and legitimacy, communication, and power relations will be the primary foci in the study. To be more specific, the institutionalization of the CHE will be broken down to the models that are referred to in shaping the policies, the human model, political actions relating with the Council, strategies and decisions, past and current trends, etc. will be investigated in the views of a number of former and present members of the Council and university rectors in Ankara.

1.2. Significance of the study

This study is, first of all, an attempt to explain the nature of how diffusion of structural assets takes place, within the context of the CHE, through an institutional perspective. Institutionalism, or rather new institutionalism, constitutes the theoretical basis of the study.

Secondly, a conceptual model is sought so as to provide a more convenient lens through which how regulative, normative, and cognitive mechanisms control an organization and how structural assets are instilled.

Thirdly, methodologically, the study is planned to account for what to analyze in understanding an institution related with education, which is thought to distinguish organizational analysis in educational setting (in higher education) from other organizations, profit or non-profit.

Fourthly, the issue of legitimacy is observed from a different perspective. The conceptual model presented attempts to evaluate whether a structure or a practice has been legitimized by assessing the extent to which it is retained.

The existing literature does point to a network of components to consider in conceptualizing how higher education and its diffusion mechanisms are institutionalized. However, these views may find different interpretations in a similar context such as Turkey. Therefore, the study is thought to be an original attempt in that it uses the theory of new institutionalism as its theoretical basis and it tries to seek analytically for possible dynamics within higher education in Turkey with the scope of assessing how structures and practices diffuse.

Finally, the study attempts to analyze the centripetal/centrifugal forces through an interpretivist fashion as it is planned to be a qualitative analysis calling for

the researcher’s interpretations of the phenomena. In this respect, the problems related with the Council of Higher Education, from paradigmatic to practical, will be closely scrutinized.

Definitions of Terms

Institutionalism: Also known as historical institutionalism, institutionalism is a method in social sciences that takes institutions as its focal point in understanding patterns of organizational behavior by looking at their development and emergence through time (Reed, 1992).

New Institutionalism: The theory of new institutionalism looks at the way structures and practices become institutionalized through time and space in relation to multiple interactions within the field of the organizational activity and are legitimized or rejected by means of cultural and cognitive aspects (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a).

Cultural-cognitive model: One group of new institutional theoreticians who claim that organizational structures and practices are shaped and nurtured by cultural as aspects such as myths and rituals and emerging norms (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Rational-actor model: Another group of new institutional scholars maintain that there is a move back to rational choice model, as was proposed by classical and neo-classical theories, as interactions become more and more complicated, more rules and regulative mechanisms are formulated to keep things under control (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b).

Isomorphism: Isomorphism is the concept that refers to a process of taking adaptive changes within organizations or organizational activities where a successful model is replicated in order to become legitimized and survive (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a).

Diffusion: Diffusion is the process of structures and practices being dispersed through organizations by means of mechanisms within the organizational field such as coercive, mimetic or normative measures (Scott, 1987).

Structures: Assets such as rules and regulations as well as resources consisting of humans, equipment, establishments, or sub-organizations (Sewell, 1992).

Practices: The way things are done; actions or activities performed by organizations; accumulation of such activities within an organizational field (Sewell, 1992).

Organizational field: The template upon which organizational activities are performed and assume a pattern the norms of which are formulated within and by that field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a).

Legitimacy: The state of being approved by the organizational field or the relevant actors. Mostly used for a structure or a practice emerging from an organizational entity. A necessary prerequisite for a structure or a practice for survival and becoming institutionalized (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Institutionalization: The process of a practice or set of practices as well as structures getting legitimized and ensuring survival within an organizational field or community (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Formal organization: The claim that organizing follows a similar pattern across cultures and is based on rules and regulations said to be "a routine outcome of efficiency-generating competition of natural actors" (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991, p. 204).

Mimetic measures: Actions taken by organizations in the direction of replicating superior or successful organizations to ensure legitimacy and survival (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b).

Coercive measures: Implementations and actions taken by regulative agents to be imposed on sub-organizations with the purpose of having them conform to the rules and norms prescribed (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b).

Normative measures: Actions taken by institutions in compliance with the rules or standards defined or taken-for-granted within and by the organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b).

Myths: Beliefs or taken-for-granted suppositions that control and give direction to the way structures are formed and practices are performed. The underlying mechanisms reflecting events, sagas, emotions, or thoughts that set the boundaries in performing actions, etc. (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Rituals (Ceremonies): Written or unwritten procedures according to which organizational actions are performed; sequence of actions performed in doing things (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter consists of four major parts. The first part is a review of the literature on the evolution of the institutional theory with special reference to a paradigmatic shift and its impact on how organizations are perceived. The second part deals with the emergence of higher education governance and its projections in Turkey. The third part is a brief look at former studies contributing to the buildup of the theoretical frame. Finally, the fourth part presents a theoretical frame that constitutes the backbone of the study conducted.

2.1. Changes in Perception and Diffusion

The process of diffusion, a resulting effect of institutionalization of emerging structures and relevant practices, is thought to be subject to variations in interpretation due to changes in perception. The achievements in organizational analysis and views attained through widening of perspectives have enabled researchers to look into a wide range of factors affecting the way they interpret how organizations emerge and function. In accordance with the scope of this research and parallel with the analyses to be made in relation with the theoretical frame to be drawn, an overview of these changes in perception is deemed significant. Therefore, a comprehensive and concise account of the milestones in organizational analysis is presented as the review of literature constituting the theoretical frame of the investigation. Accordingly, chapter two is organized in a way that presents a summary of theoretical improvements in the field. The prevalent theories prior to the emergence of the new institutional theory are explained in order to better locate where the researcher stands in formulating the theoretical frame of the study. Second, the new institutional theory and its parameters are defined in detail for they are the

fundamental referents in the analyses made on the data collected. Third, former studies conducted within similar contexts, both outside and inside Turkey, are listed so as to point out the stage at which the researcher picks up the issue. Fourth, a explanation of the context is made to identify the bases for the units of analyses. Finally, a theoretical frame is formulated based on the theory at hand to indicate the guidelines to be attended in preparation of the research questions, the analysis of the data, and implications drawn from the results.

2.1.1. Discussions Prior to the Emergence of New Institutionalism (NI)

Organizational management theories, virtually until the start of the second half of the twentieth century, demonstrate a predominant influence of rationalist movement and modernization of social life. In other words, as has been emphasized both in organizational analysis and institutional theories, “the transition from craft to factory production, the exchange of rural community for urban sprawl, the general degradation of the environment, and the assault of rationalism upon the human spirit” (Morgan, 1986, p.20) and organizations are thought to emerge as tools for achieving certain ends (Burrell & Morgan; 1988Morgan, 1986).

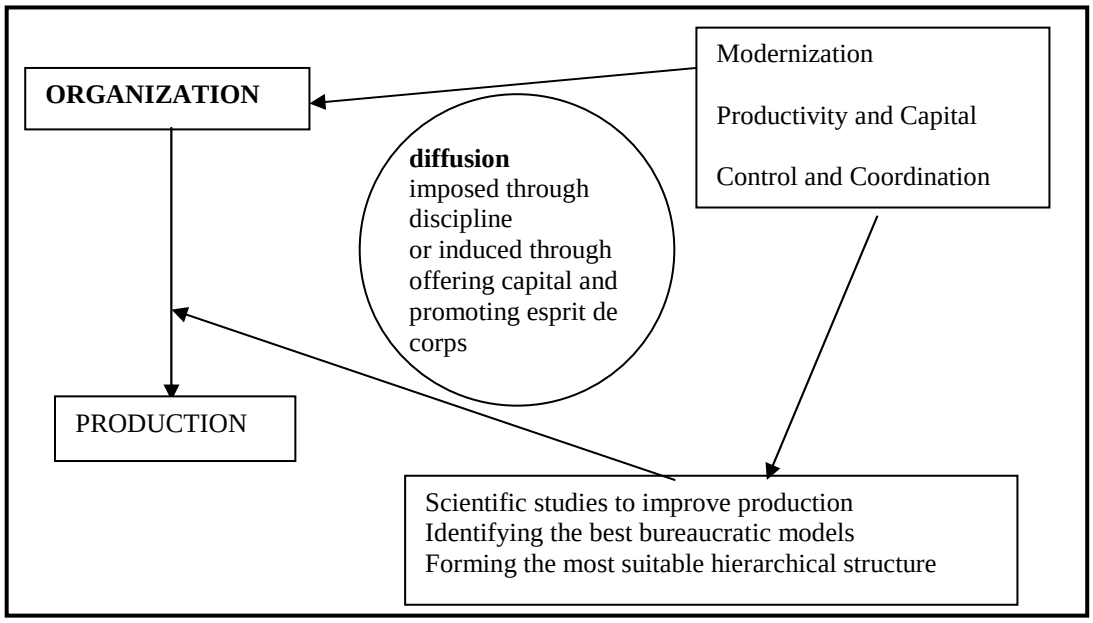

Figure 1. Classical Management Theory

Both classical and neo-classical approaches to organizational reality stress the attainment of certain ends in an orderly and predictable fashion. That is, both approaches are based on accelerating efficiency, productivity, and profitability (Burrell & Morgan, 1988). As seen in Figure 1, the classical management theory emphasizes conformity, on the part of the employer, with the norms of fulfilling one's task, usually at shop-floor level, through a reduction of human endeavor and craftsmanship to completion of mechanical tasks in a standardized and predetermined manner (Burrell & Morgan; 1988Morgan, 1986). On the other hand, as illustrated in Figure 2, the neo-classical approach centers on how efficiency and productivity can best be enhanced (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996) through stimulating productive behavior by manipulating the conditions (Morgan, 1986).

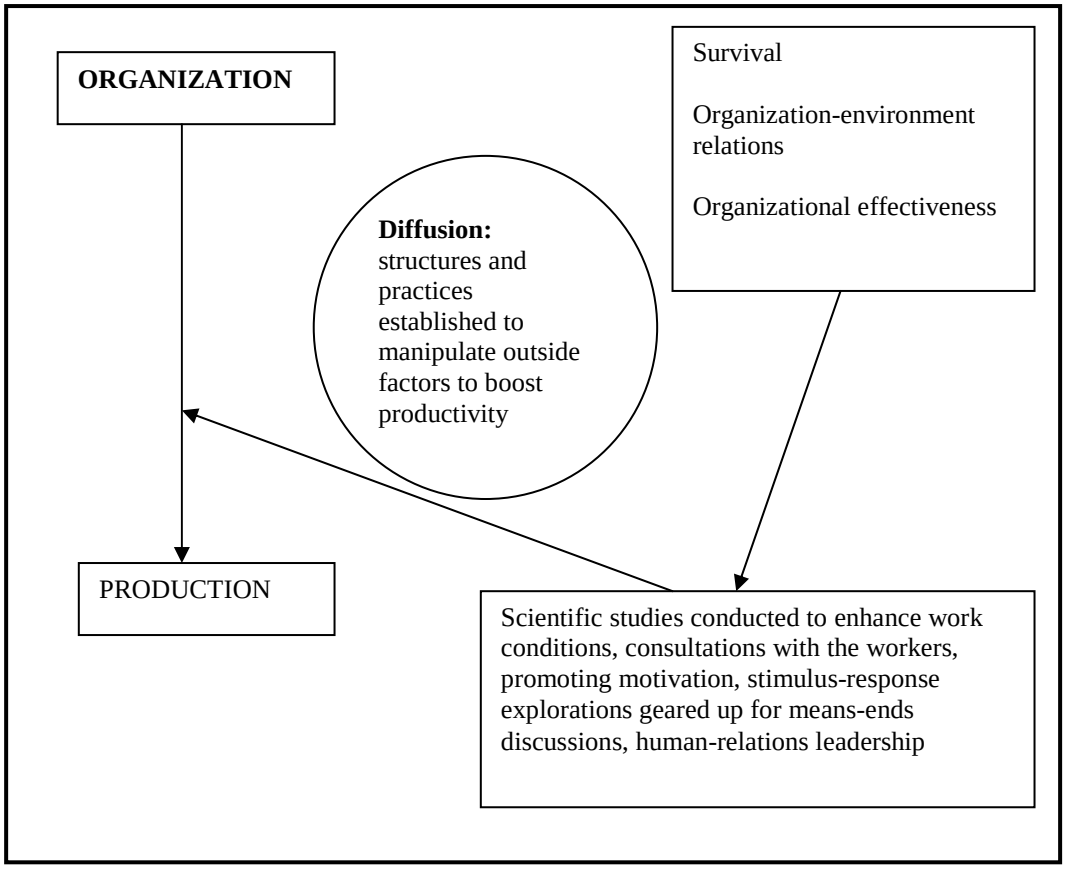

Figure 2. Neo-classical Theory

In classical theory, the plain rationale behind the theory for managing organizations is postulated as "[g]et the situation right, and the appropriate human behavior and organizational performance will follow" (Burrell & Morgan, 1988, p.128). However, the neo-classical movement favors the concept of boosting efficiency and productivity through organizational means, as Morgan (1986) states, "built on the idea that individuals and groups, like biological organisms, operate most effectively when their needs are satisfied" (p. 41).

The common grounds on which the classical and neo-classical theories are established constitute the parameters of the prevalent paradigm of the time; namely, the functionalist/structuralist approach in organizational analysis (Burrell & Morgan, 1988). Another commonality is that both theories assume a prescriptive nature in that they are predisposed to speak for what to do to achieve the best results in productivity and efficiency (Erden, 2006).

2.1.2. Systems View and Contingency Theory

Perhaps the main contribution of the systems approach in organizational analysis was that the elements constituting organizations, like any other living creature, resembled differentiations (Burrell & Morgan, 1988; Köni, 2001; Morgan, 1986).

Chester Barnard's (1938) definition of open systems approach, Herbert Simon's (1945) equilibrium theory, and the contingency theory formulated by Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) can be observed as the pioneers in evaluating organizational behavior and organizational management through a multi-dimensional perspective for they link the principle of management to cooperative interactions within the organization and to the functions and the consequent operations of the executives.

To ensure efficiency and survival, it becomes evident that the importance attached to the functioning of the organization is shifted toward the environment in which it exists (Reed, 1992). This view was further developed by Philip Selznick (1949) under the rubric of structural functionalism. Here, organizations were perceived to be formal structures consisting of human behaviors shaped by informal aspects. Also, environmental influences were believed to play an important role upon

the structures adopted by organizations. The diffusion of practices as well as structures and maintenance of the organization were guaranteed, according to Selznick (cited in Burrell & Morgan, 1988), through “inducements” (p. 153).

2.1.3. Theory, Methodology, and Rationale

The theoretical knowledge base on which postulations and claims were based assumed a deductive manner where principles and laws are drawn from statistical evaluations of the hypotheses deduced from generalizations formed by concepts. As such, public administration methods are based on theoretical formulations (Heper, 2003). Three approaches bridge the gap between the theories and practices; namely, reference to the theory, analysis of the practical events, and the decision-making (Hoy & Miskel, 1996). Consequently, all structures, practices, and norms are shaped by this continuum. Policies and mandates sponsored by the states do impose the lines of thinking and the types of action to be taken in executing their governance. Hence, political power is involved in enabling the necessary changes to occur and the desired consequences to be achieved (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

When evaluated from the perspective of the individuals, given the economic and social temptations, roles adopted and the taken-for-grantedness of the general view pointed to a voluntarism in agreeing to the terms for participants in the system were induced either with economic means or promotion (Reed, 1992). In other words, as Meyer and Rowan (1977) maintain, policies, practices, procedures, and norms of modern organizations “[were] enforced by public opinion, by the views of important constituents, by knowledge legitimated through the educational system, by social prestige, by the laws, and by the definition of negligence and prudence used by the courts” (p. 343).

2.1.4 Diffusion

As was discussed above, the diffusive nature of organizational practices and structures during the earlier stages of organizational theories was seen to be coordination and control oriented and the practice of it was somewhat backed by the political power (Reed, 1992). On the other hand, the economic drives that stimulated the people to adjust to the demands of modern life in the cities also disseminated the

notion of conformity among people (Morgan, 1983). The main characteristic of such a trend was that not much choice was left to the individuals in determining their course of actions and, thus, diffusion followed a one-way course, that is, it worked top-down (Burrell & Morgan, 1988; Morgan, 1983; Reed, 1992; Scott, 1975; Scott, 2004).

However, with the onset of attention paid to individual demands through human-relations movement, motivation, and the perception of organizations as open systems, diffusion mechanisms tended to assume a changing course (Reed, 1992). The emergence of organizations and their diffusion mechanisms were adapting themselves to how relations at the shop-floor influenced productions, what motivated individuals in becoming efficient, and how environment-organization interaction could be manipulated in order to enhance efficiency and productivity (Burrell & Morgan, 1988; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a; Morgan, 1983; Reed, 1992). Also, the introduction of technological advances into organizational life made change and adaptability in organizations even more urgent (Reed, 1992). In other words, change and adaptation became the most outstanding stimulus in organizational life and the policies and their diffusion were geared up to seek for survivability (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987).

The tools with which policies and structures were disseminated changed as well. Hence, rules and regulations, pre-determined scientific procedures, and bureaucratic measures started to lose their priority and were even found to be impeding efficiency (Bolman & Deal, 1991; Burrell & Morgan, 1986; Hoy & Miskel, 1996; Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996; Morgan, 1983; Reed, 1992).

The rise of postmodernism in organizational theories voiced the claims of those dissatisfied with the current state of events (Cahoone, 1996) that favored the regulative power of organizational management and the recognition of diverse natures in individual characteristics and their interactions within the society gave way to pluralism and their capability to determine the way they desired to be managed or led (Burrell & Morgan, 1988). Consequently, this situation set the competing elites to involving themselves in a constant race through which they tried to come into possession of an access to resources and power (Reed, 1992). The distinction between the modern and the postmodern in terms of diffusive nature of

the political power and the subsequent structures and practices is discussed as follows:

> The power perspective on organizations has attracted considerable support and attention within the sociology of organizations over the last two decades or so. One might say that it has undergone a revival in so far as it entails rediscovering and retrieving the focus on the symbiotic relationship between domination, control and organization which was of such theoretical significance and political import for Marx and Weber. While calling attention to the vital explanatory relevance of contextual or environmental factors in shaping and changing organizational structures and practices, it conceptualizes these in fundamentally different terms from those adopted by supporters of the systems approach. It rejects the limitations inherent in the latter's focus on 'neutral' or 'objective' situational contingencies such as size, markets, technologies or resource niches. Instead, it concentrates on the institutionalized economic, political and social structures through which organizations are reproduced and transformed over time as mechanisms facilitating and directing the struggle to control the conditions under and through which collective action is made possible (Reed, 1992, pp. 100-101).

Thus, understanding the diffusion of structures and practices in a postmodern sense calls for a conceptualization of institutional aspects that need to be analyzed. In other words, instead of perceiving organizations as simply means-ends agencies, institutionalism accounts for historical and environmental aspects together while explaining the tenets of organizational behavior. Cultural and linguistic elements, shared meanings and structural forms are to name some of the aspects to be reviewed in analyzing organizations (Reed, 1992).

2.1.5. Institutionalism

The term institutionalism refers to "regularized organizational behaviors" (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996, p. 1025) or "the common understanding and social definitions of organizational behavior" (Tolbert, 1985, p. 1). Furthermore, the process through which organizations go, according to Selznick (1957), helps with identifying the distinction between the terms *organization* and *institution*, where the former refers to an individual case under scrutiny while the latter refers more to an organization whose actions and practices have become deeply rooted in the field in which it operates. Selznick (1996) clarified on this distinction quite succinctly as he mentioned the process of institutionalization: "As an organization is

"institutionalized" it tends to take on a special character and to achieve a distinctive competence or, perhaps, a trained or built-in capacity," to which he went on to add that "institutionalization is a neutral idea" (p. 271), and that it refers to "the emergence of orderly, stable, socially integrating patterns out of unstable, loosely organized, or narrowly technical activities" (Broom & Selznick, 1955, p. 238).

The change concept, as discussed by early institutional theorists, adopted a radical character (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Selznick, 1949; Selznick, 1957). That is, as was empirically displayed in the seminal work conducted by Selznick (1949), change was implemented as a reaction or a response to the environmental demands and was perceived to be a rational choice made by the management. The subject community, which he selected for the study, was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), where he studied the leadership and the organizational strategy in resolving group conflict (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Selznick, 1986). Another significant finding of the study was that, in addition to the formal structures, values, myths, and rituals as well as informal norms were also at work (Reed, 1992; Selznick, 1986; Şimşek, 2005) in the organization's approach to decision-making.

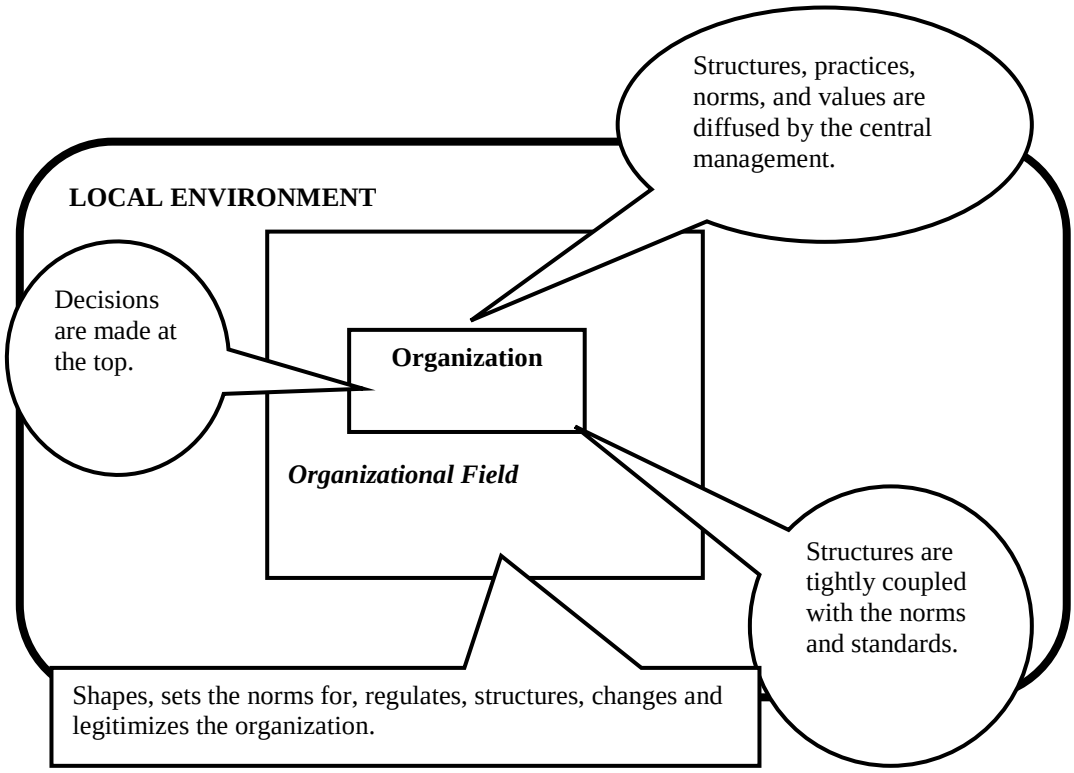

Figure 3. Organizational behavior according to institutional theory

The second characteristic that scholars pointed out about the institution theory was that the use of power, influence, and the imposition of values were all undertaken by the central elements (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

Centrality aspect choice-selection and decision-making highlighted yet another aspect of the early institution theory which rather tied the organizational decision-making mechanism to informal rules and taken-for-granted norms (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). The structures and practices to be adopted by organizations were predetermined by institutional dynamics, therefore, as seen in Figure 3, they were "tightly coupled" (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996, p. 1023).

2.1.6. The New-institutionalism (NI) and a Shift in Paradigm

The old version of the institutional theory is shown to rank among those governed by the positivist argument and, consequently, its merits have been highlighted with a strong reference to its solid rejection of uncertainty and emphasis on rationality in decision making (Dugger, 1990; Peukert, 2001; Selznick, 1996). Also, an elaboration on environment-organization interaction and organization-institutional field relationship has shown linearity (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Scott, 1991).

In addition to the aforementioned radical change, centrality, and rationality in decision-making that characterize the classical version of institutional theory (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996), locality, informality of structures, and cognitive aspects (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1991) are the main features of the theory that differentiate it from the new version. In fact, the old institutionalism perceives organizations as agencies embedded in local environments that operate according to informal or institutionalized norms and values that become adopted by the members as a prerequisite for socialization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b).

According to NI, on the other hand, organizations are more complicated and are too versatile to be looked at from a single standpoint. That is to say, institutionalism can be defined in as many ways as there are disciplines in social sciences (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a) or each definition points a way for theorizing about a new aspect of institutionalism (Scott, 2004). Contrary to old institutionalism,

NI treats change process as an adaptive course of action undertaken by organizations for the sake of legitimacy and survival (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Huisman, 2006; March & Olsen, 2005; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1991; Singh et al., 1986). Here, albeit redundant, institutions or institutional practices, due to several peripheral and institutional dynamics, resist change (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a).

Second, according to NI, institutional practices are not simply induced by the central power (Selznick, 1949) or enforced through regulative measures (North, 1990). Cultural and cognitive aspects are also shown to have a considerable influence on how organizational practices and structures are formed and/or sustained (Hall et al., 1996; March & Olsen, 2005; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Morphew & Huisman, 2002; Oakes et al., 1998; Scott, 2004; Sewell, 1992; Siegel et al. 1997; Stein, 1997; Zucker, 1988). In fact the very existence of organized behavior or organizational emergence is bound with such elements as norms, rules, fashions, or values that render the practice of certain things or adoption of certain structures as preferable and optimum (Jost, 2005; Scott, 2004).

As far as diffusion is concerned, looking at organizations merely as the results of means-ends continuum oversimplifies the transfer of policies, practices, and structures throughout organizations for such a tendency overlooks the inter-organizational and institutional influences (Scott, 1991; Scott & Meyer, 1991), internal and external dynamics (Covaleski & Dirsmith, 1988; Hall et al., 1996; Zucker, 1988), as well as an interplay of cultural and cognitive aspects found within the build-up of the social arena in which the organization is embedded (Gelfand et al., 1996; Huff & Kelley, 2002; Pepitone, 2000; Tetlock, 2000) .

2.1.7. The New Institutionalism and Diffusion

The current literature emphasizes the isomorphic nature of inter-organizational interactions, both normative and regulative, and the cognitive and cultural processes affecting the way organizations act (Scott, 2004).

To some scholars, both the former and the contemporary postulations on organizational analyses converge at certain ends (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Selznick, 1996) such as multiple themes (Scott, 1994) and emphasis on meaning, symbolic elements, and strategic change (Gioia et al., 1994; Scott, 1994). On the

other hand, the modern theory is criticized on the grounds that it fails to yield tangible proof for how actions are performed by the actors (Stinchcombe, 1997) or explain effectively the change reality in organizations (Gorges, 2001).

By definition, NI refers to institutionalization of organizational efforts, a process through which modern organizations are "driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In addition, DiMaggio and Powell (1991a) present the theory in a more interdisciplinary way by drawing connections between the institutional theory and "macrosociology, social history, and cultural studies, in which behavioralism never took hold" (p. 3).

The theory points to an institutionalization process whereby urging organizations and individuals to act, or rather duplicate the taken-for-granted norms and conventions, in a way, to legitimize themselves and survive, (Zucker, 1977). Yet another aspect pronounced by NI theory refers to an elaboration on how rationality issue is emphasized. At one end of the continuum, rationality is depicted as a switch back to Weberian "iron cage" model (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, p. 63) highlighting rational action dominated by institutional constraints, while at the other, it is contextually actualized where cultural, structural, and political influences downsize the number of alternatives either individually or collectively (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Jepperson, 1991; March & Olsen, 2004; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987; Scott & Meyer, 1991).

In its most modern sense, the theory of institutionalism maintains that organizations and their structures and practices are bound with configurations of macro level environmental influences and inter-organizational and institutional conventions, as a result of which organizational flexibility occurs (see Figure 4). This postulation takes on several meanings referring to an interplay of trends and cultural settings to which organizations are exposed in terms of their structures and actions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Jepperson, 1991; March & Olsen, 2004; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987; Scott & Meyer, 1983; Sewell, 1998).

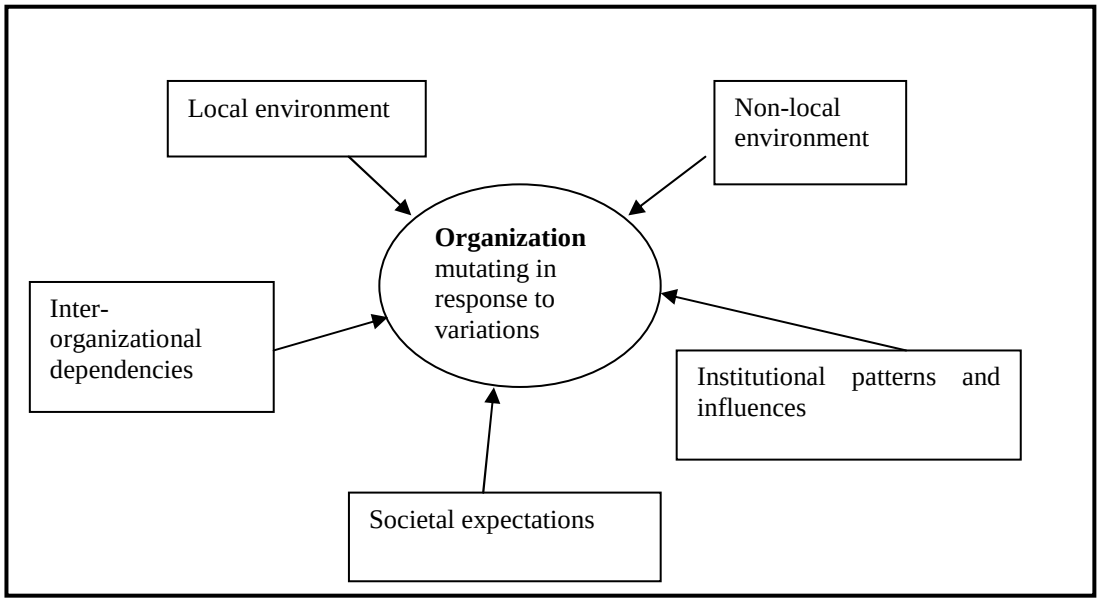

Figure 4. Influential elements shaping organizational structure and practices according to new institutionalism

Apart from the above-mentioned themes in institutional theory, variations in defining how values, norms, beliefs, and policies are diffused through organizations enabled the emergence of divergent forms of institutionalizations (Scott, 1987). Thus, institutions are observed as sectors or fields that "impose structural forms or practices on their subordinate organizational units" (Scott, 1987, p. 501) through using authority or coercion. On the other hand, institutions can also be defined as superordinate units that authorize or legitimize forms and structures over their subordinates, which, in turn, becomes a process of supporting and constraining the actions or behaviors of individuals or organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Scott, 1987). Also, organizational structures are induced, rather than imposed or authorized, by superior organizations through using resources as an offer. This approach mostly applies to weak nation-states whereas the former two are likely to be adopted by stronger ones (Scott, 1982; Scott & Meyer, 1991).

Sometimes, organizational forms and practices are simply acquired by institutions within the field for they present a good model for success and achievement (Rowan, 1982; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). In other words, when a pattern is practiced by a particular organization, similar other organizations within the same field model after it and the form or structure becomes stabilized (Rowan, 1982). Structures and forms are also described as characteristics acquired as organizations

are founded and are maintained through time (Kimberly, 1975; Stinchcombe, 1965). March and Olsen (1984), on the other hand, point out that forms and structures that bind organizations are not the products of a conscious process and are not intended; they are rather incorporated (Scott, 1987). Meyer and Rowan argue that, basing their conclusion especially on educational institutions, organizations retain rules, practices, and forms not as organizational structures but as "institutionally defined beliefs" (cited in Scott, 1987, p. 506). This view is parallel with the idea that schools are "loosely-coupled" organizations (Weick, 1976, pp. 1-19).

Each of these aspects means something in directing or channeling organizations into taking action. And, for a comprehensive analysis of how an individual organization does this, this process needs to be scrutinized with reference to a conceptualization of all of the themes in a taxonomic manner. Therefore, in the following section, the diffusion of structures and practices along with the dissemination of norms and values will be assessed in relation with the new themes introduced by NI.

2.1.8. The New Institutionalism and Organizational Field for Diffusion

Having mentioned the growing attention paid to organization-environment interaction in organizational analysis earlier in this chapter, it is thought to be worthwhile to contemplate on how this concept is treated in the theory of NI for diffusive characteristics of organizations are observed to be intertwined with external variations (Brint & Karabel, 1989). Generally speaking, the existing literature on institutionalism takes the analysis of external factors in organizational phenomena as the departure point (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a; Galaskiewicz, 1991; March & Olsen, 2004; Meyer, 1977; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Rowan, 1982; Scott, 1991; Selznick, 1949).

Until recently, organizational structures and expansion were deemed to be "a routine outcome of efficiency-generating competition of natural actors" (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991, p. 204). However, the retreat from the constraints of positivism and neo-classical approach in theorizing has enabled the social scientists dealing with organizational analysis to claim that behavior, either individual or corporate, cannot be comprehended without reference to societal and environmental contexts

(Friedland & Alford, 1991). From a broader perspective, this philosophical and methodological template requires a multi-dimensional scheme to work within, as Friedland and Alford further comment:

> … to posit the exteriority of society in a nonfunctionalist, nondeterminist manner requires an alternative conception of society as an interinstitutional system. We conceive of institutions as both supraorganizational patterns of activity through which humans conduct their material life in time and space, and symbolic systems through which they categorize that activity and infuse it with meaning (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 232).

The concept of organizational field, as a conceptual framework within which organizational analysis is conducted in its most modern sense, refers to "those organizations that, in aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, pp. 64-65). The emergence of an organizational field goes through four developmental stages: increasing inter-organizational interactions; rise of consensual structures that shows dominance and procedures; flow of information among the participants; and organizational self-awareness of involvement within the type of mission (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b). An organizational field is also shown to have emerged due to administrative professionalism and authority-gaining purposes for establishing the norms and patterns in inter-organizational operations, with field-dependent characteristics and the type of organizational activity fulfilled as indicators in naming the kind of organizational field being formed (DiMaggio, 1991). Still another claim points to nation-states and professional institutions in the discussion of how the emergence of organizational fields occurs (Aypay, 2001; Heper, 2003; Kongar, 2003; Zucker, 1988).

Organizational fields and their influential role shape the structures and practices undertaken by organizations through myths and rituals that are taken-for-granted by the participants of that organizational field (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This view brings on the conclusion that an organizational field has a legitimizing power. Nevertheless, this argument is not to be taken as a claim favoring the environmentalist objectivism in theory. The new institutional argument, on the contrary, puts it as:

> Quite beyond the environmental interrelations suggested in open-systems theories, institutional theories in their extreme forms define organizations as dramatic enactments of the rationalized myths pervading modern societies rather than as units involved in exchange – no matter how complex – with their environments (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 347).

Furthermore, macro-level and micro-level interrelationships among organizations are postulated as indicators of organizational output, where individuals, and ultimately, organizations model each other in their outcomes (Zucker, 1991). To be more specific, as organizations imitate prevalent forms and patterns within the institutional environment at macro-level, micro-level processes, both as individual cognitions and symbols, construe the isomorphic nature of behavior in organizations (Barley et al., 1988; Gioia et al., 1994; Rowan, 1982; Siegel et al., 1997; Stein, 1997; Zucker, 1988; Zucker, 1991). The emphasis placed on contextual features in explaining institutional phenomena, however, is countered by arguments made on, specifically, the micro-level interrelations, the institutionalization of which "denotes a distinct social property or state, and that institutions should not be specifically identified, as they often are, with either cultural elements or a type of environmental effect" (Jepperson, 1991, p. 144). This counter-argument is evidenced by the author on the grounds of legitimacy where illegitimate actions, such as organized crime or corruption, can also become institutionalized.

The organization-environment model is further developed with more emphasis placed on macro-level relationships, both vertical and horizontal, drawing on the conclusion that the former theories for organizational interdependencies underestimate links at broader perspective. The term "societal sector", as used by Scott and Meyer (1991), refers to "(1) a collection of organizations operating in the same domain, as identified by the similarity of their services, products, or functions, (2) together with those organizations that critically influence the performance of the focal organizations" (p. 117). In this framework, accounting for a multiplicity of interfaces between and among organizations is featured with sectoral classification based on specialization and professionalization that further indicate the type of the field, either technical or institutional (Scott & Meyer, 1991), upon which the authors draw their propositions.

At macro and micro levels, environmental influences and culture as well as the type of the organizational field are listed to be the elements to be conceptualized in understanding organizations and their outcomes (Scott, 1987; Scott, 1991; Scott & Meyer, 1991). Defining the boundaries of these organizational fields takes on different forms in relation with the range one takes in perceiving the extent of inter-organizational relations and the agents that perform them;

> … boundaries are defined in functional rather than geographic terms. All begin by identifying a group of organizations producing similar products or services (much like the concept of population as employed by the ecologist or industry group as employed by economists) but include as well their critical exchange partners, sources of funding, regulatory groups, professional or trade associations, and other sources of normative or cognitive influence. Nonlocal as well as local connections, vertical as well as horizontal ties, and cultural and political influences, as well as technical exchanges are included within the organizational field or forces viewed as relevant (Scott, 1991, pp. 173-174).

When the degree of precision demanded is taken as a criterion, institutionalization, that is, normative and regulative constraints introduced by the field upon the organization, the type of environment-organization relationship can be identified (Powell, 1991). It is highly suggested that for an effective and down-to-earth analysis of organizational reality, rather than deterministic and environmental elements, an inter-organizational field level observation is needed (Galaskiewicz, 1991).

Table 1
Different versions of organizational field concept in NI

Authors	**Definition of Organizational Field as a Concept**
Philip Selznick (1957)	Institutionalization – organizational interaction; adaptation as response to both internal and external environments
John Meyer and Brian Rowan (1977)	Institutional environments have an impact on organizations.
Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell (1983)	Organizational field is the institutional life that consists of all involved in reaching an outcome.

(Table 1 continued)

Richard Scott and John Meyer (1983)	Societal sector includes both vertical-horizontal and local-nonlocal links within the organizational field.
Lynne Zucker (1991)	Social conformity model in inter-organizational and institutional isomorphism for legitimacy and admission to the sector.
Ronald Jepperson (1991)	Organizations should not be identified with cultural elements or environmental effects.
Ronald Jepperson and John Meyer (1991)	Formal organizations are both interdependent and interpenetrated with the elements of rationalized society within the modern polity constituting the nation-state.
James March and Johan Olsen (2004)	The sector of institutionalized activity determine the norms and rules for structures and practices.

The organizational field concept takes on different names and contents all of which point, one way or another, to organizational output being regulated and formed by the culture and environment in which the organization is embedded (see Table 1). The dynamic feature of field impact on organizational outcomes is defined in the claim that "[t]he basic logic of action is rule following – prescriptions based on a logic of appropriateness and a sense of rights and obligations derived from an identity and membership in a political community and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions" (March & Olsen, 2004, p. 8). The dynamic side is also iterated in various forms emphasizing the changing faces of organizational fields and situational constraints on organizational structures and practices (Hall et al., 1996; Leblebici et al., 1991; March & Olsen, 2004; Meyer, 1986; Oakes et al., 1998; Osborn & Hagedoorn, 1996). Not only the forms of organizations but also the organizational interests are said to be in conformity with the demands of higher

organizations for ensuring the organization's legitimacy and survival (Singh et al., 1986; Tolbert, 1985; Zucker, 1988). Another role that a cumulative evolution of organizational field and its impact on organizational outcome is seen as a standardizing effect (Boschken, 1998; Meyer et al., 1988; Werle, 2001), a disposal of uncertainty (Zucker, 1986), and socialization (Barley et al., 1988; Siegel et al., 1997; Stein, 1997). Institutionalization and its impact within the organizational field is shown to provide a "sociological model of sovereignty," which "illuminates (1) the ways in which global social constraints empower actors, including states; and (2) the ways in which institutions – including the bundle of rules and legitimated identities associated with state 'sovereignty' – constrain actors" (Jinks & Goodman, 2003, p. 1750) .

Many of the research findings based on the new institutionalism theory as the theoretical framework point to an isomorphic interaction between and among organizations within the same organizational field. It is thought worthwhile, at this time, to consider isomorphism for it shows the direction and manner in how diffusion of policies, structures, and practices occurs.

2.1.9. Isomorphism

The idea of an isomorphic interaction among things is not a new concept. It shows a relationship between characteristics and operations. The concept is originally applied in mathematics, where, it is claimed, one property true for one object then it is also true for the other, if both objects are isomorphic. A similar concept, homeostasis, that focuses on how social beings respond to external factors to reach and maintain a state of equilibrium reifies the plausible measures to be taken for the sake of survival and legitimacy (Capra, 1996; Dowling & Fang, 2006).

Similar analogies have been drawn between organisms and organizations with the claim that organizations, as do organisms, interact with the environment in which they are and imitate similar organizations or adapt to environmental constraints (Burrell & Morgan, 1988; Morgan, 1986; Geyer, 2000).

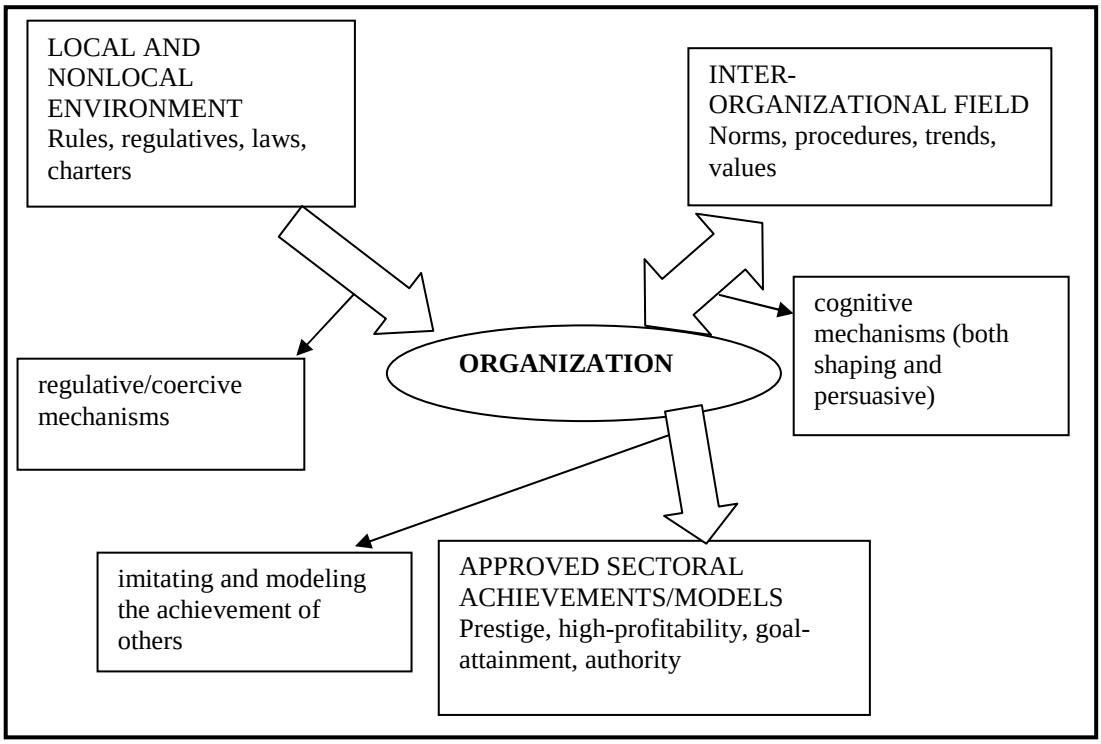

Figure 5. Isomorphism

The main struggle organizations are engaged in is depicted as the struggle against exhaustion and resistance to change drives actors in the direction of setting rules and procedures that are formally defined, which ultimately sets the limits of bureaucracy (Aypay, 2003). The rules and regulations that are formulated in order to eradicate uncertainty constitute the culture predominantly admitted to within that organizational field or environment (Sewell, 1992). It is these sets of rules and regulations that are thought to create and maintain homogeneity within the organizational field, a claim that is much in conformity with the regulative power of social order prevalent all over functionalist and structuralist arguments (Burrell and Morgan, 1988; Gates, 1997).

DiMaggio and Powell (1991a) argue that regulative and coercive constraints on organizations bring about political issues and a concern for legitimacy whereas cognitive and mimetic behaviors are displayed in compliance with the common trends in order to reduce uncertainty. Normative effects, on the other hand, are the consequences of professionalization (Aypay, 2003). Here, regulative and coercive measures undertaken by individual sectors or the field in which they operate have a binding force and cannot be overlooked; however, cognitive/mimetic and normative

assets are undertaken voluntarily by the participants because they are taken-for-granted and are necessary for legitimacy (Aypay, 2003; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; March & Olsen, 2004; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Morphew & Huisman, 2002; Scott, 1986). A network of isomorphic interrelations is shown in Figure 5.

In line with the above-mentioned aspects of isomorphism, implementation policies and procedures that are the outcomes of interest relations and the use of power brings along the enforcement of certain types of behavior in order to grant legitimacy and guarantee survival (Covaleski & Dirsmith, 1988).

Isomorphism is seen to occur within and between organizations both vertically and horizontally (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott & Meyer, 1991). Here, environmental and inter-organizational pressures are claimed to hold a normative and regulative characteristic from which a number of propositions or hypothesis about organizational behavior are reached. For example, it is presumed that rationalized elements within one societal sector are adopted faster by organizations and are instrumental in verification of their legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) or that individuals prefer to follow on the patterns of behavior institutionalized rather than deciding on their own whether they should do it or not (Zucker, 1991).

Though it is claimed that the new institutional theory falls short in accounting for why certain practices are adopted while others are simply discarded (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) a clarifying insight is provided in most documents emphasizing the need for a site-based exploration in search for organizational contexts and inter-organizational dynamics (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Hall et al., 1996; Scott & Meyer, 1991). It is mostly observed that the cultural congruence (Cameron & Sarah, 1991) determines whether a structure or practice is going to be adopted or that organizations seem to comply with the terms of the change proposed but drop the control and coordination mechanisms, a point that tacitly reminds the concept of decoupling (Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Pajak & Green, 2003; Weick, 1976).

Isomorphism is an important concept to consider in understanding how diffusion takes place in organizations. In other words, organizations adopt certain changes or practices due to regulative, normative, or mimetic reasons (Scott, 1986). However, determining why these structural aspects are adopted or not depends on a careful study of the contextual elements. These contextual elements appear to be an

accumulation of historical and social constituents both of which can be grouped under the theme of culture.

2.1.10. Culture

Among many other things, language is thought to be the main conveyer and transmitter of cultural values and norms that prevail societies (Burrell & Morgan, 1988; Eliasoph & Lichterman, 2003). This claim is best described in the reference made to the role played by language in the acculturation process of individuals in subcultures (Barley et al., 1988; Pinker, 1994).

Apart from the arguments of language in the first place in explaining the role of culture in human behavior, other aspects such as myths and rituals, simply put, the accumulated habits and practices in one culture or cultural sector, are shown to be the determiners of practical patterns and behavioral types (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Jost, 2005; Meyer, 1977; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1991), a point which juxtaposes with that of Durkheim where he made reference to the binding and structuring nature of culture (Eliasoph & Lichterman, 2003). At times, these cultural patterns and taken-for-granted norms of behavior influence the way individuals act to such an extent that the action taken may take on a non-rational texture for perceptions of legitimacy and cost-effectiveness (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a; Hall et al., 1996; Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

The theme of culture, within the framework of NI, tends to include several aspects. From a sociological and anthropological standpoint, Sewell (1992) notes that structure refers to the rules and resources within a given social system. In this context, rules are defined as a cultural accumulation of knowledge that shapes individuals' actions. In Sewell's terms, in addition to describing them as "formally stated prescriptions," rules may refer to "the informal and not always conscious schemas, metaphors, or assumptions presupposed by such formal statements" (1992, p. 8). Resources, on the other hand, are classified as human and non-human assets, where the former refers to "physical strength, dexterity, knowledge, and emotional commitments that can be used to enhance or maintain power" while the latter is presented to mean "objects, animate or inanimate, naturally occurring or manufactured, that can be used to enhance or maintain power" (Sewell, 1992, p. 9).

So, both forms are shown to have a means for accession to power, which defines the means of "gaining, retaining, controlling, and propagating either human or nonhuman resources" (p. 9).

What is so striking about Sewell's evaluation of structure as a cultural element is that it seeks to define it as a dynamic feature that emphasizes variability of its implications within certain circumstances, as Sewell puts it:

> Structures, I have argued, are constituted by mutually sustaining structural schemas and sets of resources that empower and constrain social action and tend to be reproduced by that action. Agents are empowered by structures, both by the knowledge of cultural schemas that enables them to mobilize resources and by the access to resources that enables them to enact schemas. This differs from ordinary sociological usage of the term because it insists that structure is a profoundly cultural phenomenon and from ordinary anthropological usage because it insists that structure always derives from the character and distribution of resources in the everyday world. Structure is dynamic, not static; it is the continually evolving outcome and matrix of a process of social interaction. Even the more or less reproduction of structures is a profoundly temporal process that requires resourceful and innovative human conduct (Sewell, 1992, p. 27).

This dynamism of structural elements that needs to be reviewed each time a different social setting is explored points to properties peculiar to that particular society. This non-behavioral view is supported by many other scholars with fields of interests ranging from social-psychology (Bandura, 2001; Pepitone, 2000; Pepitone & L'Armand, 1997); to organizational behavior (Jehn, 1994; Luque, 2001; Tetlock, 2000; Wallace, 1995).

Socio-cultural characteristics thought to be influential in organizational behavior have been studied in several settings. Patterns underlying interpersonal communication, both verbal and nonverbal, the direction of communicative behavior within organizational hierarchy, perception of authority, use of power and authority for influencing and getting things done, conflict/problem solving and decision-making procedures and leadership types are all discussed under the topic of organizational behavior (Bolman & Deal, 1991; Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996; Robbins, 1989; Schermerhorn et al., 1997).

A comprehensive analysis of cultural variations between nations is made by Hofstede (2005) where he identifies four categories of main cultural variations: (1)

power distance; (2) uncertainty avoidance; (3) individualism vs. collectivism; and (4) masculinity. In describing what lies beneath cultural forms, he argues that symbols, heroes, rituals, and values manifest themselves at various levels of depth, symbols being the most superficial representations while values the deepest (Hofstede, 2005).

Individualism-collectivism value dimension, as a cultural aspect, is frequently shown to have an influence on procedural preferences such as conflict resolution in which collectivist societies are found to seek resolution in negotiation whereas competitive procedures are ascribed to individualist ones (Earley, 1998; Gelfand & Triandis, 1994; Gire & Carment, 1993; Huff & Kelley, 2002; Moorman & Blakely, 1995).

2.1.11. Metaphors, Myths, and Rituals

Placed midway between the objectivist and subjectivist extremes in the discussion for functionalist paradigm, the interactionist argument, developed by Malinowski, Simmell, and Mead, talks about the meaning attached to collective behavior, pointing to a taken-for-granted set of semiotic structures, practiced arbitrarily, and prone to change depending on the context and locality (Burrell & Morgan, 1988; Peirona, 2000). However, these common frames of action appear to have emerged from sets of values, beliefs, and mythological occurrences and are the cumulative results of historical records. Most articulated of all in organizational analysis, myths and rituals are reported to call for a penetration "beneath the surface level of appearance and experience to uncover the objective foundations of social arrangements" (Smircich, 1983, cited in Şimşek, 1992, p. 24). On the other hand, metaphors, sometimes used to refer to myths, the accumulated knowledge of things that enables a means with which to know and perceive the world around, as Morgan points:

> We use metaphors whenever we attempt to understand one element of experience in terms of another. Thus, metaphor proceeds through implicit or explicit assertions that A is (or is like) B. When we say 'the man is a lion,' we use the image of a lion to draw attention to the lion-like aspects of the man. The metaphor frames our understanding of the man in a distinctive yet partial way (Morgan, 1986, p. 13).

Morgan's metaphorical approach in describing organizational characteristics helps with drawing a mental framework in understanding the organizational dynamics constituting the type of behaviors displayed. Similarly, as Şimşek (1992) pointed out, "[o]rganizations can be explained as subjectively constructed or enacted realities" (p. 39). These realities are created "by influencing the language, norms, folklore, ceremonies and other social practices that communicate the ideologies, values, and beliefs in guiding action" (Morgan, 1986, cited in Şimşek, 1992, p. 39).

In the literature relating with organizational behavior, development and nurture of heroic models for ensuring high performance and motivation is associated with myths as an organizational theme whereas the use of rites, ceremonies, and rituals refer to "seemingly unproductive activities" that serve many social purposes as well as "help clarify and reinforce the organization's culture" (Umstot, 1984, p. 494). On a similar account, the college faculty members' undergoing a sequence of scholarly activities, for instance, for obtaining a longer-term contract or tenure is given as an example for ritual (Robbins, 1989). Schermerhorn and colleagues (1997), on the other hand, draw a contextual connection among myths, rituals, cultural symbols, and rites. For them, rites, which refer to "standardized and recurring activities, used as special times to influence the behaviors and understanding of organizational members" (p. 273) and rituals that are a systemic definition of rites make up the organizational culture. In the same context, an organization myth refers to "an unproven and often unstated belief that is accepted uncritically" (p. 275).

A comparison between scientific thinking and reference to myths in organizational sustainability has been made to demonstrate what either of them stands to achieve in serving the organization's well-being as the former implies a diminishing effect in obliterating the element of uncertainty while the latter points to nullify the awareness of uncertainty (Westerlund & Sjostrand, 1979, cited in Şimşek, 1992). Şimşek cites a list of characteristics that indicate myths:

- The myth often treats connections between concepts needing a particular firm explanation. If there is a change, the reason for it must be unequivocally laid down. Preferably it should give the ultimate reason, primus motor.
- Myths are handed down from one generation of organization theorists and organization practitioners to another.

- For the believer the myth expresses what exists and, as usual, it is difficult to convert a believer. From other contexts we know that it is possible to convert a person only if he or she is ready to be converted.
- The accepted myths regulate the conduct: thanks to them you know how to behave in a given situation. Myths thus contribute to conserving culture; in this case the culture which has been developed around and within the enterprise, based on the concepts of organization (Westerlund & Sjostrand, 1979, cited in Şimşek, 1992, p. 27).

Özbudun (1997) points to the regulative nature of rituals in ancient societies. To be more precise, social interactions, standardization of agricultural practices, sharing the product, social stratification, and role distribution as well as their institutionalization within the community indicate the evolutionary progress of rituals. Also, rituals constitute the norms that are used in determining the legitimacy of practices and structures. So, rituals are (1) symbolic, (2) standardized, (3) repetitive, (4) not based on practicality, (5) resistant to change, (6) not much arbitrary, and (7) connected with what is known as holy (Özbudun, 1997). In other words, rituals are there to reduce diversity and conflict helping with structuring the communal living in a hierarchical and ceremonial fashion. DiMaggio and Powell (1991a) state that conflicts are overcome by the organization by means of developing administrative structures in order to prevent divergence from the existing way of doing things. In their seminal article, Meyer and Rowan (1977) conclude;

> organizations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized in society. Organizations that do so increase their legitimacy and their survival prospects, independent of the immediate efficacy of the acquired practices and procedures (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 340).

Myths are said to have two key properties: one, they are rationalized, impersonal, and rule-like way of accomplishing social tasks; two, they are highly institutionalized and, therefore, are not questioned or evaluated (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Another point about myths is that they make it easier for formal organizations to be established where, Meyer and Rowan (1977) argue, "… the myths built into rationalized institutional elements create the necessity, the

opportunity, and the impulse to organize rationally, over and above pressures in this direction created by the need to manage proximate relational networks" (p. 345).

The authors relate the origin of rationalized myths to the elaboration of complex relational networks, the degree of collective organization of the environment, and leadership efforts of local organizations.

Myths, as institutionalized elements, are recognized as necessary to be acted upon for the survival and legitimacy of the organizations. Otherwise, in case of failure to incorporate these proper elements of structure may result in the conclusion that "the continued flow of support is threatened and internal dissidents are strengthened" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 350). Meyer and Rowan (1977) conceptualizes schematically the organizational survival as follows (p. 346):

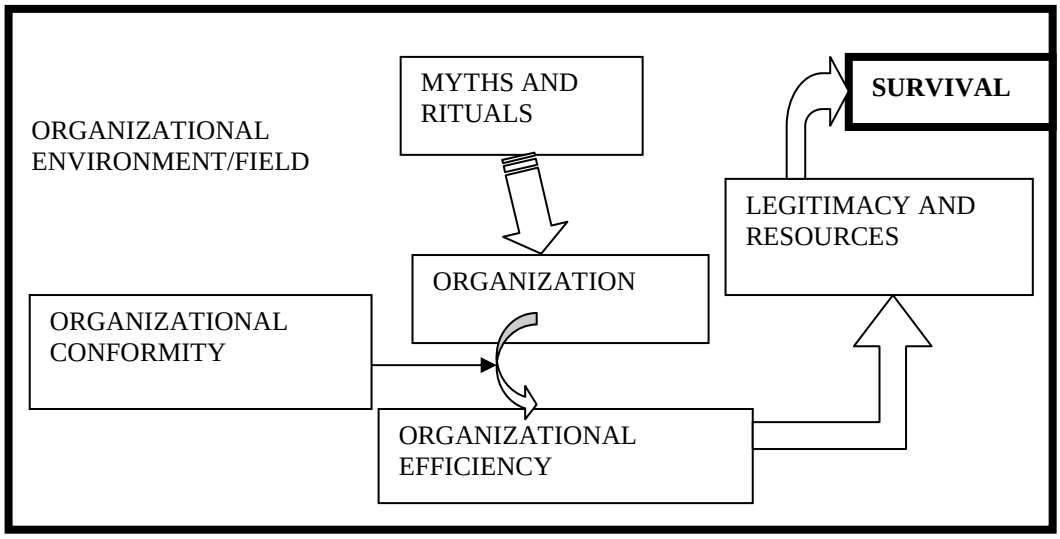

Figure 6. Organizational Survival
Source: Meyer, J.W. & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony, *American Journal of Sociology*, *83*, 340-363.

In Figure 6, the legitimizing effect of myths and rituals existing in the operational field of the organization, the organizational environment, is shown in the form of the organization ensuring its survival through conforming to their demands, whereby verifying its legitimacy and its share of resources. In this respect, it is claimed organizational beliefs, values, ideologies, myths, legends, narratives, or sagas are just "different terms of addressing the same kind of phenomena" and that they provide "an organization with its sense of mission, its sense of uniqueness and distinctiveness" (Harman, 1989, p. 36). On the other hand, Pajak and Green argue

that these mechanisms have no direct involvement with the legal structure of the social order and claim that

> This sense of legitimacy obscures the objective nature of the relationships among the different classes and groups that constitute society, making possible the imposition of symbols and meanings favoured by economically and socially dominant groups without having to resort to visible forms of enforcement that might be openly challenged (Pajak & Green, 2003, p. 395).

This postulation juxtaposes with the theme of organizations de-coupling their internal mechanisms from each other (Meyer & Rowan, 1976; Weick, 1976). This separateness, as argued by Pajak and Green (2003), downplays the diffusive power of the rationalized authoritative power, where some "idiosyncratic" forms replace "dysfunctional and ineffective components" lest they should have a minimizing effect on the productivity and efficiency of the whole system (p. 406). Discussions on whether certain forms of structures and practices will yield better results in organizational outcome is accompanied by scholarly thinking that cultural congruence plays a crucial role in predicting compatibility. Although evidence against drawing a correlation between cultural congruence and strength of cultural aspects within a given organization are associated with high level of performance is available (Cameron & Freeman, 1991), it is frequently noted that organizations tend to take on types of action that do not place too much of a burden on them and pursue an optimal track (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a; Meyer & Rowan, 1992; Scott, 1986). This puts rationality issue under close scrutiny in accounting for what dynamics interplay in making decisions.

2.1.12. Decision Making and Rationality

The prevalent paradigm in classical theory, the "rational man" (Rubenstein, 1998, p. 7) is the performer and gain-maximizer in the rational-actor model, who is calculative, predictive, outcome-driven, and uncertainty-free. Institutional theory, in its modern sense, especially organizational ecology school, opposes to perceiving rational actor at the center of organizational activities and making decisions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b) whereas the proponents of NI theory in economics draw on the blurred vision regarding the agent behind the transaction cost calculations and take a critical view of non-rationality (North; 1990; Stinchcombe,

1997; Williamson, 1979). Furthermore, even among those that speak for the NI theory in sociology and organizational behavior there are scholars who claim isomorphic interactions, both at local and nonlocal levels, occur based on rational inclinations (Drori et al., 2004).

The first challenge that shook the pillars of rationality and optimal choice making was presented by Herbert Simon (1957) where he formulated a counter point from which to propose that agents can only engage in achieving goals as long as their resources will allow them to. On a similar track, departing from a critical viewpoint, Lindblom (1959) challenged rational model in decision making on the grounds that the proposed systematic approach in reaching the optimal choice was burdensome and not practical. Instead, decision makers, as Lindblom argued, opt for speedy choices using none of the steps prescribed, a process which he described as "muddling through" (pp. 79-88). Yet another theory that goes about explaining the decision making phenomena in organizations favored marginal decisions to be made, one at a time, instead of attempting the solve whole of the problems at one time. The solutions were to be found in slow process, piece by piece, at incremental steps until the state of resolution was constructed (Fisher, 1964; Hayes, 2001). Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972), on the other hand, pointed to an environment full of uncertainties that blur the sights of decision makers and render the future unpredictable. Consequently, those in charge of making decisions, argued Cohen and colleagues, move from one option to another as they drop the ones they consider useless in a garbage can, a metaphorical explanation for disposal (Olsen, 2001). DiMaggio and Powell (1991a; 1991b) swing the pendulum toward a more non-rationalistic stand as they argue:

> The new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supraindividual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals' attributes or motives (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a, p. 8).

Elsewhere, the authors treat the issue of rationality from a slightly different standpoint where they mention, speaking of the present time, the exhaustive nature of the circumstances that render being rational in decision making a void step to consider;

> We argue that the causes of bureaucratization and rationalization have changed. The bureaucratization of the corporation and the state have been achieved. Organizations are still becoming more homogeneous, and bureaucracy remains the common organizational form. Today, however, structural change in organizations seems less and less driven by competition or by the need for efficiency. Instead, we contend, bureaucratization and other forms of organizational change occur as the results of processes that make organizations more similar without necessarily making them more efficient (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, pp. 63-64).

By the same token, Zucker (1988) indicates that the common core of the discussions committed in organizational analysis centers on interest and agency, where the former refers to benefit-seeking and the latter goal-directed actor on the pursuit of benefit. Whereas in the upcoming genre of institutional theory, the multiplicity of factors and norms do not allow individual actors to act on their own interests (Zucker, 1988). This, as Zucker (1988) puts it, is due to the proposition that "[a]s long as action is guided by norms or constitutive expectations, variation in actor interests will not play a role in its outcome" (p. 5). These allegations are based on the evidence that organizations with similar patterns of interest may differ from each other due to peculiarities that stem from the way they have institutionalized (Crozier, cited in Zucker, 1988). In addition, professionalism, exterior factors disabling individual pursuit of interest, characteristics of the institutional field, and the proximity of the organization to the institutional field are stated to be inhibitors of rational action (Zucker, 1988). Scott (1986) refers to the process of institutionalization as a three-stage phenomenon: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Simply put, taking action, realizing that this action is separate from the actor, and then making it a conscious process are what is suggested with this process. In an attempt to consolidate the outcomes of the various versions of the institutional theory, Scott (1986) presents a definition of how institutionalization occurs:

> The common feature in all of these definitions is viewed as the social process by which individuals come to accept a shared definition of social reality – a conception whose validity is seen as independent of the actor's own views or actions but is taken for granted as defining "way things are" and/or "way things are to be done (Scott, 1986, p. 496).

Zucker (1991) provides more evidence for individuals engaging in actions that are widely accepted by the outside world due to the cognitive framework they have drawn through institutionalization of practices and persistence of individuals at organizational level without running a clear-cut rationality as they are urged to make a choice.

Contrary to the claims of cultural-cognitive framework, a rational model, deemed to be influential in enabling organizational legitimacy and survival, is suggested, as was visible in the original accounts of Meyer and Rowan (1977): "organizations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized in society" (p. 341). This prevailing postulation in institutional theory finds a deeper insight in the accounts made for organizations run by rationalized myths and, their derivatives, rule-like systems that function to enhance efficacy (Scott, 2004) and such norms of rationality are thought to be playing a causal role in the emergence of formal organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). "To maintain ceremonial conformity," argue the authors, "organizations that reflect institutional rules tend to buffer their formal structures from the uncertainties of technical activities by becoming loosely coupled, building gaps between their formal structures and actual work activities (p. 341).

In fact, the discussion of rationality takes on various forms, each one telling about a different aspect of rationality being leaned on in decision making. For example, Gillman (2004) refers to multidimensionality that must be reckoned in viewing the political proceedings in the US Congress as he emphasizes the non-linearity visible in the parliamentarian decision making. He writes, "[r]ather than talk (formalistically) about one nondemocratic branch of government and two democratic branches it would be more accurate to think about American politics as made up of 'many centers of decision-making' and then ask how courts fit into these competing power centers" (p. 364). A similar line of thinking, observed in Hall and his colleagues' accounts (1996), asserts that as institutions become more and more conventional in structure and practice they evade public control and resist individual attempts to transform them. The authors provide a vivid example from US Congress as they visualize institutional theory in politics:

> If conventional rational choice postulates are correct, it should be difficult to secure stable majorities for legislation in the US Congress, where the multiple preference-orderings of legislators and multidimensional character of issues should lead to rapid 'cycling' from one bill to another as new majorities appear to overturn any bill that is passed. However, Congressional outcomes actually show considerable stability. In the late 1970s, rational choice analysts began to ask: how can this discrepancy be explained? For an answer they turned to institutions. Many began to argue that stable majorities could be found for legislation because of the way in which the rules of procedure and committees of Congress structure the choices and information available to its members (Hall et al., 1996, p. 4).

Hall and colleagues (1996) present a summary of the features in rational-actor model in organizational theory. First, rational-actor model, or rational choice as some scholars prefer to say, demands intricate calculations for the attainment of desired outcomes; second, acting rationally brings about a dilemmatic atmosphere as it gives way to a set of choices at hand, especially in politics; third, individual preferences are driven and shaped by other individuals' preferences and, therefore, institutions channel direction taking through providing mechanisms that reduce uncertainty and boost gain; and, finally, as regards the origins of institutionalized actions, the model proposes that institutions are value-driven and can be explained as the embodiment of collectively valued practices.

In their seminal book, *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations*, March and Olsen (1976) elaborate on the garbage can model in organizational decision making and argue that ambiguity that bars full attentiveness in reaching sound and rational decisions which will hopefully benefit all. Individual commitments within individuals do not appear to be equally weighted as structural variations, ranks, and professional characteristics are concerned for they are constrained by standard operating procedures and routines. In a similar vein, the picture drawn by the authors depicts the environment in which participants find themselves as they are called upon to make choices:

> We remain in the tradition of viewing organizational participants as problem-solvers and decision-makers. However, we assume that individuals find themselves in a more complex, less stable, and less understood world than that described by standard theories of organizational choice: they are placed in a world over which they often have only modest control. Nevertheless, we assume organizational participants will try to understand what is going on,

> to activate themselves and their resources in order to solve their problems and move the world in desired directions. These attempts will have a less heroic character than assumed in the perfect cycle theories, but they will be real (March & Olsen, 1976, p. 21).

In conclusion, although the issue of rationality in organizational theory has been discussed taking into account as many aspects and by-standing factors as possible. However, to understand what it is that keeps individuals and groups together in an amalgamated fashion, more in-depth analyses are needed.

2.1.13. Formal Organizations

Up to this point, the discussion of organizational theory and institutionalism has been made with most of the attention being paid to organizational emergence or organizational reality in general. However, at this time, it is worthwhile to note that it has been the formal organization which is stressed when institutionalization or institutionalism is emphasized (Jepperson, 1991; Jepperson and Meyer, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The main unit of analysis in the discussion of the theory of NI is clearly manifested by Jepperson (1991), where he maintains:

> I have argued that institutionalization is best represented as a particular state, or property, of a social pattern. I now need to distinguish this conceptualization, briefly, from other current depictions.
> Some analysts render institutionalization as a "property" idea, as I do here, but associate it with the properties of legitimacy, or formal organization, or contextuality. Each of these associations seems misguided. Legitimacy may be an outcome of institutionalization, or it may contribute to it, but illegitimate elements can clearly become institutionalized (organized crime, political corruption, fraud, etc.). Similarly, while we may wish to consider formal organization as an institution, or argue that formal organization can carry or generate institutions, or that some organizations have become institutions (the Red Cross), it is arbitrary to identify institutionalization with formal organization (Jepperson, 1991, p. 149).

Combined with institutionalization in formal organizational settings, one of the two major arguments of NI theory, rationalization is also another aspect which, institutional theorists claim, constitutes the core of the institutionalization process. To this effect, Jepperson and Meyer write:

> Rationalized formal organization requires the great institutional structures of the rationalized society. Any role system is likely to be embedded in some sort of institutional context, whether the role system is one of individual habit and taken-for-granted meanings, of group customs, or local (e.g. "organizational") culture. But rationalized formal organizing depends specifically upon a rationalized societal context, one in which the particular ingredients of formal organizing are formed and widespread, namely, calculating actors with codified interests, legitimate social functions, knowledge systems, and so on. More and more social domains and activities become subject to normative standard of means-ends calculation (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991, p. 207).

The newer version of institutional theory emphasizes contextuality and multi-dimensionality of organizational links and interactions, which ultimately denotes where a particular organization stands both functionally and contextually. So, rather than visualizing organizations as idle entities within their own boundaries and judging on their aspects from a single perspective, organizational links – vertical-horizontal, local-nonlocal – are to be observed for a full explanation. The emergence of organizational fields, as argues DiMaggio (1991) brings with its reality some historical accounts which will be helpful in understanding its process:

> The question of where organizational fields come from has received little attention, however. This issue is particularly important for institutional theories of organizational change, for two reasons. First, institutional theory focuses on processes of mutual influence among organizations. Field boundaries, as they are perceived by participants, affect how organizations select models for emulation, where they focus information-gathering energy, which organizations they compare themselves with, and where they recruit personnel. Second, institutional theory pays particular attention to organizations like government agencies an trade associations that stand outside an industry per se, but within a sector or field, and influence or constrain the goods – or service–producing organizations within it. The related emergence of a collective definition of a set of organizations as an "industry," of formal or informal networks linking such organizations, and of organizations committed to supporting, policing, or setting policy toward the "industry" – what Powell and I refer to as the "structuration" of organizational fields – is a crucial step in the institutionalization of organizational forms (DiMaggio, 1991, p. 267).

Therefore, rationalization of organizational activities, setting the norms and regulative measures in determining what practices will be performed and what others

will not, and providing the settings for isomorphic adaptations to secure legitimacy and survival are necessary constituents for understanding how institutionalization occurs. The way the social structure of a community is institutionalized determines the way structures and practices diffuse. The embodiment of the social mechanisms that enable diffusion is described as follows:

> Formal structures are not only creatures of their relational networks in the social organization. In modern societies, the elements of rationalized formal structure are deeply ingrained in, and reflect, widespread understandings of a social reality. Many of the positions, policies, programs, and procedures of modern organizations are enforced by public opinion, by the views of important constituents, by knowledge legitimated through the educational system, by social prestige, by the laws, and by the definitions of negligence and prudence used by the courts. Such elements of formal structure are manifestations of powerful institutional rules which function as highly rationalized myths that are binding on particular organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 343).

2.2. Higher Education in the World

Although the roots of higher education date back to the 400 B.C. the university concept first emerged in Europe in the 11th century (Gürüz, 2001; Kaynar & Parlak, 2005). These universities were established to offer education in medicine, law, theology, and arts. The introduction of technical branches such as engineering and architecture, however, came much later (Gürüz, 2001).

One characteristic, Gürüz (2001) notes, was that the European universities had the autonomy in their academic, administrative, and financial matters. In other words, universities were authorized to elect the rectors and deans. This movement prevented universities from becoming easily manipulated by local authorities and clergies while ensuring a system of control and coordination.

The onset of Renaissance and the subsequent reforms in science and technology not only indicated a diversification of academic branches but also gave rise to a need for standardization in administrative issues (Gürüz, 2001). The emergence of modern university in the 18th century came from Scotland and Germany, where specialization of knowledge and departmentalization had an impact on the academic configuration (Enders, 2006).

Realizing the potential contributions of higher education to social life, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) transformed the existing face of universities in France and turned them into educational institutions where qualified professionals needed for a prosperous nation would be educated (Gürüz, 2001). Consequently, this tradition became to be recognized as the Napoleonic tradition, which emphasized professional training and education of the elites (Enders, 2006). On the other hand, in Germany, Wilhelm Von Humboldt initiated the emergence of a new model of university where the core of the subject matter to be taught was based on research conducted by the academics and the students (Terzioğlu, 2003; Türk Sanayicileri ve İş Adamları Derneği; 1994).

2.2.1. The Emergence of Coordinating and Controlling Mechanisms

Universities today demonstrate their allegiance to the classic European tradition in their ritualistic practices such as "bearing of the mace, the pomp and splendor of the academic procession, the Gothic hall, the rich and colorful medieval garb of academics and graduands, the Latinised formats of degrees, and conferring of awards by the Chancellor" (Harman, 1989, p. 35). However, the classical image of university promoting meditation in analysis, rationality, systematic thinking, criticism, and skepticism in addition to Humboldtian production of teaching based on research is replaced by a combination of academic teaching and applied research (Teichler, 2006). Several forms of regulative structures across nations, mostly driven by internal factors such as "legitimate influences and interests of societies at large, governments in their steering and supervisory roles, institutions of higher education and their staff, as well as [by] learners," interplayed in the governance of higher education institutions and structural reforms concerning them (Teichler, 2006, p. 447).

There are currently two types of higher education governance models in the world: the continental/European model and the Anglo-Saxon model. The former, derived from the Napoleonic style, holds an education ministry or an equivalent of it responsible for all the matters linked with higher education while the latter recognizes no authority of any governmental agency over universities. In the continental/European model the presidents and other administrative professionals are

elected from among the academic staff and are appointed by the minister. In the Anglo-Saxon model, however, universities are governed by non-academic boards or even Councils consisting of some academic staff or even students (Gürüz, 2001; Şimşek, 2006).

Socio-cultural and political structure of nations is closely related with the type of governance higher education is exposed to as all administrative issues are accounted for within their constitutions (Ültanır, 2000). For example, North American higher education system is reported to be bound with federal laws that leaves opening of departments and selection of curricular subjects, assignment of college presidents, and student admissions to universities. Public universities, the student body of which account for 75% of the whole student population, are funded by the federal government and are linked with the U.S. Constitution (Eckel & King, 2006). Each state has its own governance strategies and is given the full authority to make decisions on educational issues (Yükseköğretim Kurumu, 1988). Japan has a mixed-model governance system. While it manifests a high degree of autonomy, Ministry-appointed presidents and restrictions on funding for low quality assurance places the system in a semi-decentralized position (Şimşek, 2006; Yonezawa, 2006). The only agency that acts on an advisory capacity is an institution which is established to conduct research for the development of structure and management of higher education (Şimşek, 2006).

Universities in England are completely autonomous institutions and are responsible for their own student admission policies, the appointment of academic staff, the control of courses and their curricula, and the evaluation of students (Shattock, 2006). On the other hand, as a government agency, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) is only responsible for setting the objectives and funding policies (Shattock, 2006). While all the universities are given the authority to prepare their own regulations and programs, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom maintains coordination among them (YÖK, 1988). University presidents either come from the Royal family or are selected from among those with public reputation (Shattock, 2006).

In Germany, the higher education system is the product of the decentralization process in post-war era and healing of the wounds of WWII. With the unification of both East and West Germanies in late 1900s, realizing quantitative

developments and research endeavors have become a joint effort (Kehn, 2006). Some autonomy was granted to all universities as a result of 1998 reform efforts and, consequently, these institutions were directed toward market demands. However, the legitimacy of universities were bound to their performance and contributions to market development (Kehn, 2006). This movement is explained by Kehn (2006) as "a clear trend toward the dissolution of the traditional, non-hierarchical self-governance dominated by the 'academic oligarchy'" (p. 740). Also, Europeanization of higher education process and the objective of creating a "knowledge society" characterizes the nature of German higher education system today (p. 744).

The French higher education model presents a unique example of several recent decentralization efforts and failures due to governmental and bureaucratic interventions (Musselin, 2006). It has been a considerable concern among French scholars that the highly centralized government structure in France does impede academic performance for it obstructs communication between the central government and universities and their equivalents. The French National University Council (CNU) oversees the administrative, financial, and academic issues. Training and appointment of the teaching staff at the universities are carried out under the authority of the Council (Musselin, 2006). On the other hand, the Europeanization process and the stipulations of the Bologna process has become a big concern among French bureaucrats and seems to be signaling an evolution within the French higher education system (Musselin, 2006).

Higher education institutions in Greece are financed and supervised by the State and are supposed to be legal entities approved by the public law (Saitis, 1988). Ministry of National Education and Cults is vested with this authority. The law permits universities to act freely in their academic affairs – curricula, appointment of academics, etc. – while the state is determined to ensure that these activities are carried out according to norms and standards (Saitis, 1998). Greece has recently undergone a series of reform efforts with which it tends to upgrade its higher education system to contemporary standards and to be more responsive to international and market demands (Georgiadis, 2005).

The OECD report drafted in 2003 emphasizes market regulation and quality assurance as rising trends in what makes higher education institutions accountable for. Also, some recently-emerged agencies across nations are shown to be

supervising universities' conformity with market demands and related research and teaching activities. The report lists the English speaking countries such as the U.K. and Australia as the most autonomous while Nordic nations such as Denmark, Sweden, and Norway are shown to have placed some constraints on their higher education institutions as regards funding. On the other hand, Turkey, specifically its public universities, is listed among the least autonomous (OECD, 2003).

No matter how loudly the need for academic freedom is voiced, it is held within the constraints of law and regulations in advanced nations (Gürüz, 2001). Freedom in this vein is largely practiced as freedom of conducting research, admission of students, making curricular adjustments, deciding who will do the teaching, etc. While continental/Napoleonic and Anglo-Saxon models construe the two extremes of the higher education governance in the world, countries place somewhere in between depending on the extent to which they are centralized or granted autonomy.

2.2.2. Convergence

Higher education systems in nations in general are inclined to ensure a progressive stance. Especially the global trends and international competitiveness have pushed nations to take necessary precautions that will bring on survival in the world market and achievement of quality (Enders, 2006; Gürüz, 2002). Global effects on market economy and political forces are reported to have urged regulative agencies to introduce modifications in the structure of higher education including budget cutbacks, retrenchment, and downsizing to promote homogeneity (Gates, 1997; Meyer, 2006). Private higher education is also said to be influenced by the demands facing higher education in general (Levy, 2006). Daniel and Cox (2002) list the challenges to be overcome by universities in the new century: to be able compete as commercial entities; to recognize knowledge as commodity; and to conform with information and communication technologies. In this vein, neo-liberal trends are said to be changing the traditional character of higher education (İnal, 2004; Özbudun, 2006).

On the other hand, European Union remains marginal in the global trend for homogeneity with its attempts to create a unique human model and a knowledge

society (Levy, 2006). The Bologna declaration sets the standards for European Universities in achieving accreditation, the most prevalent form of quality assurance of higher education in Europe (Stensaker & Harvey, 2006). This trend not only produces supranational standards but also sees to each member nation's approximation to these standards (Trondal, 2002).

The integrative influences of globalization and Europeanization are seen to have set individual nations to run benchmarking and imitating promising practices for the value-added contributions of higher education to economic growth and welfare (Gürüz, 2001; TÜSİAD, 1994). Development plans and aid programs initiated by OECD and World Bank disseminate a universal university concept throughout developing nations, where they attempt to introduce standard aims and integrations with social sectors (Bashir, 2007; OECD, 2007).

2.2.3. A Historical Perspective in Higher Education Governance in Turkey

The context of the higher education system in Turkey is the outcome of the divergence from the traditional madrasa – Islamic boarding school – through several reforms and innovations (Şimşek, 2006). The madrasas of the time were majorly owned by individuals or foundations and were locally governed. The initial centralization effect was created by the introduction of some reforms and innovations by Mahmut II, which marked the beginning of modern university concept (Akyüz, 2001; TÜSİAD, 1994). The foundation of a number of universities in İstanbul was the initiation of modernization and westernization of the Ottoman Empire by means of engineers, statesmen, and officers educated to Western norms (Kalaycıoğlu & Sarıbay, 1986).

Turkish higher education went through several reforms and innovations before and after the foundation of modern Republic of Turkey accompanied by the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Opening of the University of İstanbul in 1933, preceded by the Unification of Education Act in 1924, was an attempt to endorse the adoption of western structures with which university presidents, deans of faculties, and academic staff were appointed or approved by the Minister of Education (Akyüz, 2001; Gürüz, 2001; Mızıkacı, 2006). The autonomy in electing the university presidents and deans was granted to the universities in 1946 (Şimşek, 2006). By

1960, several universities (e.g. the Middle East Technical University, Atatürk University, Aegean University, and Black Sea Technical University) were opened and the general view of Turkish higher education was composed of a mix of models (Gürüz, 2001). Foundation of several universities as campus universities was initiated by the Democratic Party, which favored an alliance with the U.S. and it was the introduction of the American Land Grant model of these universities (Şimşek, 2006, p. 1006). The growth of university population throughout the country called for coordination and plan, consequently, Law 1750 was passed in 1973 (Şimşek, 2006, p. 1006).

Law 1750 and the Council of Higher Education, which would be the regulative and governing body, did not achieve the intended results because they were taken as a threat for academic freedom by faculty members (Şimşek, 2006) and because it was found to be contrary to the Constitution article which stated "universities are governed by bodies elected from among their own academic staff" (TÜSİAD, 1994).

The growing number of universities and of student candidates urged an immediate planning concerning student admissions and, consequently, a Student Selection and Placement Center was established in 1974 to select students for departments on their scholastic aptitudes (Gürüz, 2001; Şimşek, 2006; TÜSİAD, 1994). Mızıkacı (2006) reports four types of higher education institutions in Turkey prevalent until 1981: universities, academies, vocational schools, and teacher training institutes. Universities had academic autonomy and fully financed by the state whereas the other three were governed by the Ministry of National Education - MONE (Mızıkacı, 2006).

2.2.4. Rationale Behind Higher Education Reform and the Rise of the CHE

In general, the rationale behind higher education reform in Turkey is based on some political reasons. Güler (2004) refers to the period when the Turkish Republic was founded as he mentions the controversy between some pro-Islamic academic hardliners and those around Atatürk who strongly advocated the secular principles of the newly founded Republic. These professors declared that they were strictly against the reforms that would bring modernization in its western sense (Güler, 2004) and

the type of intellectual generation desired (Baydur, 2004). As he wished to modernize the existing higher education up to a more contemporary level, Atatürk, personally commenting on some of the proposals made by Professor Malche, initiated the first higher education reform of the history of the Republic (Gürüz, 2001).

The report prepared by Professor Malche included some proposals concerning the position of the professors. To ensure a qualified higher education consistent with the norms of establishing a modern Turkish nation state, appointment of the professors, establishment of the departments, evaluation, some curricular issues, research studies, libraries, and academic challenge were some of the major points to be considered in the reform (Güler, 2004).

The military coup of 1980 is defined as a project of creating a "New Political Center" to eradicate the uncertainties and the social unrest of 1970s (Tosun, 2001, p. 302). With the introduction of YÖK Law 2547 (Yüksek Öğretim Kanunu), an integration and coordination of all higher education institutions in Turkey were planned and implemented (Erden, 2006; Mızıkacı; 2006; Tosun, 2001). 148 academic personnel being dismissed from their positions at their universities, the law 1402 was passed and several other academic staff were removed from their universities (Tosun, 2001). The vacant positions were later filled by new academic people appointed by the new government whom they thought would constitute the cultural and academic pillars of the new order being introduced (Tosun, 2001).

The new Higher Education Law, reports Mızıkacı (2006), brought about three major innovations: the establishment of a national Council of Higher Education; provisions introduced to enable non-profit foundations to establish private universities; and reorganization of the existing higher education institutions and redefinition of the roles and responsibilities (p. 29). The reform was later confirmed with the approval of the Constitution made in 1983. The new structure removed the "chair" system reminiscent of the German model and introduced the American department system consisting of academics from within these departments, whereby discarding the dual system prevalent prior to the new law (Erden, 2006, pp. 52-54).

Seven members are nominated by the President from among professors who were formerly university presidents or successful academics; another seven are nominated by the Inter-University Board from among university professors; and still

another seven are nominated by the Council of Ministers from among high-level officials, active or retired, for a renewable term of four years. They become official members after President's approval. Also, the President appoints one of these members as the Chairman (Alışkan, 2006).

The Council is composed of three bodies: the Chairman, General Council, and the Executive Board consisting of nine members. The responsibilities of the Council defined in Article 7 of the law are summarized as follows:

- Coordinating, planning, developing, and controlling higher education in Turkey,
- Communicating the needs of higher education and determining the financial demands to be presented to the MONE,
- Acting as an intermediary between higher education institutions and several other public, local, and non-local agencies,
- Ensuring the maintenance of discipline in higher education institutions,
- Making decisions on issues concerning higher education and related with the proposals and demands of universities
- Enabling the training and employment of the academic staff and student admissions,
- Carrying out other administrative issues defined by the law.

The CHE fulfils the tasks listed above by means of three governance bodies attached to it: The Higher Education Supervisory Board, the Student Selection and Placement Center, and the Inter-University Board. The Supervisory Board is an authorized body of five professors nominated by the CHE, three members nominated by the Supreme Court (Yargıtay), the Council of State (Danıştay), and the Court of Accounts (Sayıştay), and one member from the Chief of General Staff and one from the MONE. The Board is responsible for controlling the activities of the universities to make sure that all their educational activities are in conformity with the national objectives determined by law (Alışkan, 2006; Mızıkacı, 2006).

The Student Selection and Placement Center prepares, administers, and evaluates selection and placement tests by means of a centralized examination system. It determines the criteria and sees to their implementation in executing the whole process after which it places the students in higher education institutions. It

also conducts research and statistical analyses to ensure providing service to as many students as possible (Mızıkacı, 2006).

The Inter-University Board is comprised of university Presidents, a professor nominated by the Chief of General Staff, and the professors nominated by university senates for four-year terms (Alışkan, 2006). The duties of this Board are to produce regulations, coordinate and control teaching activities, acting with an advisory capacity in its relations with universities and the CHE, discussing the requirements as regards graduate studies (Alışkan, 2006; Mızıkacı, 2006).

Also, several sub-units are attached to the Council to assist in its technical, administrative, and legal issues such as strategy development, press and public relations, information processing, finance, maintenance, personnel management, coordination of private universities, accreditation, etc (YÖK, 2005).

2.2.5. The 1981 Reform and its Results

A report issued by the CHE refers to the pre-reform period and draws a picture where high drop-out rates, student failures, disproportional distribution of academics, uncontrolled spread of universities with no academic qualifications, and inefficiencies in administrative tasks that rendered a sound higher education almost impossible (YÖK, 1991). The outcomes of the reform a decade after its inception are summarized as follows:

- There is a considerable increase in the higher education opportunities offered to young people.
- Almost in all of the provinces, there is at least one form of higher education offered.
- The new reform has added to the opportunities offered to graduate students and potential academics. More students can benefit from programs offered by universities outside Turkey.
- Several regulations such as attendance, midterms, and arrangement of workload placed on academics have contributed to achievement rates and the achievement rate which was around 17,5 % in 1970s went up to 55% in 1980-1981 and to 85% in 1988-1989.

- In coordination with the State Planning Organization (DPT), an estimate of required professionals with technical skills was made, necessary loans were acquired from the World Bank to implement projects concerning vocational training.
- For the first time in Turkey, an open university was founded to provide higher education for those who are already employed and are not able to maintain a full-time attendance.
- A fund to support research studies was raised (YÖK, 1988; YÖK, 1991).

The report issued a decade later by Mızıkacı (2006), covering the time span between 1991 and 2001, emphasizes an expansion not only in quantity but also in relations with the outside world. The major novelty noted in 1991 was the foundation of thirty-nine universities twenty-four of which were private. In addition, the use of information technologies gained momentum as of 1990s and access to the internet was made available in almost all universities. Also major developments were made in making Turkish higher education more responsive to international trends and globalization as well as demands of the international market (Mızıkacı, 2006, pp. 47-61).

The twenty-first century has witnessed more influence of international higher education upon Turkish higher education. The endorsement of the Bologna Declaration, meeting the demands of the European Union, and the urge of the world-wide quality assurance demands have made the CHE adopt coordinative and regulative roles in setting the norms for approximation (Mızıkacı, 2006). Ensuring each Turkish university's participation in the ERASMUS program of the EU, adoption of the accreditation model ECTS and Diploma Supplement, and coordinating the approximation efforts have made the Council more of a contact agency for matters related with Turkish higher education (YÖK, 2005).

Shortly after its foundation, the Council was subjected to fierce criticisms both from the academic environment and the media. The criticisms centered on the Council's alleged efforts in hampering academic freedom, the dismissal of several innocent academic personnel, and the drop in the quality of higher education (Forum, 1985). Especially, the vacant positions in universities were brought to public attention with strong emphasis. The strategic concept adamant all over the actions

taken during the decade following the foundation of the Council was based on starting the reform by de-politicizing higher education.

Recently, the Council has issued a strategy report that demonstrates the current situation of Turkish higher education with emphasis on the steps to be taken in order to catch up with global norms and to become competitive in global market and expanding notion of knowledge society (YÖK, 2007).

2.3. Early Research on the New Institutional Theory

The seminal paper written by Brian Rowan (1982) after his study on how structures and practices become institutionalized in organizations aims to explain the problem of administrative expansion in public schools. The diffusion of structures and practices, writes Rowan, follows a pattern where;

> [i]nnovations in administrative services begin with a period of institution building, in which new service units are defined and rationalized by lobbying publics, professions, legislatures, and regulatory agencies. As institution building proceeds, emergent services gain legitimacy and are perceived as useful additions to local school operations. This spurs a period of diffusion, in which local school districts adopt newly institutionalized service units. As adoptions become widespread, the rate of diffusion slows and a period of stabilization begins. In this stage, the rules and standards institutionalizing service units remain fixed, and local districts retain newly added structures (Rowan, 1982, p. 259).

This three-stage institutionalization process, emphasizing isomorphism, legitimacy, and rationalization, is supported with empirical evidence gathered from historical data on school districts in California. One of the main characteristics of this empirical study that makes it an original one is that it "points to the utility of decomposing organizational structures into their component parts" in data analysis (p. 276). Along with some suggestions for further studies in organizational theory, the author points to the increasing degree of intricacy and complexity to be experienced as further analyses are conducted. In the same vein, Meyer (1986) stresses the need for more in-depth and contextual analyses that deal with meanings and values in discussing characteristics of institutionalized structures and practices.

The diffusion of innovations, in institutional arguments, tends to take on a discussion on how structures and practices that are newly introduced to an organizational field are legitimized and their origins of emergence. For example,

Singh and colleagues (1986) report that they have found external legitimacy more influential than internal coordination in the extent to which "newness" receives liability (p. 171). The researchers base their argument on two tenets that construe the core of their institutional approach: the likelihood of receiving little or no approval from the community when change is initiated by internal mechanisms and that of legitimacy gained when change is introduced in order to adapt to changing conditions and expectations within the organizational field. Given the results of their empirical analyses drawn on data gathered from a range of voluntary social service organizations across the US, the authors conclude that new organizational forms and practices are likely to survive as long as they are triggered by external mechanisms and that novelties initiated internally run the risk of death.

The cultural-cognitive framework in organizational theory, both as a corollary of and a counterpoint to rational-actor model proposed by early and late versions of institutional theory, finds its peculiar place in related research literature, too. Barley and his colleagues (1988), pointing to the diffusive nature of behavioral norms – in this particular case, the language used – argue that academics and practitioners, the two subcultures in a specific area of operation, tend to influence each other over the language they use. As a result of their qualitative analysis, where they conducted a content analysis on 192 articles written by academics and practitioners on organizational culture between June 1975 and December 1984, they conclude that acculturation occurs due to isomorphic tendencies between the groups, the latter being slightly more influential. The study also suggests some insights into predicting whether it is theory or practice that which plays a more crucial role in organizational behavior.

A similar study conducted by Leblebici and his colleagues (1991) is yet another example that shows environmental influence on organizational practices. In this case, the historical analysis made on US radio broadcasting industry reveal that value-driven behavior and competitive pressures emerging within the organizational field are the main patterns that urge change in adaptation of organizational practices.

The cognitive base represented by meanings derived from symbols and sensemaking is interpretively observed by Gioia and his colleagues (1994) and its significance in manipulating a systemic change at organizational level through strategic efforts is found to be essential. In fact, the study yields results that challenge

rationally planned and strategically implemented change suggestions and promotes symbolism in enabling diffusion of a new practice and reducing resistance to submission. The authors manifest that “the most pervasive medium of symbolism is language” (p. 364) and that “both sensemaking and action-taking are affected by the context in which they occur” (p. 365).

The abovementioned view is further analyzed by Oakes et al. (1998) in provincial museums and cultural heritage sites in Canada, with the main emphasis placed on language and power employed in pedagogic plans to introduce desired practices. The procedure in doing this, observed the authors, is described as an effort in changing the mindset of the individuals and organizations in the organizational or institutional field through attaching new meanings to symbolic, cultural, political, and economic assets.

Covaleski and his friends (1998) have found ethnographic evidence which shows that the language used by the professional authority in a number of accounting firms is as effective as the techniques employed in turning resistance into conformity. Another study done by Covaleski and Dirsmith (1988) focuses on how societal expectations influence the ultimate practices of individual organizations and how institutionalization accommodates the power and self-interest interplay. Analysis of a wide range of documents related with budgetary practices of organizations point to the impact extraorganizational relations have on organizational decline. In sum, the authors emphasize the fact that “behind every institutionalized expectation lies the threat of active coercion” (Covaleski & Dirsmith, 1988, p. 585).

As part of the cultural-cognitive argument in institutional theory, the type of culture is found to have a determining effect in predicting and contemplating on the feasibility of change efforts in organizations. Cameron and Freeman (1991) report that “cultural type appears to be more important in accounting for effectiveness than were congruence or strength” (p. 23). The authors also provide some suggestions for managers to be effective in manipulating organizational transformation. They recommend sensitivity to cultural varieties, especially when introducing transformation, and an awareness of the dominant culture in predicting the feasibility and facilitation of change.

Due to the global dissipation of market trends and lucrative opportunities, converging expectations are found to have caused isomorphic but also differentiating

characteristics across a number of countries, including India, Brazil, and the USA (Gopalan, 2003). However, it is also reported that the multiplicity of responsibilities to be undertaken and the raging costs of conducting research on every possible combination of factors speak for the scarcity of empirical evidence. What is rather striking is that the aspects replicated and the ones rejected do not appear to follow a linear and predictable patterns as Gopalan (2003) argues that "instead of thinking of convergence as a process that leads to a homogenous end state, we might need to think of multiple convergences that result in local variations on common themes" (p. 12).

As for the nature of isomorphic pressures across organizations and countries, Gooderham and his colleagues (1999) reports that the empirical results she has found indicate the influence of some dynamics enabling isomorphism within organizational fields and across nations while barring isomorphism in certain contexts due to legal or political aspects. In other words, the author stresses the impact of regulative and power structures in accounting for international divergences and of the cognitive processes dominant within organizational fields that trigger interorganizational imitation.

Focusing on the data gathered from National Organizations Study (NOS) of 1991, Galaskiewicz (2004) mentions institutional pressures exercising a broader legitimizing effect on non-profit organizations than for-profit ones due to the lack of accountability in the former and resulting in the emergence of bureaucratic structures. The author also provides evidence supporting the fact that coercive and normative pressures are at an interplay in producing a multi-faceted type of control due mainly to institutional pressures. Thus, institutionalism is shown to result in interorganizational homogeneity and centralized and formalized bureaucratic models (Galaskiewicz, 2004).

In his doctoral dissertation, Robinson (2004) refers to the transformation of myths in society and the effect of globalization via internet on this phenomenon. In brief, the author mentions consumption becoming a myth, a process which is actualized by means of inserting commodification into cultures in societies. The qualitative analysis conducted displays results that the researcher interprets as mythification of concepts that enables a diffusion of practices – in this case, purchasing – among people (Robinson, 2004).

In their qualitative study in a sociological context, Stull et al. (1988) emphasize that reorganization attempts in a state regulatory agency are geared up to alter the informal structures stirring a struggle between administrative and occupational spheres of authority. As such, the authors refer to a lack of compatibility between the reorganizational forms being imposed and the existing informal structure. The changes introduced form a set of rituals to be inserted as a subculture where most of the conflicts, the authors report, have taken place. The authors also report that reorganization efforts come in two forms: slow changes that aim to convert the whole structure eventually or the radical one that overturns the existing structure and brings in the new. The change process in the agency observed was initiated via "staging a series of symbolic events that when viewed from a narrowly instrumental perspective have little effect" (Stull et al., 1988, p. 230).

A reform based innovation and its diffusion in Canadian research university has been observed by two researchers, Szabo and Sobon (2003), where they conducted a qualitative analysis to find out how diffusion process worked out. Contrary to initial expectations, the researchers have concluded that on-site and contextual variations including individual variations and departmental characteristics are to be considered before the implementation of a reform plan. Individual findings referring to incompatibilities in areas such as in-use strategies and practices impede the reform process and constitute the core of the negative attitude displayed by individuals (Szabo & Sobon, 2003).

Vazquez-Salceda (2003) points to norms placed within regulations and the nature of multi-agent systems in the field of electronic institutions such e-commerce, e-organization, e-government, and electronic health care. The author emphasizes the heterogeneity of environment, incompatibilities, limited trust and concludes that

> … norms are specified in regulations that are at a high level of abstraction. In order to be implemented, norms in regulations should be translated into concrete norms applied in the context of a concrete organization, and then translated in operational representations (such as rules or procedures), to indicate how norms are to be implemented in the *e*-organization (Vazquez-Salceda, 2003, p. 211).

Finally, Drori, Jang, and Meyer (2004) present the results of their longitudinal research focusing on the sources of rationalized governance across a wide range of nations in the world. The authors indicate that diffusion of rationalized governance

measures are the results of a global trend to which national interests are attached one way or another. They also attach significance to institutional elements not only at national level but also at global level. Pointing to social models and their implications, the authors argue:

> … rationalized governance involves the development of a unified central authority, a clear chain of command, and the obligation of individuals to comply. In more corporatist settings (with Weber's Germany as the canonical case) unified central authority remains crucial to rationalization, but compliance is maintained by the creation of highly trained and loyal professions and professionals. The result is the dominance of bureaucracy combined with professionalism of a traditional sort: the German term *Beruf*. In Anglo-American liberal contexts, the stress of rationalization efforts shift sharply. Weber is replaced by Barnard, and the "imperative authority" of the sovereign down through a "chain of command" is replaced by "management" and more democratic "coordination." Accordingly, the traditional professionals of Weber's corporatist society are replaced by the skilled, committed, trained and selected individual persons of democratic society (as in Wilensky's image of the "professionalization of everybody" [1964]) (Drori et al., 2004, p. 5).

The results of their study indicate several points. First of all, the analysis yielded no significant relationship between the type of regime and rationalized governance. Second, economic relations and institutional factors such as embeddedness in global organizational network and scientization and educational expansion are found to be significant in indicating the degree of efforts in implementing rationalized governance measures. Also, higher economic status or being a member of OPEC, for example, indicates a lesser degree of inclination to undertake transition to rationalized governance.

Some previous studies relating to the use of institutional theory as framework in explaining how organizations are structured in certain contexts include also models to illustrate the phenomena. The following model, for example, displays a model developed by Simard and Rice (2001) with which they sought to determine the factors impeding the diffusion of best practices across multiple fields by reviewing selected literature. The authors categorize the stages of obstruction in three levels: organizational context, diffusion process itself, and management-related barriers. In this context, contextual barriers refer to prevalent features within the

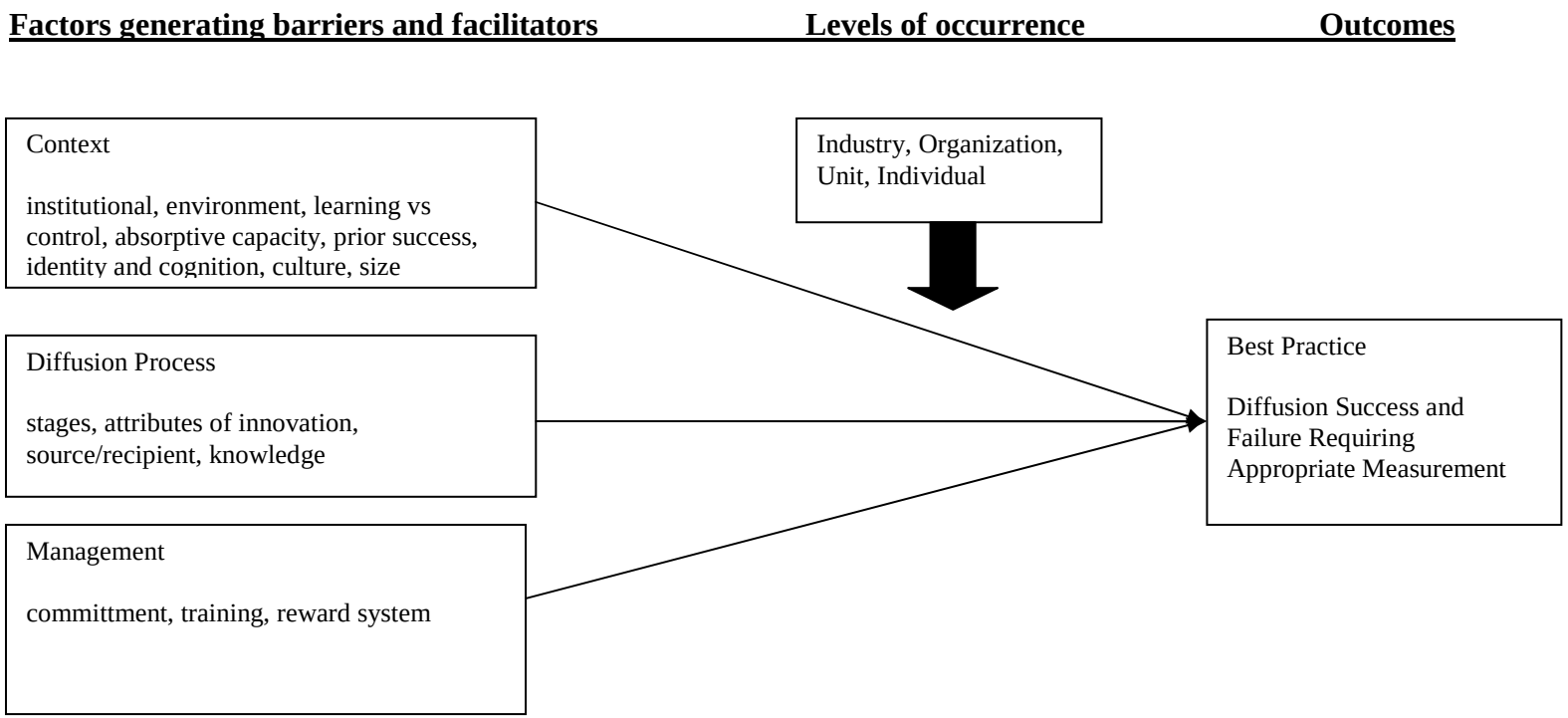

Figure 7. Summary Model of Sources of Barriers and Facilitators to Diffusion of Best Practices Moderated by Level of Occurrence Source: Simmard & Rice, 2001, The Practice Gap: Barriers to the Diffusion of Best Practices, p. 4. Retrieved February 20, 2005, from Rutgers University Center for Organizational Development and Leadership Web site: http://www.odl.rutgers.edu/resources/pdf/diffusion.pdf

organizational environment and the organization itself. Conditions of uncertainty, motivation for adoption of new practices, control mechanisms, and prior success make up the contextual barriers while stages in adoption and network roles, the type of innovation, recipient and source relationship, culture, and size are the components of the diffusion stage. Finally, managerial perception of the practice, conformity of the reward system, and training constitute the management-level. Also, the authors emphasize attentiveness to these stages for success to be achieved in implementing best practice innovations (see Figure 7).

In his dissertation *Organizations and the State*, Cavazos (2005) proposes the following model that aims to show the field-level patterns of interaction between organizations and the state.

The author conducted qualitative and quantitative analyses on Transportation and Security Administration (TSA), National Highway and Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), and Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), three leading organizations in the field of transportation in the USA. The main focus of the study was projected on rulemaking activity.

The author also emphasizes the field-organization relations, size of the organization and its potential influence upon legislature, organization's incentives as regards election results in the US Congress, and lobbying activities and legitimacy efforts.

Figure 8 shows the relationship among state actors, affected organizations, and interest groups. The arrows pointing the direction of interactions in the form of demands and responses demonstrate the web of interactive flow within the organizational environment. In the author's own remarks,

> …field level actors actively shape their institutional environment. It also draws from a variety of conceptions of organizations and their environment. Among them are conceptions of field-level dynamics from institutional theory, conceptions of the state from organizational sociology, and corporate political strategy, which is based in the resource based view of the firm, public choice theory, and the exchange view of politics (Cavazos, 2005, p. 36).

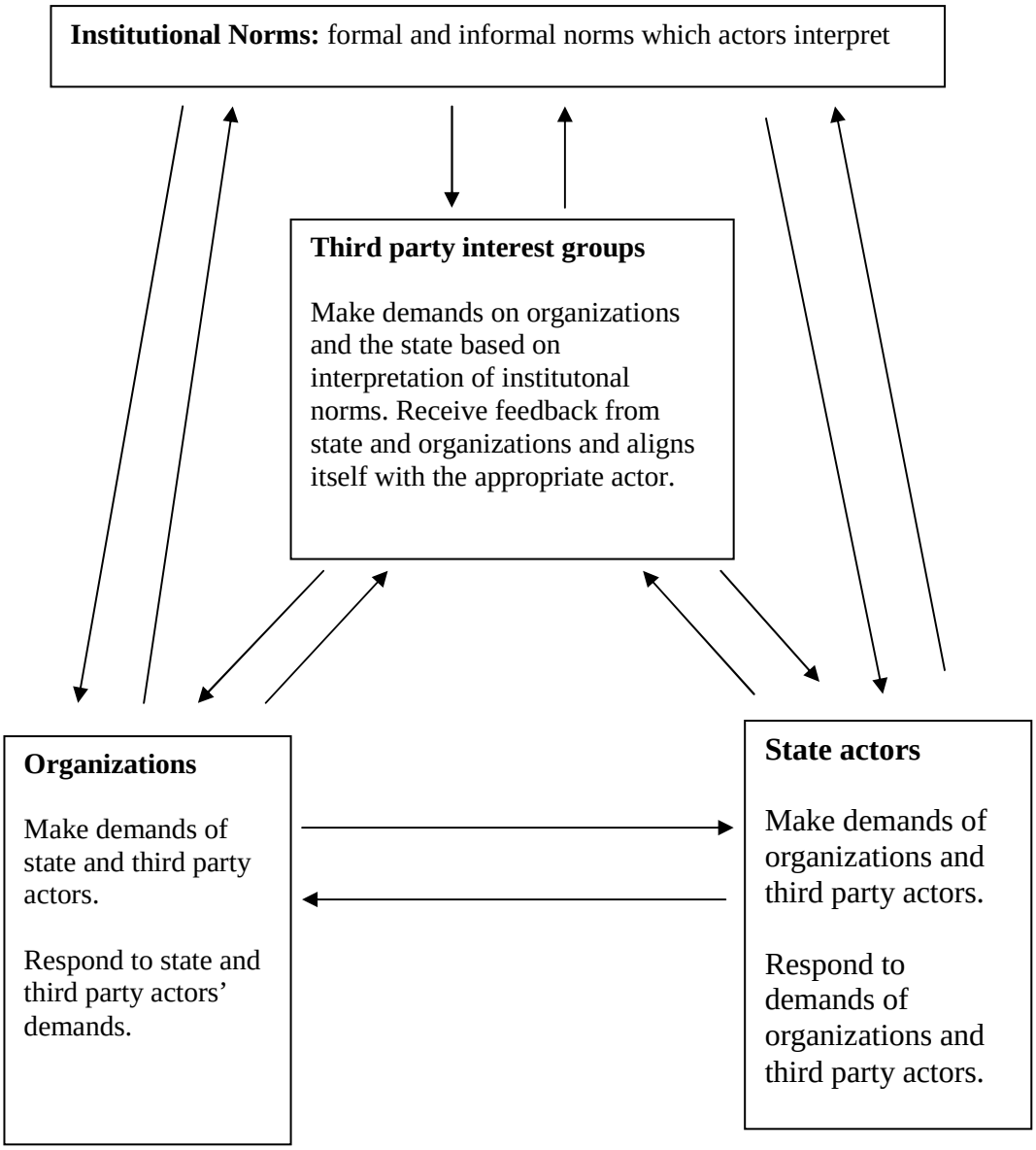

Figure 8. Proposed framework of interaction
Source: Cavazos, D. (2005). Organizations and the State: An Interactive View. Unpublished dissertation, p. 34. Retrieved November 12, 2006, from: etd.lib.ttu.edu/theses/available/etd-11192005-161649/unrestricted/Cavazos_David_Diss.pdf

Still another model, developed by Frankenberger (2006), sets a framework for explaining regulatory involvement in corporate strategy and structure, emphasizing mainly the role played by external actors. The author, through a longitudinal and retrospective case study, seeks to find out the relationship pattern to which German

Energy Utility (E.ON) (with its sub-units, E.ON Energie and E.ON Ruhrgas) is exposed, as illustrated in Figure 9.

Using neo-institutional theory as the theoretical framework, Frankenberger (2006) refers to the postulation that institutions are created in order to "reduce uncertainty and create stability" (p. 75). With multiple units and levels of analyses, namely resource allocations, the organization under focus and its sub-units, and the organization's response to external regulatory mechanisms, the author points to a multi-level analysis – field, corporate, and division and operational – and its appropriateness in providing a more accurate picture of regulatory mechanisms and how they function within the institutional environment.

The author, then, iterates that not only are strategies and resource allocations at organizational level influenced by regulatory mechanisms but the institutional environment and its regulative nature is shaped by the organization itself.

All of these theory-based attempts in inquiring aspects in organizational reality point to one common feature – the multiplicity of factors influencing organizations and organizational behavior in institutional and environmental contexts. Almost none of these studies and many others not mentioned here are inclined to present a generalization derived from their specific contexts. However, they do help with identifying or describing the range of scope for the researcher who desires to account for the reality from his/her own perspective. The following section of this study seeks to draw a framework within which the research is conducted.

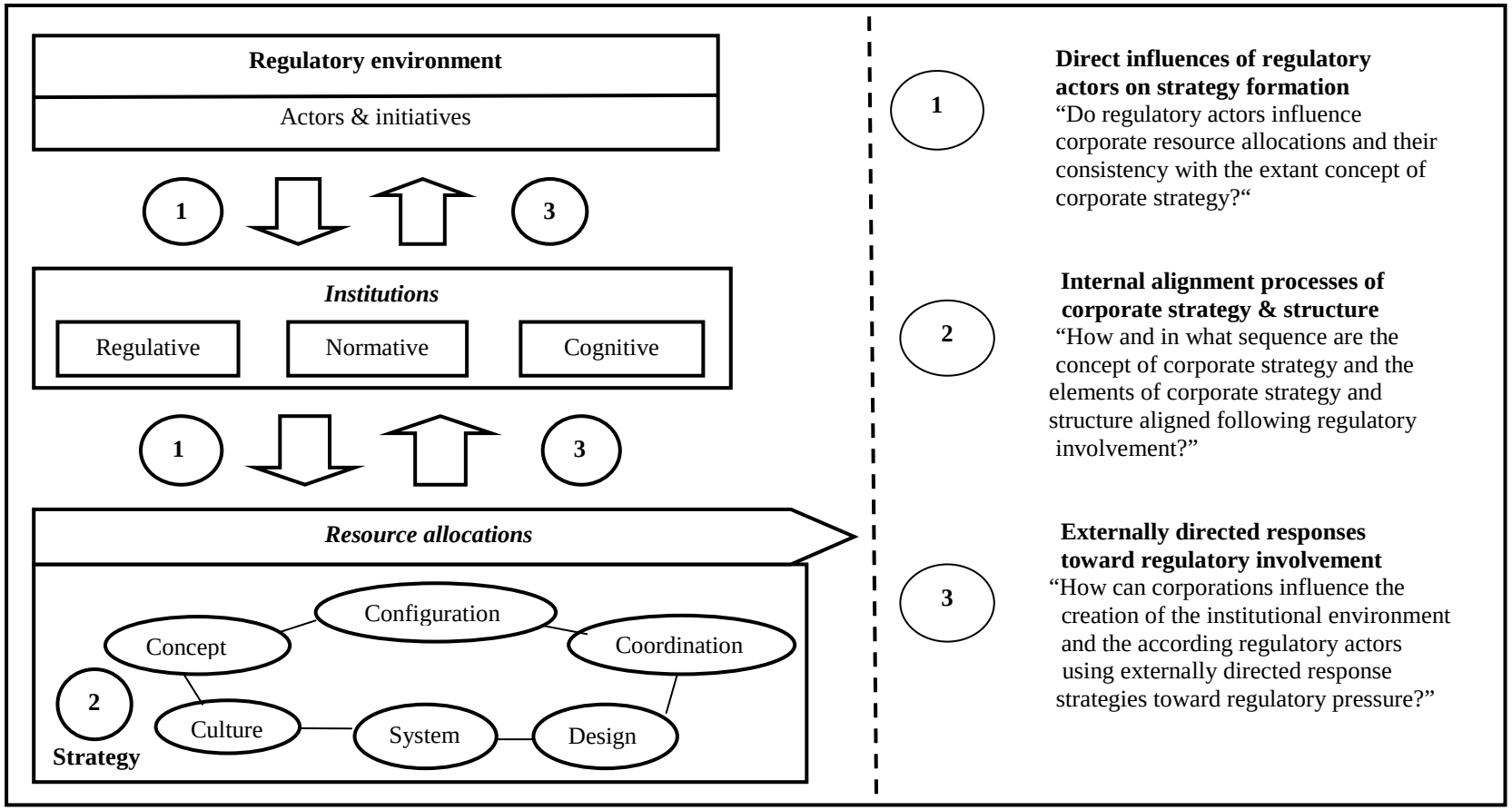

Figure 9. Research framework for changes in German paper industry
Source: Frankenberger, S. (2006). Managing Regulatory Involvement on Corporate Strategy and Structure. Unpublished Dissertation, p. 87. Retrieved November 24, 2006, from http://www.unisg.ch/www/edis.nsf/wwwDisplayIdentifier/3157/$FILE/dis3157.pdf

2.3.1. Studies Conducted in Turkey

The existing literature on issues related with public management, organizational theory, institutionalism, and specifically on the CHE delve into several aspects as regards the situation in Turkey. Among them are administration within academic context (Kondakçı, 2000), student rallies (Erbaba, 1999; Şensoy, 1998), the consequences of 1980 reform (Baskan, 1985); the CHE from public relations viewpoint (Boydak 1993), and knowledge economy and Turkish higher education (Tunç, 2001). Also, the innovations in teacher education brought about with the instigation of reforms are studied in several contexts (Algur, 2001; Ertan 2002, Somuncuoğlu, 2003). Besides, the case with vocational schools of higher education in Turkey and their administrative problems have been assessed through a qualitative analysis (Aslan, 1992).

Using the Chaos Theory as the theoretical framework, Somuncuoğlu (2003) looks at the change process in pre-service teacher education in Turkey, where she takes four periods – namely, 1950s – 1970 (evolution stability), 1970s (disequilibrium and turbulence), 1982 – 1992 (forced stability), and mid-1990s to 1998 (turbulence and transformation) as the significant stages in transformation. Through a qualitative analysis, she reports to have found that the transformation in 1998 did not bring about the desired institutionalization in governance and human resources though it might be perceived as an achievement at least in appreciation of what teacher education really means (p. 273).

Emphasizing the implicative nature of beliefs, norms, and standards in determining how organizational behavior looms up, Erdem (2003) refers to the value systems that universities, in relation with their educational roles, must act upon. He draws his assumptions on values such as scientific orientation, philanthropy, and ethics as he proposes that an ideal higher education institution should possess them. Conducting a content analysis on data gathered form a southwestern university in Turkey, the researcher concludes that quality, scientific orientation, and pioneering are the current values and pioneering, scientific orientation, and contemporariness are the values to be adopted in the future.

Drawing his conclusions on a dissertation prospectus, Kılınç (2006) highlights the importance of local legislature in determining the efficacy of

dissemination efforts made by the European Union regulating the relations between the church and the state. Though the Union is involved in various policy discourses and issues legal documents promoting a multicultural understanding of the relationship between the church and the state, the author argues, these efforts do not implicate a structural change to enable such results in countries like France and Turkey, which are constitutionally secular (p. 2). Basing his arguments on data showing church-state models pertaining to individual countries, the author claims the convergence between historical tenets and international norms facilitates legitimacy of international stipulations in the local setting, whereby he proposes a mixed model of institutional theory that goes beyond historical, sociological, and rational institutionalisms (p. 21).

From an institutionalist perspective, Aypay (2003) describes the special relationship between the state and higher education in Turkey within the context of Mülkiye College. Aypay concludes that the situation in Turkey presents a unique character in that he defines the strong interrelationship between the state and the College, a point which the structural functionalists and critical theorists fail to account for.

Yet another study conducted by Erden (2006) examines multiple model organizational field works for Turkish higher education from the perspective of new institutional theorizing. Consequently, she looks at the isomorphic pressures in the field depending on three sets of data relating to three distinct points in time: no strong coercive force (1975) – strong coercive force displaying homogeneity (1991) – and room for heterogeneity (2002). Different institutional set-ups (loose institutional set-up, 1981 reform and YÖK, and foundation of private universities) are shown to mark the change the level of coerciveness through this period.

2.4 Implications for Diffusion and Development of a Frame

Recently, the complicated nature of changes – political, regulatory, and technological – has made organizational analysis and theory a multi-dimensional and sophisticated issue. The earlier institutional theory formulated by Selznick in late 1940s observed an individual organization as the accumulation of interests of the groups within it. That is, the cognitive forms such as values, norms, and

attitudes as well as informal rules were believed to constitute the way an organization emerged. The primary focus was on the individual organization, which identified itself with the value(s) it was based upon. Furthermore, change, defined as the shift in mission, was believed to be the outcome of the relations among interest groups within the organization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

A departure from the emphasis on intra-institutional to a more macro vision of institutional theory was added to the literature by John Meyer and Brian Rowan (1977) as they postulated the norms, values, rules, and taken-for-granted principles set by the environment in which an organization operates to be the leading indicators of institutionalization. Zucker (1988), on the other hand, maintained that organizational interests were bound to conform to the demands of higher organizations for legitimacy and survival.

While Meyer and Rowan (1977) emphasized rationalized "myths and ceremonies" as the essential course of action to be taken by organizations for legitimacy in their organizational fields (p. 340), DiMaggio and Powell (1991a) pointed to the significance of the cognitive assets in an organizational field that might indeed stimulate an individual organization to take on a rationally unexpected action. The main distinction between the two approaches was clarified by Scott (1991) as he referred to the organizational environments having an effect on organizational structures (p. 171). In his seminal article on how structures and practices diffuse, Scott (1987) defined institutionalization as values being instilled in organizations through multiple forms of institutional processes such as imposition, inducement, authorization, acquisition, or incorporation of structures and practices (pp. 501-505).

Scott and Meyer (1991) focused on varieties of organizational environments and how their characteristics influenced organizational structures and practices. According to the authors, vertical bonds with other agencies and horizontal links due to fiscal reasons shape the structures and practices of organizations in compliance with local and non-local relations (pp. 137-139). As the discussion became more complicated Zucker (1998), rather emphatically, concluded that there might be a need to consider the interests and agents involved when one sets out to analyze how structures and practices diffuse or do not diffuse (p. 12). In the same

vein, Greenwood and Hinings (1996) elaborately unfolded the intra-organizational, supra-organizational, and inter-organizational dynamics that necessitated adaptations, or alterations, in organizational structures and practices due to exogenous or endogenous drives and the severity of these modifications based on the characteristics of the organizational settings. Friedland and Alford (1991), on the other hand, emphasized that there might be a multitude of institutional models with which organizations are infused, resulting in contradictory organizational behaviors.

From the insights presented so far, it can be concluded that drawing a model for demonstrating how miscellaneous factors and dynamics shape an individual organization needs to be based on a broad set of templates with emphasis on peculiarities. It is observed that the direction pointed in related literature displays an incremental approximation to attempting to understand the phenomena with their own ecological niches and in their own settings.

When one sets out to include all possible explanations provided by the old and the new versions of institutional theory – a combination of both, coined as neo-institutionalism by Greenwood and Hinings (1996) – one comes up with a matrix-like network of relations that can be demonstrated as in Figure 10 below. In other words, there is not a fixed scheme for explaining the organizational phenomena. On the contrary, each organizational template, including organizational field, historical background, and the organization itself, serves to account for a unique organizational reality. However, a conceptual framework like the one below may help with figuring out which way to follow. Namely, as one fills in the boxes provided in the figure with the information about the organization under scrutiny, one may, it is proposed, systematically reach a comprehensive explanation.

The literature reviewed suggests that organizations are created for a reason – either to eradicate uncertainties or to reduce transaction costs. Also, the organizational settings, the fields in which they operate, and the cognitive and cultural dynamics that characterize the organizational environments shape the way organizations emerge and behave. Therefore, beliefs, values, myths and rituals, stories, customs, and, last but not the least, procedures influence the way laws and regulations are perceived and practiced. The general structure of the environment, namely its administrative characteristic – whether it is centralized/decentralized,

mechanical, liberal, technical/administrative, and so on – along with the organization's relations and interactions with superior/subordinate and relevant sectors, agencies, and actors, construes the pathways for the legitimacy and diffusion of the organizational structures and practices. Moreover, the features of the organizational field with its norms (professional), interest relations (actors, agencies, groups, etc.), and influences (of the sectors, decision-makers, etc.) bring about the type of mechanisms that determine how structures and practices are instilled in the organization.

To illustrate the frame, with the help of the earlier findings and descriptions, the private sector can be taken under close scrutiny. The bare indicator of whether a structure or practice has proven legitimate is the extent to which a product or a service sells satisfactorily. That is, if a product sells well, it may be said that the procedures followed in producing it and the organizational structures enabling these procedures are up to the right scale; if not, all these are considered suboptimal and less than legitimate, an outcome that may result in bankruptcy or going out of business. However, an organization's efforts in imitating other similar organizations' structures and practices, although no immediate turnover is apparent, are an exception for such measures are taken to conform with best practices observed in the field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a).

To illustrate more on the issue, a health-care service can be taken as a model. Health-care sector as an organizational setting is identified as the sum of obligations and tasks that center around technical chore and call for highly qualified professionals such as specialized doctors, surgeons, and professional nurses. The diffusion of an innovation in operation-room procedures depends more on technical details and professional norms than pressures placed by outside actors or agencies. Conversely, the diffusion of a practice, say, the implementation of total quality management, is related with the way the institution is run, which leads one to say that technical jobs and administrative tasks are separated in this organizational setting, that is, they are decoupled (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

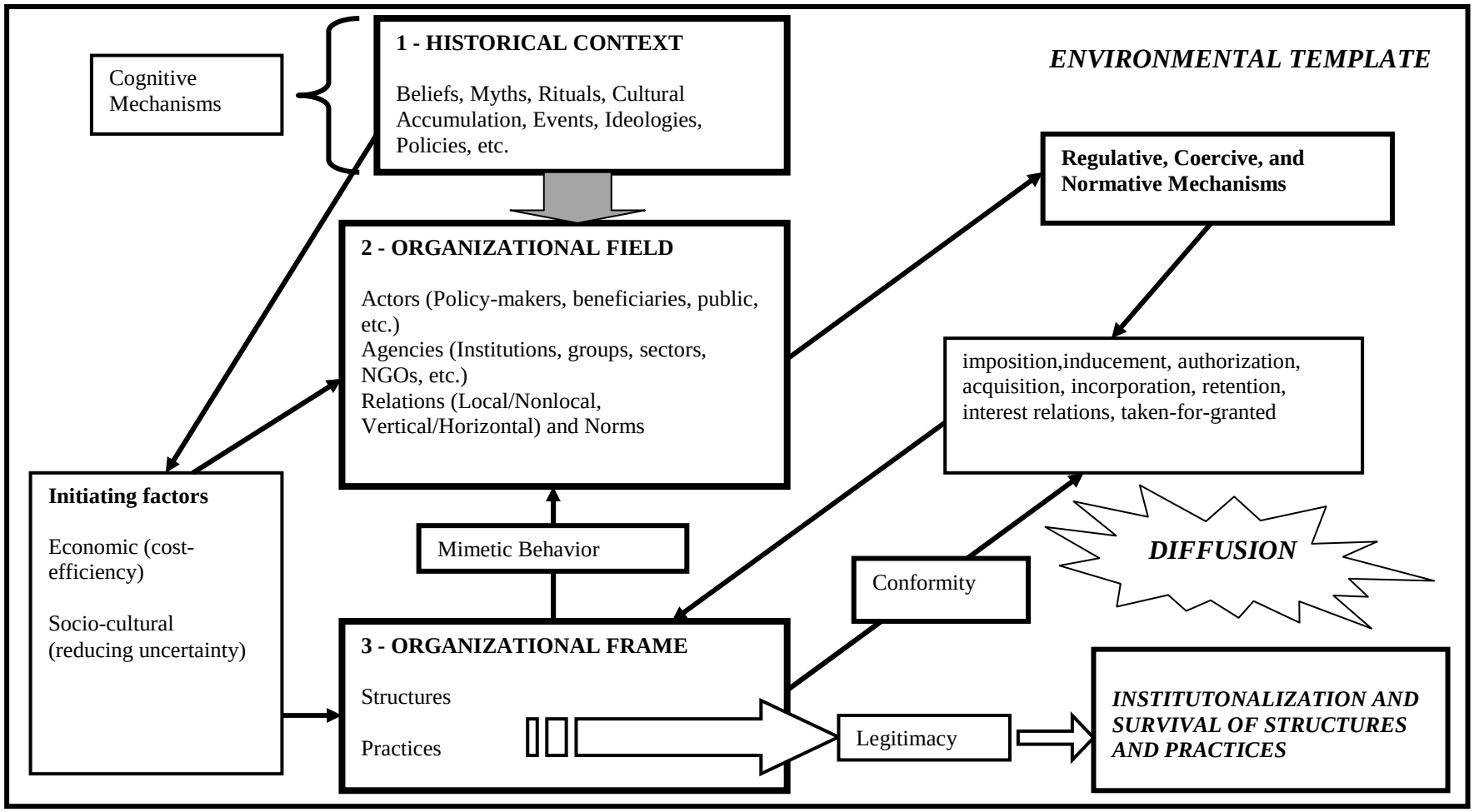

Figure 10. Frame 1 – a model of institutional theory

2.4.1. Realization of the Frame in Turkish Context

The realization of institutional theory in accounting for organizational phenomena has recently gained an impetus in Turkey, too. Yıldırım (2002) succinctly refers to the paradigmatic transition in organizational analysis from a modernist/positivist standpoint to a critical and postmodernist one and points to the scarcity of such a move in Turkey. In the same vein, Özen (2002) argues that ceremonial empiricism prevalent in managerial and organizational studies in Turkey has been the one factor that prevents theoretical development in such studies. He maintains that the solution lies in comprehending the need for choosing the right methodology as regards contextual variations.

Speaking of the context in Turkey, recent studies have highlighted the significance of methodological convenience and contextuality with their own explanations of the phenomenon in scope. For example, stressing the emergent relevance of historical and cultural elements in understanding organizational behavior, Bodur and Kabasakal (2002) have found conspicuous commonalities among Turkish and Arabic communities as regards perceptions, attitudes, and characteristics due to their common historical and religious backgrounds. Furthermore, Öz (2005) has pointed to the relationship between geographical location and economic activities and its impact on organizations, drawing a conceptual typology in understanding certain economic activities in Turkey.

Özen (2000) investigated the diffusion of total quality management in Turkey and found that the relevant management knowledge had diffused by means of business persons and professional managers. However, he maintained that the concept of total quality management had been rephrased due to the characteristics of these actors and the conditions of the country, whereby reshaping the original concept to fit in the context. Pointing to the complexity of the social phenomena, Özkara and Kurt (2004), on the other hand, studied the diffusion of scientific management knowledge into public administration reform. Stressing on the inevitable transformation from Weberian type bureaucratic management toward the one based on performance, efficiency, and effectiveness in public administration, they found that knowledge attained through scientific inquiries has had a meaningful impact on the way new Public Administration Law was formulated.

The findings listed above, in relation with the Turkish context, point to the significance of considering the historical heritage and commonalities among communities with similar cultural, religious, and social backgrounds in accounting for the cultural/cognitive pressures on organizational outcomes. Furthermore, it is also evidenced that the actors or groups of actors are influential in explaining how organizational structures and practices are shaped up. Finally, regional relations and sectorial influences are emphasized so as to create an extra dimension in explaining how structures and practices to be inserted in one field are interpreted, redefined, and diffuse. So, as it is argued, structures and practices, even though they are coercively enforced, are not retained immediately by organizational fields but take time to diffuse (Greenwood & Hinings 1996; Özkara & Kurt, 2004). Therefore, the question that hits the mind centers around what, if any, factors slow or speed up the diffusion process and whether the institutional context offers implicational clues for the researcher to explore how diffusion of structures and practices takes place in an organizational setting. Consequently, apart from the frame suggested earlier (see Figure 10), another theoretical frame is needed to be able to take a closer and deeper look at the process.

2.4.2. A Context-Related Discussion: the Council of Higher Education

The aim of this qualitative analysis is to observe the diffusion of the structures and practices brought about by YÖK reform through Turkish higher education. The Council of Higher Education was established in 1981 by the YÖK Law 2547 and the reform that was named after it was instituted with endorsement of the 1982 Constitution. The reform brought along certain structural innovations and practices. As an organization that was established to control, coordinate, and regulate higher education in Turkey, the Council was placed among the upper level bureaucratic organizations. Since its inception, the Council has made numerous decisions concerning the administration of higher education institutions, their relations with other organizations, and execution of several academic activities such as opening programs, accreditation, and staffing over the whole number of universities in Turkey.

Established to eradicate the chaotic environment of higher education before the 1980 military takeover, the Council was structured to gather Turkish higher education around a uniform model. However, the picture today depicts a heterogeneous form; that is, the field of higher education involves strictly-governed public universities, foundation-based private universities, higher schools of vocational training, etc.. The variation is not limited to the type of schools though. The governance of these institutions is based on three models: the continental European, the German Von Humboldtian, and the Anglo-Saxon.

The YÖK Reform is seen to have imposed a huge number of novelties. Enforced by the law, these novelties were received with full attention. However, in time, some of the structures and practices included in these novelties have been criticized by the public, journalists, academic staff, politicians, and perhaps by those who are in direct contact with the Council. These criticisms raise the question of legitimacy.

The literature so far studied draws an adamant link between legitimacy and diffusion. Also, this relationship forces in the issue of survival of organizational structures and practices over time. Furthermore, it is argued that the dynamics within the organizational field and even within the organization itself are in constant change. Therefore, a structure or a practice that was coercively enforced into a field may not last as planned and may be doomed to die out unless expected alterations are made. Thus, it is proposed that diffusion of any structure or a practice must be followed by retention by the constituents of the organizational field. That is, when a new form or a new way of doing things is introduced to a field, it is supposed to be retained to guarantee survival, although it may have diffused through coercive measures such as imposition or authorization.

The frame below (see Figure 11) presents a model flowchart for the diffusion. Accordingly, organizations are born in environments where they and their structures and practices are subject to pressures stemming from the existing relations, both local and nonlocal, within their organizational fields. These pressures may assume a coercive nature where organizations are forced to comply with rules and regulations. In professional arenas, however, pressures are seen to be normative where organizations and individuals within them are forced to imitate

the professional norms. In addition to such external dynamics, organizations are growingly shown to be shaped by internal dynamics as well.

Organizations are seen to perform tasks, routines, or functions, called rituals, according to certain rule-like procedures which are not officially recorded but are taken as they are. Organizations are also seen to be infused with values, beliefs, ideals, etc. that regulate their activities. Although these assets are possessed by the organization, they have their roots in a deeper historical background and are the core templates for perceptions and actions.

Organizational structures and practices, whether coercively or normatively imposed, go through certain stages until they become stabilized and retained. In other words, the acceptance and retention of structures and practices may not follow their imposition upon the field. Especially when coercively imposed, structures and practices, or norms, may be met by some form of resistance. Although the coercive mechanism stays undistorted, the coerced structures and practices are reinterpreted, redefined, reshaped, and reinserted into the field by the actors, agents, or beneficiaries. However, if the proposed structure or practice has nothing conflicting with the existing assets, it may meet no objection and resistance and may smoothly become internalized and diffuse. In order to understand how this works, one needs to study the dynamics peculiar to the context in scope.

Turkey, for example, has been an eager candidate for the European Union since 1957 and has taken considerable steps toward accession. In the meantime, along the line of the stipulations imposed by the Union, Turkey has gone through some structural changes in order to comply with the structures existing in the member countries. However, the European Union is for one thing established to make Europe, as a whole, a compatible with the economically and socially developed U.S. and Japan. At the same time, the Union is erected upon the ideals of a Christian unity. From a cognitive and cultural perspective, imposing a whole system based upon such beliefs and values and relevant myths and rituals on Muslim nation such as Turkey should not be considered an easy endeavor.

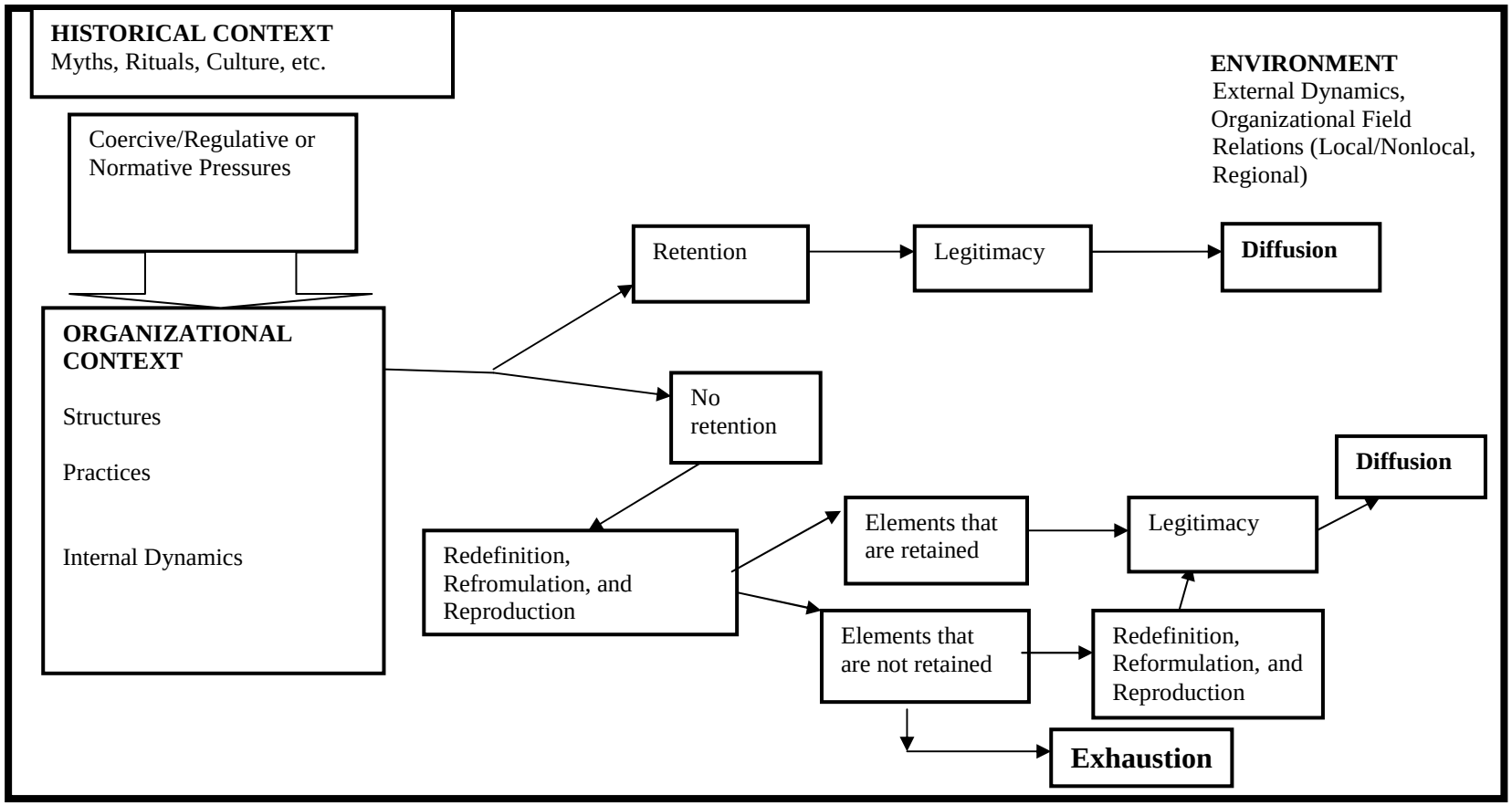

Figure 11. Frame 2 - Diffusion Flowchart

The structures and practices that are infused with European ideals need to find legitimate grounds in a setting with totally different ones. Needless to mention the long period since Turkey's first application for membership, major uproar stemming from public dissatisfaction center on the perception of an expected threat for national values and beliefs for membership may mean changing these deeply-rooted assets. Therefore, laws and regulations to coordinate necessary adjustments in relevant sectors in the country may well impose the compatible structures and practices; however, it is expected that the proposed structures and practices may be exposed to various interpretations to guarantee public, sectorial, and administrative approvals and attain legitimacy.

The characteristics of the organizational field are also influential in determining the applicability of diffusion. For example, the inter-permeability between the organizations and the fields in which they operate determines whether a novel structure or a practice can enter and permeate through an area. Or, an organizational field's composition, homogeneous or heterogeneous, is also an indicator of how smoothly a new practice can diffuse.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

In the method part the overall design of the study, the participants, data collection instruments, data collection procedure, the data analysis and the limitations of the study will be presented as well as the reliability and validity issues.

3.1. Overall Design of the Study

The purpose of this investigation is to see how diffusion of structures and practices takes place in an organizational setting, taking institutional theory as the theoretical frame. Early qualitative analyses have attempted to account for diffusion in contexts related with public administration in Turkey. Also, there is evidence in current literature on Turkish public administration supporting a commonality in purpose among high-level bureaucratic organizations. However, although the Council of Higher Education, as a high-level bureaucratic organization, has been studied from several perspectives, diffusion of structures and practices through its organizational setting and the influence of its historical and field-based interactions are thought to be novel attempts in understanding the process of institutionalization in formal organizations and helpful in predicting where they are heading.

It is argued that a quantitative study reduces the phenomena to measurable and observable parts (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2000). On the other hand, an interpretive inquiry uses qualitative research methods and is "based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem" (Creswell, 1998, p.15). A qualitative design delves into "whys" and "hows" of the process. In this study, as Creswell (1998) puts it, "a complex, holistic picture accompanied with an analysis of documents and speeches" will be constructed to see the picture from a different angle (p. 15). Also, as argued by Bogdan and Biklen (1998), in the field of education the

qualitative research can be named "naturalistic" due to the fact that the researcher usually visits the place where the phenomenon he or she is interested in takes place (p. 3).

The primary standpoint in the construction of this dissertation is a holistic approach to describing the phenomena, on which Patton (2001) accounts, "… holistic approach assumes that the whole is understood as a complex system that is greater than the sum of its parts" (p. 59). The most significant aspect that distinguishes qualitative analyses from quantitative ones is that the former are made to progress in a more flexible fashion as the data to be processed are obtained from the actual course of life and are prone to sometimes new and sometimes suddenly emerging interpretations (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). This flexibility, as Patton (2001) notes, may contradict with the expectations of the academic cycles and research funders because

> [D]octoral students doing qualitative dissertations will usually be expected to present fairly detailed fieldwork proposals and interview schedules so that the approving doctoral committee can guide the student and be sure that the proposed work will lead to satisfying degree requirements (p. 44).

In fact, naturalistic inquiries cannot be completely specified in advance and although an initial focus and research questions are identified, it would be impossible and inappropriate to determine operational variables, hypotheses or a full-drawn instrumentation or sampling procedure (Patton, 2001). Lincoln and Guba (1985) define such a design as follows:

> … the design of a naturalistic inquiry (whether research, evaluation, or policy analysis) *cannot* be given in advance; it must emerge, develop, unfold…. The call for an emergent design by naturalists is not simply an effort on their part to get around the "hard thinking" that is supposed to precede an inquiry; the desire to permit events to unfold is not merely a way of rationalizing what is bottom of "the sloppy inquiry." The design specifications of the conventional paradigm form a procrustean bed of such a nature as to make it impossible for the naturalist to lie in it – not only uncomfortably, *but at all* (p. 225).

Thus, data collection in this investigation included news items, events, records, or anything that the researcher thinks worthy of analyzing. The document analysis was made to create a historical perspective in perceiving what underlies the establishment of the CHE and its institutionalization process. The documents to be

analyzed were the books and articles related with the issue as well as news items in journals and documentaries. Also, a number of (purposefully) selected items from among the laws and regulations related with the CHE were included in the document analysis when accounting for the organization-level tenets. The analysis was expected to enable a synopsis to be made on what metaphor the CHE fit into and what rules and regulations as well as norms might help with identifying the diffusion mechanisms the Council holds. In addition to the document analysis, interviews with some former and current members of the Council and a number of rectors in Ankara, both public and private, were carried out to dig in to see the organizational and institutional patterns that constitute the CHE. The data gathered through document analysis, especially Law 2547, were expected to show the formal structure of the Council and the bureaucratic language in which conceptual and symbolic influences could be identified by Barley and his colleagues (1988) as well as symbols that might help in describing "sense-making and influence" in the written rules and regulations (Gioia et. al., 1994, p. 363). The linguistic styles and the analysis of discourse markers (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) were thought to be useful indicators of a mental pattern hidden behind the language used in both the documents and the interviews, as was pointed by Gioia and colleagues (1994), "[t]he most pervasive medium of symbolism is language" (p. 364).

During the analysis of the data collected the interpretive approach was employed, whereby examining the ways that words, symbols, metaphors and other elements were used in drawing concepts and the types of actions to be taken by the relevant agencies and individuals. On the other hand, the interviews with the CHE members and university presidents were expected to provide a lens through which how interactions at the administrative level are actually carried out and how they are conceptualized. Also, the first-hand accounts of the interviewees and their experiences with both the CHE and higher education in general were expected to tell a lot about how higher education in Turkey had become institutionalized and how, they thought, structures and practices had diffused. The theory of new institutionalism constituted the theoretical framework in interpreting the data and discussing them.

The research questions were revised by the dissertation revision committee and, after discussions with the advisor, a few changes were made in the phrasing of some

of them and in the way they were ordered. For example, the order of questions three and four were switched for the information on the organizational background and its cultural constructs was thought to be a preliminary stage before discussing legitimacy, which was the focal point of the fourth question. The interview questions prepared by the researcher were discussed with the doctoral advisor and piloted. During the piloting process, the actual process of interviewing was carried out with a rector and a former member of the Council, who were not included in the sampling list. The research questions and the results of the pilot study have been cross-checked by the researcher and two other experts for both internal and external validity. Throughout the entire process of the investigation and the analysis, also, validity and reliability were considered to be a central issue. The results of the qualitative analysis of the data were discussed and conclusions were remarked along with suggestions for further studies and proposals.

3.2. Statement of the Problem

The institutional theories emphasize strong interdependencies between organizations, particularly higher education institutions, and the environments in which they are embedded (Brint & Karabel, 1989; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Meyer, 1977; Meyer & Rowan, 1991) that ultimately influence the way individuals and organizations behave. If a myriad of interactions interplay in establishing the way organizations are, how do their norms, values, policies, briefly their structural assets and their practices, diffuse through their organizational settings, and how do these become legitimate?

It is presumed by the researcher that there may be certain backstage factors and dynamics at play influencing the way the above-mentioned assets become institutionalized in Turkish higher education by the help of the CHE and that the institutional theory may provide an answer to this question.

The Council of Higher Education will be scrutinized with the main emphasis on its sphere of influence, its formal structure, the myths and rituals constituting its organizational identity, the dynamics behind its legitimacy, the normative, regulatory, and mimetic drives that (en)force practices, organizational change, leadership model(s), the use of authority, conflict resolution, and interest relations.

The following problems and sub-problems have been identified by the researcher to guide the analysis of the situation:

(1) What were the incentives in the establishment of the CHE and whose incentives were they?
    a. Who were the actors behind the incentives?
    b. What was the nature of the changes planned?
    c. How were the changes introduced?
(2) What is the operational or organizational field of the CHE?
    a. What interactions is the Council involved in?
        a1. Interactions with the political actors.
        a2. Interactions with the business and the industrial sectors.
        a3. Interactions with the universities.
    b. What norms and values are influential for legitimacy and survival?
(3) What are the myths and rituals that constitute
    a. the informal power base;
    b. coordination and communication mechanisms?
    c. What stories are reported to draw a mental image of the institution?
(4) How can the legitimacy process be accounted for?
    a. To what extent can the Council be claimed to have attained legitimacy?
    b. What conclusions can be drawn on the legitimacy of the Council?
(5) How likely is it that the Council will survive? Should it continue to exist or not?

Answers to these questions and those that may arise during the course of the study are believed by the researcher to yield results that will enable the researcher to see the institutional mechanisms and characteristics with which the Council manages to diffuse the policies of the state and the norms, values, and beliefs that constitute the general concept of higher education in Turkey.

The data to be analyzed in this direction will be gathered from the laws, rules, and regulations governing the Council's function and activities, reports, news items, or articles that relate to them, and the remarks of a number of members of the Council and several university presidents in the city of Ankara.

3.3. Data Sources

Interview Participants

The key informants for the interviews are the current or former members of the CHE and current or former rectors in Ankara. The perceptions and experiences of these key decision-makers and administrators within the field of the CHE were thought to be invaluable data to be analyzed in order to find out about how structures and practices diffuse through the Council. Gathering data from dual source is believed to be worthy of analysis in that they not only provided insight into how a regulative agency of higher education in Turkey legitimized itself and survived but also they complemented each other in accounting for how decisions were made and how they were manipulated in higher educational contexts. The consistency of the data gathered from both sources was also thought to be essential in maintaining validity. The interviews with the rectors helped the researcher in verifying and complementing the data obtained from the members of the CHE because they were involved in decision-making process during general Council meeting.

The selection strategy used during the interviews with the CHE members was 'snowball sampling.' Snowball sampling is an approach for locating information-rich informants. Simply put, the researcher is directed by one or a group of interviewees to other individuals who, they believe, are in the best position to give information on the topic, which is also known as chain sampling (Patton, 2001). One characteristic of snowball sampling is that the researcher is faced with a divergence of key informants that are recommended, however, the list converges as some names are repeated over and over (Patton, 2001, p. 237). In this study, the researcher was prompted by the informants as regards 'who should be reached' for extracting the most useful information. In this respect, the first informant, who was a senior member of the Council and a source of first-hand information on the emergence of the Council, pointed to who should be contacted as regards their knowledge about the issue. He emphasized several names including former rectors and members of the Council. Another informant from among those names mentioned a few other names. The process continued almost until the researcher concluded that saturation was reached.

The primary measure taken by the researcher in assuring validity and reliability with the way data sources are reached and interviewed refers to the attitude

of the researcher in approaching to the informants. The researcher, in this respect, has taken great care in emphasizing his impartiality with the outcome of the interview indicating that his mere intention was to collect reliable information on the issue. Second, the researcher has provided a chart containing background information on the informants in order for future researchers to consider in deciding on their sampling.

Also, the information collected from the rectors was compared with the information taken from the rector (who was from a university from outside Ankara) during the pilot study and consistency was cross-checked with an expert.

Five of the rectors interviewed were former rectors of some universities in Ankara. Interview with former rectors was thought to be a useful process because the researcher believed that they could give valuable information enabling a deeper insight into how the Council has evolved through recent history.

Fifteen informants were interviewed. The following table displays information on the background of the informants.

Table 2.

Background on the informants

Int. No.	**Informant**	**Background**
1	Current member of the Council	Nominated by the President; Member for three years; General Board member; Reporter of the New Strategic Report of the CHE; University professor, teaching position.
2	Current member of the Council	Nominated by the Board of Ministers; Member for nearly one and a half years; Formerly held an administrative position in TRT; Bureaucrat.
3	Current member of the Council	Nominated by the Inter-University Board; Member for nearly one and a half years, No similar experience in the past; University professor, teaching position.

(Table 2 continued)

4	Current member of the Council	Nominated by the Government; Member for five months; Former rector; University Professor, Teaching Position.
5	Current member of the Council	Nominated by the Government; Member for five and a half years; Former deputy rector; Permanent member of the Council and Deputy Chairman of the CHE.
6	Current member of the Council	Nominated by the Inter-University Board; Member for one and a half years; Former deputy rector and dean at a university; Permanent member of the Council and Deputy Chairman of the CHE.
7	Former member of the Council	Nominated by the President; Was a member for more than ten years; Participated in the establishment of the Council; Currently holds a teaching position as a professor.
8	Former rector	Was a rector for eight years at a public university; Currently holds a teaching position as a professor.
9	Former rector	Was a rector at a private university for seven years; Currently holds a teaching position as a professor; Head of an institute;
10	Former member of the Council	Former dean; Experience as the member of the Council for more than ten years; Former head of a high-level bureaucratic organization; Currently holds a teaching position at a private university.

(Table 2 continued)

11	Former rector	Participated in projects during the establishment of the CHE; Former deputy to the undersecretary of the MONE; Former rector of a private university; Currently a dean at a private university.
12	Current rector	Held administrative positions as department head, dean's deputy, and dean; Participated in several scientific projects in and outside Turkey; Currently, the rector of a private university.
13	Former rector	Participated in CHE's proceedings during initial years; Formerly, the rector of a public university; Currently, the head of the board of trustees at a private university.
14	Former rector	17 years of administrative experience in Turkish higher education; Served as rector for five years; Held administrative positions at several industrial organizations and foundations; Currently a holds a teaching position at a private university.
15	Former member of the Council	Member of the Council for eight years during the initial years; Participated in many projects concerning higher education; Currently holds a teaching position at a public university.

As seen in the table, of the fifteen informants, six were current members of the Council with various past experiences as regards administration or bureaucratic positions and three were former members while four of them were former rectors now holding teaching positions at universities. One informant currently acts as the

reporter of the Council in the preparation of the Strategic Report. The two members were speakers of the Council and executed the internal and external relations of the Council. One member who had neither academic involvement nor administrative position within the Council was interviewed on the recommendation of an experienced member. The interviews with former members of the CHE and former rectors are deemed to be helpful in gathering data as regards the historical perspective on the Council. Since most of these informants are currently holding positions at several universities, their insights into the functioning of the Council was fruitful in understanding the mechanisms at interplay at both organizational and organizational field levels as well.

All the informants were interviewed by the researcher using a digital voice recorder unless requested otherwise. The interviews took place until the researcher made sure that the information gathered assumed saturation, that is, the data collected turned out to yield nothing new as regards the research questions.

Documents

The document analysis includes journal articles, news items, laws, charters, meeting minutes and repots, announcements, and books related with the topic. Document analysis is used to reach the data as regards the phenomenon or phenomena studied (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004). The purpose in using this procedure is mainly to obtain information about the historical perspective in describing the institutionalization of the Council and the diffusion of structures and practices and to validate and support the information obtained from the first group of data sources, that is, the interviews. The documents selected for this process are chosen according to the research questions and the theoretical research frame proposed by the researcher. As discussed by Yıldırım and Şimşek (2004), document analysis is used for various advantages: enabling access to unreachable sources or informants, preventing sample bias, providing longitudinal data and a wide range of data sources, costing less than other methods, and yielding qualified data (pp. 155-157). However, they are difficult to code, impossible to compensate for if some of them are missing, inefficient for not enabling the researcher to engage in an interaction, and risky for the possibility of having the researcher become biased in choosing which documents to cover (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004, pp. 157-158).

The documents to analyze in this study included the laws and charters relating to the Council and its activities. In addition, CHE reports or meeting minutes, newspaper items, and research articles were analyzed within the realm of the purpose of the research. The laws and articles to be included in the document analysis were purposefully selected for their relevance to the issue discussed within the scope of the study. Consequently, law articles related with the establishment of the CHE, its functions as regards regulation, coordination, inspection, and administration as well as the acknowledged principles and ideals the Council exists to promote were analyzed for its contextual relevance with the scope set by the research questions. The Council reports, minutes, and resolutions were thought to be worthwhile in providing evidence during the analysis of the data. Among these sources, the reports issued by the Council pertaining to intervals – from 1981 to 1991, report 2001 and 2005 – since its inception presents the achievements of the Council within the area of higher education in Turkey with emphasis on the justification of the coordinative and regulative functions of the Council. The news items and articles were selected from local newspapers such as Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Sabah, Milliyet, and Hürriyet. Especially with Milliyet, articles written by Abbas Güçlü were selected for their relevance with the proceedings of the CHE.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments

To do this analysis, document analysis and interviews were used as the core of the study. The motives behind actualizing a supervisory mechanism that closely controls higher education institutions in Turkey was scrutinized in written documents through a historical perspective. The document analysis took place before and during the interviews.

A set of semi-structured questions were prepared by the researcher to see the backstage factors that interplayed in enabling the diffusion of structures and practices. The interviews started with a few questions based on some background inquiries such as years of tenure in their current positions, their positions during the establishment of the CHE in 1981, any event or anecdote they could recollect that reminds them of the time when the Council was first established, etc.

Yıldırım and Şimşek (2004) state that interview is the most frequently used method by social scientists. For example in analyzing organizations, researchers use interviews as their basic tools to understand "various aspects of organizations and especially their cultural and symbolic dimensions" (p. 105). This point is further emphasized with reference to the significance of the data on individual experiences, attitudes, views, complaints, feelings, and beliefs in comprehending organizational characteristics and the facilitation of collecting such data through interviews (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004). This feature is also mentioned in relation with heuristic inquiries where personal experience and insights of the researcher are brought to the fore (Patton, 2001, p. 107). In-depth interviews focusing on past, present, and essential experiences of the informants yield useful information on the cultural and cognitive aspects of the phenomenon studied (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

The semi-structured questions used in the interviews were prepared by the researcher. Two sets of questions were used; one for the members of the Council and the other for the rectors. The questions in the two sets did not differ in context but were geared up to dig into the same phenomenon. In other words, differently phrased questions with similar contextual reference were used to look at the case from two different perspectives. For clarification and further inquiry prompts were used. The questions pursued a guideline initially proposed as a conceptual framework which "identifies the important intellectual traditions that guide the study" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 23). The following table demonstrates how the research questions and the interview questions are interrelated. In the table, the interview questions are located according to which research questions they correspond to. Interview questions used with the Council members is indicated as MQn (n refers to the question number) and those used with the rectors as RQn.

The initial questions (not listed in the table) in both sets were used to collect information on the backgrounds of the informants. These questions served to warm up the informant as well as provided information on the length of time they had been involved with the phenomenon studied. The research questions were presented in three layers: the historical perspective, the organizational field perspective, and the organizational level perspective. The consistency of the questions in relation with the levels presented in the framework was subjected to expert review. Also, piloting on

the questions for both the members and the rectors was done and the results were scrutinized by an expert on qualitative analysis.

Table 3.

Research questions and interview questions

Research Questions	**Interview Questions**
Historical Perspective Question 1	MQ4, MQ5, MQ6, MQ7, MQ8 RQ4, RQ5
Organizational Field Perspective Question 2 Question 4	MQ9, MQ10, MQ11, MQ12 RQ6, RQ7, RQ8, RQ9
Organizational Level Perspective Question 3 Question 5	MQ14, MQ15, MQ16, MQ17, MQ18, MQ19, MQ20, MQ21, MQ22, MQ23 RQ10, RQ11, RQ12, RQ13, RQ14, RQ15, RQ16

3.5. Data Collection Procedures

As indicated before, data collection in this study is based on both interviews with key informants and document analysis. The collection of the documents to be used or referred to during the study started right after the topic had been determined by the research advisor and the researcher in the beginning of 2005. Following the completion of a research outline and presentation of a theoretical framework in May 2006, the research questions and the questions to be used during the interviews were prepared and submitted for a final approval. Based on the plan and the framework proposed, data collection started in January 2007. Table 4 shows the stages of the study conducted.

Review of literature and submission of a framework to go with took a lengthy period due to a demanding process of conceptualization of the NI theory and coverage of related literature. After several attempts, a final form of a research framework was formulated and included in the study (see Figure 6). Data collection is shown to have started in June 2006, however, it actually started with the analyses of several documents including articles, books, or newspaper items in January 2005, after the approval of the topic to be studied in the end of 2004-2005 academic year. Preliminary analysis of the collected materials and build-up of the whole plan of the study were the most critical stage because they determined the literature to be reviewed and the research questions to be asked. Subsequently, a decision was made and the contextual setting to be investigated was determined in May 2006. In the meantime, the whole progress of the study up until that time was framed according to the thematic emergence of the design.

As was formulated within the conceptual framework, the historical perspective was construed upon the data collected from the documents. Also, as indicated in Table 3, insights of the informants on the historical process through which the Council went through were the data analyzed. On the other hand, the major data referring to the other two levels, the organizational field level and organizational level, were collected from the informants. Document analysis findings were basically used to support or validate the findings accumulated through the interviews.

The main inquiries to be pursued during the data collection were:

What are the recurrent themes?

What is the possible reason for such recurrences?

What do the themes conveyed through the interviews center upon?

How do the actions take place?

What actor(s) is/are involved in the process?

Why are the things the way they are?

Table 4.

Timeline of the study

	January May 2005	June December 2005	January May 2006	June November 2006	December 2006 May 2007	June 2007 April 2008
Review of Literature	X	X	X	X	X	
Preliminary Document Analysis		X				
Development of the Interview Schedule				X		
Data Collection				X		
Data Transcribing					X	X
Data Analysis						X
Write-up						X

Data collection instruments were geared up to delve into the backstage factors that triggered the emergence of the CHE and the actors and interest base that played an essential role in the emergence of the Council after the 1980 military coup in Turkey. A second point of focus employed was the exploration of the constituents of the field within which the Council was made to operate. The emphasis was paid to determining the roles of the organizations that are vertically or horizontally linked with the CHE and the cognitive, cultural, and regulative mechanisms influencing it. Finally, at the organizational level, the cognitive and cultural themes within the Council as well as the regulative activities executed by it were investigated through the accounts of the informants and the documents analyzed.

An interview schedule was made in November 2006 and the first interview took place in June 2007. The interview schedule took almost six months – from June 2006 to November 2006 – to prepare. The literature review, formulation of the research framework, the analysis of contextual setting, and reviews of the experts constituted the bases of the interview schedule. The schedule was designed in Turkish due to the fact that the interviews were conducted in Turkish. The questions were eventually translated into English. The questions were reviewed by two experts of qualitative research for clarity and context-specificity and necessary amendments were made. The experts' reviews and feedback called for more clarity on the questions.

The data extracted by means of the sets of questions within the first layer are related with the facts and evidences that denote the emergence of the Council and the underlying mechanisms in this phenomenon. The questions related with the organizational field level, the second layer in the frame, correlate with the data gathered from the informants that correspond to their insights into the vertical/horizontal and local/nonlocal links and influences which they think are essential in understanding the institutional tenets of the CHE, in accordance with the points shown in the research frame. Again, the questions in the third layer, those that focus on the institution itself, are geared up to extract from the informants what they believe are the underlying myths and rituals that construe the institutionalized emergence of the Council. Finally, the question that relates to what the informants think about whether the institution should continue to exist aims to enable the researcher to understand, in a wide spectrum, the extent to which the Council is likely to perceive a survival in its domain. With further prompts and stimulating inquiries, the informants are requested to talk on the possible changes, if any, for enabling legitimacy and, consequently, institutionalization. On the whole, all questions are made to delve into the phenomenon for a comprehension of how structures and practices diffuse through the Council. In this respect, diffusion is thought to resemble the efforts in making the structures and practices common features of the organization in accordance with the stipulations coming from both outside and inside the field.

The changes made after expert review of the pilot implementations for internal consistency and relevance with the research questions consisted of the use of

more prompts to be able to get as much information as possible from the informants. The questions that relate to the cognitive and cultural elements within the organization, specifically those referring to myths and metaphors to be identified by the informants, were seen to be lacking clarity and ambiguous, therefore, more prompts have been added and additional questions were formulated for confirmation. Also, some questions were found to be redundant and abandoned. After the completion of the framework, the questions were categorized and followed a sequence for thematic relevance. This procedure employed in both sets of interviews enabled the informants to stay focused on the issue in the desired way. With the modifications made on the instruments, the informants were led to present the information with almost no recourse to the researcher's help and clarification. The piloting and expert reviews of the questions pointed to a need for rephrasing of some questions that formerly contained technical vocabulary and thus not fit for qualitative inquiry. For example, words like culture, field, or legitimacy were found to be too technical and knowledge demanding and were replaced by items or phrases that refer to common themes and helpful in extracting information.

Sixteen questions for the rectors and 23 questions for the members of the CHE were prepared along with a number of prompts (see Appendices A and B). Interviews with the CHE members took one and a half to two hours in general with the exception of one case that lasted nearly 40 minutes due to the busy schedule of the informant. Those with the rectors lasted around one to one and a half hours as the number of questions was smaller than those with the other group. The initial intention of the researcher was to conduct the interviews in a scheduled fashion without a break, however, due to inconveniences, especially on the part of the rectors, they are thought to have taken more time than already planned. Since the strategy used in choosing the CHE members to be interviewed was of snowball sampling, those interviewed so far were scheduled within the first one and half months of the schedule.

The strategy and purpose of the researcher during data collection stage was not to miss any informant recommended for their experience and knowledge about the subject matter. Appointment requests were renewed and no potential informant would be abandoned unless the request was strongly rejected by the informant. For example, of the information-rich informants recommended, only one, who was a

former and founding member of the Council, insisted that he did not wish to be interviewed about the topic and turned down the request. Another member in the list from outside Ankara said he would accept the request and arrange a meeting as soon as possible but has not returned the researcher's call.

The interviews were conducted by the researcher, using a digital voice recorder referring to the informants' consent. The informants were assured of full confidentiality and utmost care was taken in leading the interviews to the sole purpose of extracting necessary information on the core issue without delving into personal and private matters. A total of 13 hours and 45 minutes of voice recording was then transcribed by the researcher, which amounted to a 245 pages of document to analyze. There were times when the informants gave off-the-record information, yet, any such information neither mentioned within the study nor included in the analyses.

3.6. Data Analysis Procedures

The analysis of qualitative data is said to be very demanding for there is an immense number of data to be shuffled, organized, and scrutinized (Patton, 2002). The data obtained from the documents and the interviews in this study were analyzed in an inductive manner. As Patton mentioned; inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being decided upon prior to data collection and analysis (Patton, 1987). Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) state that "a common way to interpret content analysis data is by using frequencies (i.e., the number of specific incidents found in the data) and proportion of particular occurrences to total occurrences" (p. 507). Also, coding is suggested as a method to facilitate the synthesis of the emerging themes. Coding is defined as the process of marking "certain words, phrases, patterns of behavior, subjects' ways of thinking, and events [that] repeat and stand out" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 171). Computer-based analysis of the qualitative data is available, however, the software capable of doing this is geared up for data gathered in English and several other languages but not in Turkish, therefore, the analysis was done using the classical method, that is, by coding the words or phrases by hand.

Patton (2002) notes that creation of a framework in qualitative research was inductive in nature for the template to work on during the study is eventually built based on the emerging patterns and ideas. However, as the researcher started analyzing the data gathered according to the proposed framework, the study assumed a deductive nature (pp. 453-454). In other words, the qualitative study was a journey from inductive to deductive.

For the analysis of the data, first the data recorded during the interviews were transcribed. Then, the qualitative data were organized for analysis. After organizing the data, several readings of the data were done before it was completely indexed. Then, the data were searched for the regularities and patterns as well as for topics that they covered. And, the topics and patterns were labeled with words or phrases to represent them. Then the codes were categorized by taking into consideration the aim of the study. Briefly, the following steps were taken in data analysis procedure:

- Formulation of a framework according to the research questions and the perspectives to be investigated throughout the study and definition of the themes under which the data would be organized;
- Several readings of the data in order to determine which data would be organized and how;
- Stating the findings and attaching quotes to support findings;
- Commenting on the findings and drawing conclusions.

Many authors have indicated that there is no standard procedure of analyzing the data and that such a standardization constrains the researchers (Patton, 2002; Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004).

Content analysis aims to reach some concepts and relations that will help explain the data gathered (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004, p. 170). In other words, content analysis refers to a stage in which data analysis is carried out with a deeper investigation to find out if there are any significant details that have gone unnoticed.

Coding, which is the first step in content analysis refers to determining some words or phrases to attach to important data that may come in the form a word, a sentence, or even a full paragraph. The codes are then listed under categories according to what they stand to signify. Coding is done according to the research questions and the research frame provided (see Table 5).

Table 5.

A sample page for coding

S. YÖK kendini nasıl meşrulaştırmıştır? C. Kanuni olmuştur ama halkın nazarında ne kadar meşru olmuştur? Son bu Erdoğan Bey'in yaptıklarıyla YÖK yeni yeni meşruiyetini kazanıyor. YÖK hep bir kara koyun olmuştur. Ama son zamanlarda iki şey YÖK'ün artık eski YÖK olarak bakmıyor ve bu strateji dökümanının YÖK'ün kendisine getirdiği eleştiriler var. İkinci önemli meşrulaştırma bu desantralizasyonun strateji üzerinde bir karşılıklı müzakere var. YÖK stratejiyi yeniden formüle ediyor. İkincisini bitirdik yeniden basılacak. Üniversite öğretim üyeleri diyorlar ki, tamam desantralize olsun. Kafi derecede desentralize etmiyorsunuz diyorlar. Bütün bu öneriler sentralizasyonu artıracak öneriler. Bu kaygılardan biri şu. Üniversitedeki kayırmacı pratiklerin engellenememesi ve bunun çaresinin YÖK'te görülmesi Merkezi sınavlarda görülmesi bir yerel, kontrol edilemez güç haline gelmesi sığınabilecek yer olarak YÖK'ü görüyorlar. Ancak biri geçiyor. Diğerleri dönüyor geri. Bir manipulasyon hissediliyor. YÖK'ün daha yaşlı başlı kadroları bu manipulasyona aynı YÖK değil. Şimdiye kadar bir plan ve strateji yapmış mı kurulduğundan beri, yapmamış; ilk defa biz yaptık öteki dönemlerdeki YÖK nasıl bir YÖK? Kemal Gürüz'ün YÖK'ü başka bir YÖK. Kurumsallaşmıştır denilebilir mi bu YÖK'e? Rektörlerde de aynı şekilde kişiselleşiyorsa kurumsallaşamıyor demektir. Yeni YÖK stratejisinde var.	legitimacy coercive public actors organizational level metaphor practice legitimacy adaptive effort actors resistance to change interest relations organizational level pratices regulative mechanism actors practices actors institutionalization practices

Codes are written in the provided margin next to the lines in which those words or phrases appear. When the study follows a pattern proposed by a research frame, a list of codes is usually used to guide the process (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004). In this study, a similar procedure was followed. There initially were seventeen codes formulated by the researcher, yet, the course of the study and multiplicity of emerging parameters led to other codes formulated and attached to the list (Appendix C). The codes were then grouped under relevant themes. Resulting thematic relations are displayed in the figures provided for almost each question leading the research.

A similar procedure was followed in analyzing the documents used for supporting the data from the interviews. The documents, especially the ones pertaining to the law, regulations, etc., were purposefully selected and relevant parts were coded the same way as were the interview data. In order to facilitate the process of grouping the codes with all the sub-codes and identifying the themes before the write-up, giving numbers to the codes, a procedure called indexing (see Appendix D), are thought to be helpful for the researcher (Somuncuoğlu, 2003).

3.7. Assumptions and Limitations of the Study

The complicated nature of the picture drawn in organizational analysis brings into consideration several aspects such as myths, rituals, beliefs, values, and ceremonies; organizational fields; interest relations and authority; normative, regulative, coercive, or mimetic incentives and legitimacy; persistence and resistance to change; and disputed rationality. In addition, the mechanisms with which policies, norms, values, and practices are diffused can be named as imposition, authorization, inducement, acquisition, incorporation, retention, and interest relations. Given the diversity and miscellany of the factors or aspects, a matrix-like web of interactions accounts for institutionalization, a situation which leads to defining it differently as contexts change (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b). These conceptual frames are assumed to constitute the institutional backbone of the Council of Higher Education and the subsequent analyses are carried out with the main emphasis on them.

This study is aimed to delve into and understand the phenomenon of diffusion in a high bureaucratic organization in Turkey, namely the CHE. Assumptions in qualitative research studies differ from those in quantitative ones (Patton, 2001). As quantitative approaches are based on quantitative assumptions such as normal

distribution, etc., qualitative ones are based on qualitative tenets. The basic assumption leading this study from the very beginning, from formulating a theoretical frame and the subsequent research questions to selecting the samples, gathering data, and analyzing them, is that "the world is patterned; those patterns are knowable and explainable" (Patton, 2001, p. 224). The boundaries drawn by the researcher, in both establishing the theoretical frame and asking the questions, help zero in on the processes and phenomena mentioned in the purpose.

Another assumption leading the researcher is the principle governing the qualitative analysis which state that the reality to be construed in the end will be based on the researcher involved with the phenomenon and the data extracted from within the phenomenon studied (Carini, 1975, cited in Patton, 2001, p. 328). Here, the meaning achieved will be the product of the researcher's insights and the data extracted from the phenomenon focused on. As discussed earlier, the emerging themes and facts may not reflect the initial plan made. Therefore, the social reality will continue to be built every step of the way, as claimed by Patton (2001) "creative approaches are those that are situationally responsive and appropriate, credible to primary intended users, and effective in opening up new understandings" (p. 400).

This study was limited to the way policies, norms, and values are diffused in universities within the post-1981 period, which marks an organized centralization of Turkish higher education.

The people interviewed were limited to former or active high level members of the CHE and 7 state or privately owned universities (presumably Vice Presidents). Therefore, the data acquired and the results of the analyses were limited to the perceptions of these individuals and cannot be generalized for the whole country or for all of the universities. As for the document analysis, the literature to be analyzed was limited to books on the historical development of the CHE and some new items in the journals that were thought to be worthwhile as regards the institutional patterns of the CHE. Furthermore, the results of the analyses were based on the hermeneutic evaluations of the researcher and, thus, were not statistically tested as in quantitative studies.

As for the content of the analysis, apart from methodological aspects, the study was planned to focus on an analytical base accounting for only the institutional aspects deemed important by the researcher. Aspects such as change or reform

efforts in institutional settings of universities, impact of funding in relations, etc. were left outside the scope of the study for they were empirically or theoretically accounted for in recent studies by other researchers.

3.8. Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are important issues in qualitative studies. In order to make the findings trustworthy, a painstaking analysis is needed in order not give way to criticisms on the impartiality of the study. Validity determines whether the findings of a study are true or not while reliability refers to whether the results can be replicated (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004, p. 90). Furthermore, reliability shows whether the same instrument can yield the same results with similar groups of subjects and the internal validity states whether the instrument used collects the type of data defined (p. 90).

The internal validity depends on several aspects such as meaningfulness, consistency, and integrity of the findings. It also refers to whether the results construe a whole with the theoretical framework or the research frame and whether comments are accompanied by alternative approaches. Informants' attitude in perceiving the research questions as valid is an important indicator, too (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004).

Patton (2001) notes that "it is impossible to identify in the abstract and in advance all the trade-offs involved in balancing concerns for accuracy, utility, feasibility, and propriety" (p. 400). Therefore, validity and reliability in qualitative approaches appear to be different from those with quantitative orientation. In this respect, validity and reliability refer to consistency and truthfulness of the results upon which social reality is constructed.

Since no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective on an issue being investigated, by using multiple sources of information, the validity issue will be ensured. Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) note that "with respect to validity, we think it should often be possible not only to check manifest against latent content but also to compare either or both with results from different instruments" (p. 489). This process is thought to validate the credibility of the study. Though several techniques are proposed for this purpose, the best one to

apply in this particular case can be the “triangulation of sources” (Patton, 2001), where “different data sources” are checked out within the same method for consistency (p. 556). Using both qualitative and quantitative data for verification does not seem plausible in this context for the set of guiding questions do not seem promising if run through a quantitative analysis (Patton, 2001).

The consistency of the questions in both groups were cross-checked several times, by the researcher and two experts on qualitative analysis, for their relevance to the points focused on in the research questions and the theoretical frame proposed. As indicated before, these data were further evidenced and supported with another set of data gathered from the existing literature and the documents analyzed.

As defined by Fraenkel and Wallen (2003), the key informants, or actors, in the Council of Higher Education were chosen on the basis of snowball-sampling for they were reported to be “more informed about the culture and history of their group, as well as more articulate than others” (p. 457). The questions used during the interviews were prepared with utmost diligence and special care. Questions started with background or demographic inquiries as well as those that called for knowledge, experience, opinion, or feelings (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003, pp. 458-459). Giving background information on the informants, the setting, and the conditions as regards the subject matter upon which the data are gathered added to the reliability of the study. Also, the processes of data collection and data analysis were defined in detail. These two procedures are important steps in achieving reliability in qualitative approaches (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2004).

In accordance with the principles stated above, this study was conducted with appropriate interviewing behavior, such as respect for the individual or the culture of the group interviewed, frankness, and rapport with the interviewee, and avoidance of leading questions, were adopted by the researcher during the interviews. In addition, sometimes same question was asked in different ways or clarification was demanded if something remained blurred during the process.

The initial set of questions guiding the document analysis provided answers for the researcher to be able to understand the legal basis for the establishment and functioning of the CHE. The questions, on the other hand, prepared for the interviews basically determined how the picture drawn by laws, rules, regulations, and acts fit into the solid, all flesh-and-blood, and actual state of things in higher

education arena in Turkey. Furthermore, the questions asked of the CHE members and those for the rectors were geared up to verify each other and those of the document analysis.

Many of the questions in both groups might be searching for the same theme from different angles. This was especially useful in verifying the answers as well as for the reliability of the process. The data found through document analysis yielded yet another set of evidences which presumably supported the findings from the interviews. The questions asked during the interviews were piloted (through an interview with a rector and another one with a member of Inter-University Board), whereby enabling the researcher to see if they made sense and were relevant to what the study intended to do. The piloting was discussed with the assistance of two experts in relation with the research questions and the research frame. Moreover, after the piloting was completed, for ensuring the reliability and internal validity, analyzed data were cross-checked by experts. During the piloting process, a few questions were thought to be insufficiently prompted and needed probing for the desired data thus, upon the recommendation of an expert, more probing questions and prompts were added. Also, by the grace of experiencing data collection in such a manner and considering the fact that the researcher is a novice in such an experience, piloting helped with overcoming the anxiety and brought about an inert drive to probe for more data until saturation occurred.

It was a standard procedure during all the interviews to inform the participants about the purpose and framework of the research. The informants were informed about where the data would be used and that utmost confidentiality would the guiding principle in the analysis of the data. Permission was asked for the use of a recorder and the participants were informed about the predicted duration of the interviews.

3.9. The Case: The Council of Higher Education

The following section presents some background information about the case, the Council of Higher Education (CHE), which constitutes the context for the analysis on the diffusion of structures and practices in an organizational setting. The historical information on the Council's background serves also as template upon

which the historical context extension of the institutional theory as perceived in the theoretical frame of this study rests.

3.9.1. The Two Stages in Turkish Higher Education before 1946

Until the shift from single-party era to multi-party system in 1946, it is observed that there have been two preliminary stages through which Turkish higher education has shown remarkable modification. First, modernization efforts and the subsequent establishments of higher education institutions in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries marked the beginning of modern higher education and the emphasis on the type of human model, compatible with that of the modern world (Baydur, 2004; Mardin, 2005). Second, the reform movement in 1933 was an attempt to reassess the existing extent of modernity in higher education and readjust it so as to make it more efficient and modern (Akyüz, 2001). The former of these two stages advocated the French model while the latter introduced the German (Fişek, 1976). The striking aspect that characterized both stages was that they aimed to centralize higher education governance by redefining how the social elite could be best educated so as to meet the demands of the modern world. The French model, initially formulated by Napoleon Bonaparte in early nineteenth century, was a way of ruling through establishing a highly centralized government composed of accordingly educated elites (Fişek, 1976; TÜSİAD, 1994). On the other hand, the German model, introduced by Von Humboldt, emphasized the significance of research in developing (Gürüz, 2001).

The newly established higher education institutions that replaced the madrasas of the medieval times included studies of natural sciences and positive thinking, however, with the establishment of Darülfünun (The Home of Natural Sciences) in 1845, the fundamentalist sectors roared with hatred to reinstitute the religiously-oriented schools (Akyüz, 2001). At this point, two criticisms declared the institution obsolete and a threat to modernity: Darülfünun was impeding the progress of the reforms and was inefficient in conducting scientific research for the benefit of the society (Akyüz, 2001, p. 326).

The beginning of the twentieth century in Turkey witnessed the inception of several faculties and higher education institutions which were in a way annexed to

Darülfünun. Right after a reorganization within the structure of the institution, Law 439 was passed and the school was transformed into İstanbul Darülfünun. After the establishment of a law school, medical school, and a science-literature faculty, a theology faculty was established in 1925, which was followed by a Law School (1925), Gazi Education Institute (1926), and Agriculture Institute (1930) in Ankara (TÜSİAD, 1994, p. 152). Combined with the aforementioned threats, the existence of several higher education institutes in several locations pointed to a need for a reform in higher education. A report submitted by Professor Albert Malche to the MONE in 1932 stated an urgent reorganization was necessary. Some of Atatürk's own handwritten notes on this report are worthy of notice (Gürüz, 2001, p. 298; TÜSİAD, 1994 p. 153):

1) İstanbul Darülfünun has been abolished and University of İstanbul will be established to replace it.
2) The Minister of Education is responsible for establishing it.
3) The students are supposed to know a foreign language such as English, German, Italian, or French (reading and comprehending).
4) The institutions have full liberty in pursuing scientific inquiry. Assignment of faculty members and administrators and program development will be subject to interference (by the state).
5) There are too many civil servants and attendants (355). Needy students for these positions.
6) Worthless students must be discouraged within the first year.
7) The most important task of the Rector is related with scientific issues; a civil servant is needed for administrative jobs.
8) İstanbul Darülfünun could not achieve a scientific and scholarly momentum which should direct it consciously toward a specific goal. The Ministry must determine a direction to be taken within the next few years. The cooperation among the faculty deans and their continuous involvement with their responsibilities must be seen to (by the Rector).
9) The Ministry must be in charge of assigning or dismissing the academic staff.
10) The greatest handicap with Darülfünun is that it lacks the kind of education which persuades individual observation and research. It only provides encyclopedic information.

11) The Faculty of Letters is terrible.
12) There are no academic staff at Darülfünun. For the time being, foreign staff should be looked for. We must henceforth send our children to foreign universities.

As can be seen above, Atatürk's own evaluations and demands foreshadow the reform and reorganization efforts yet to be made within the field of higher education in Turkey.

3.9.2. The Transition to Multi-Party System in 1946

The 1933 reform was followed by the establishment of several other higher education institutions in Ankara and İstanbul. In Ankara, Language History and Geography Faculty was established in 1937, Faculty of Natural Sciences in 1943, and Medical School in 1945. In İstanbul, as well, the Higher Engineering School was transformed into İstanbul Technical University in 1944.

The year 1946 is a landmark in determining the progress of higher education in Turkey. It was the year in which Turkey went through a remarkable transition: from single-party era to multi-party system. This was a giant step toward democracy in the country. Law 4936 was passed and universities were given autonomy, which allowed them to elect their own rectors and faculty deans (TÜSİAD, 1994, p. 154).

Following the elections in 1950, the newly elected government considered it more beneficial to train the technocrats needed in universities governed by the American model (Gürüz, 2001; TÜSİAD, 1994). Consequently, Ege University and Karadeniz Technical University were established in 1955, Middle East Technical University (METU) in 1956, and Atatürk University in 1957 by laws. Only METU was made to assume the American model in academic structure and administration while the other three were held under the supervision of the Ministry of Education (Gürüz, 2001; Şimşek, 2006; TÜSİAD, 1994). METU was managed by a board of executives including nine members appointed by the Board of Ministers. In this way, an era in which two competing paradigms in Turkish higher education system appeared: that of Continental Europe and of Anglo-Saxon.

3.9.3. From 1960 To 1970s

Views on how higher education should be organized and improved so as to allow modernization to be achieved demonstrated a duality in political preferences. Right after the Republic in Turkey was officially declared in 1923, the speculations on the awaited higher education reform were divided into two mainstreams: those who favored non-autonomous university and those who believed autonomy was the sole solution for an ideal higher education (Başgöz & Wilson, 1968, pp. 177-178).

Post-1946 period, especially well into the second half of the following decade, witnessed political turmoil stemming from the partisan activities of the ruling party and led to a military take-over in 1960. Particularly in 1950-1960 period, the idea of autonomous university received harsh criticisms (Güler, 2004, p. 218). A declaration was issued by İstanbul Technical University in 1958. The criticisms made centered on the need for enhancing and diversifying research studies and diffusing higher education through a wider range of societal groups and professional sectors (Güler, 2004, p. 218). The major themes behind this call for research enhancement were "research-oriented human model," "facilities enabling research studies to be conducted," and "financial capabilities for procuring research requirements" (p. 219). Law 115 was passed in 1960 and Faculty General Council, Council of Professors, Board of Directors, University Senate, and Inter-University Council were introduced for the first time, which suggested that coordination, control, and supervision were urgently needed in educational and administrative activities in Turkish higher education. The new law held the established boards and Councils responsible for contacting the MONE about matters related with decision making (Güler, 2004, pp. 219-224).

The Constitution made in 1961 included an article that concerned the universities in Turkey for the first time. The Article 120 stated that,

- Universities can only be established by the State and by the law and universities are public-corporate persons that have scientific and administrative autonomy.
- Universities are administered and controlled by bodies of academic staff elected by them.
- The units in universities, academic staff and their assistants can by no means be dismissed by authorities from outside the university.

- The academic staff and their assistants can freely conduct research and publish articles.
- The establishment and function of universities, their units and how these units are formed, tasks and authorities, and the control of education and research activities by relevant units are arranged by law according to above-mentioned principles.
- The academic staff and their assistants are exempt from the ban on joining political parties. However, these persons cannot be actively involved in activities outside the main headquarters of these political parties (Güler, 2004, pp. 224-225).

As can be seen above, the Constitution made in 1961 gave an immense autonomy to universities and their academic staff. Early 1960s witnessed several student demonstrations and movements and these activities were composed largely of protests against "imperialism" (Mardin, 2004, p. 252). A polarization among student groups was not a common thing in 1950 because, as Andrew Mango (2005) notes, student militancy that surrounded student bodies in the West appealed mostly to the well-off and, consequently, could not infiltrate into Turkey. However, the situation escalated in Turkey and the protests that targeted materialism in the West found equal strength in Turkey, but with a different target – the underdeveloped state of the country. The solution for them was Marxism (Mango, 2005, p. 27).

3.9.4. Reconsidering the Freedom Granted in 1961

The radical movements and student activities in France were subdued under the strong leadership of De Gaulle and similar movements within the rest of the Western Europe based on radical fundamentalism were subjugated just to make these states feel stronger (Mango, 2005, p.21). As violence escalated in late 1960s the Turkish Armed Forces undertook its protective role and intervened to stop the anarchy and terror. A martial-law was declared and the Constitutionally-backed autonomy granted to universities was almost completely nullified (Mardin, 2004, p. 252). As a result, several amendments were made in the law:

- The autonomy recognized does not prevent the prosecution and interrogation of offense in universities.
- Universities are managed by elected staff under the supervision of the State.
- The establishment of universities and their functionings, subdivisions, and the procedures followed in providing the State control and supervision along with provision of freedom in academic pursuits in accordance with and the exchange of academic staff are subject to legal arrangements to guarantee civilized education, development and technological advances.
- The university budgets are made and inspected in accordance with the principles governing the general budget (Güler, 2004, p. 225-226).

In other words, student movements, which started as innocent student demands in 1968 as an extension of the ones in France, turned into political and ideological struggles before March 12, 1971 when some amendments were made in the Constitution (Güler, 2004, p. 226). Following these amendments, several higher education institutions such as higher education schools (yüksekokullar) gained university status and more universities were opened. On June 20, 1973 Law 1750 (Universities Act) was passed and the Council of Higher Education was established to keep track of higher education in Turkey and to monitor, control and coordinate the activities of Turkish universities. According to the new law, the Minister of Education would chair the Council consisting of elected representatives from the universities and an equal number of representatives appointed by the ministries. Also, an Inter-University Council consisting of the rectors and two representative from each university to deal with the academic issues However, the law items related with the inception of the Council of Higher Education were cancelled in 1975 on the for these items were contradictory with the Constitutional decree that “universities are administered by the bodies elected from within them” (TÜSİAD, 1994, p. 155). The principles upon which Universities Act in 1973 can be summarized as follows:

- The integrity of universities and their relation with the secondary schools
- Higher education and its inclination to meet public needs
- Providing higher education opportunities to all
- Guaranteeing the freedom of teaching/learning

The onset of the new law referred to “departments” as a unit of organizing in addition to the “chair” structure, a point which indicates the existence of two systems in Turkish higher education, that of the German and of the American (Erden, 2006, p. 52). The confusion that marked the period afterwards accompanied the turmoil experienced almost in every sector of the Turkish State.

3.9.5. Up Until 1980

A novelty introduced by 1961 Constitution was the National Security Council (NSC), which, some scholars thought, was a precautionary effort to secure the assets of the nation against all possible threats by means of policies, principles, and plans. The NSC, Parlar (2005) reports, was based some kind of an indoctrination with which cultural aspects and ideologies were militarized; nationalist sentiments were supported; political liberalism was avoided; masses were kept away from politics; extraordinary methods of governance were made usual; judicial protection and public autonomy were mitigated; and the police were authorized to keep people and ideologies under strict control (p. 16). Briefly, the NSC, according to the author, was established to secure Constitutional order, maintain integrity, and to take the necessary measures in order to direct Turkish nation toward Atatürk’s principles and reforms as well as gather them around national goals and values (p. 18).

The emergence of the NSC provided the Turkish Armed Forces with a status which was over that of the politics and of the Board of Ministers (Parlar, 2005, p. 23). Pre-1980 time span related with the student movements and boycotts that made higher education anything but productive is conceptualized as a “praetorian” era where participation in politics and political unrest were way over political institutionalism, which, in modern societies were overcome by social groups with political expertise (Parlar, 2005, p. 31). The political vacuum created after 1961, coupled with the autonomy granted to universities, resulted in escalation of anarchy and terror involving university students (Dilligil, 1985). Newspapers were replete with numerous incidents in which students were injured or even killed and education at higher education institutions was frequently interrupted by partisan students, leftist, rightist, or fundamentalist, which demonstrated an escalation between 1975 and 1980. Referring to the period, Kenan Evren, the Head of State and the Chairman of The Armed Forces commented:

> If an ultimate solution had been made possible by means of the autonomy granted, we would have made most of our institutions autonomous. We would have made our provinces and governors autonomous so that each province should govern itself.
> The situation with the universities was apparent. They had the autonomy and no one was able to interfere. They were completely on their own. Even the police were not able to enter. I know of those who put the gun on the desk and forced the instructor to give them a satisfactory grade. Universities harbored terrorists. Therefore, they had to be taken under control" (cited in Birand, 1998).

Ultimately, the Turkish Armed Forces took over the rule and subsequent measures were implemented to eradicate the confusion and chaos in the political, administrative, and bureaucratic systems in Turkey, which resulted in similar reforms in the field of higher education that were geared up to shape universities and their relations with the outside world.

3.9.6. The Rise of the Council of Higher Education Era

The long-lasting intent to render the higher education institutions in Turkey unified under the rubric of a monolithic university was made possible with Law 2547 that was passed on November 6, 1981. With the new law, universities, institutes, higher schools, academies and faculties were united and redefined as higher education institutions (Somuncuoğlu, 2003, p. 111). The main rationales behind the unification and integration are summarized as the need for education and training, research, and publication (Güler, 2004, p. 247). Also, the concept of a university that can meet the various demands of the societies and mingle with the people as well as keep track of the innovations taking place all around the world was thought to be a model form in higher education (Güler, 2003, p. 247).

Güler (2003) lists the rationales for a reform in Turkish higher education as such:

- The former control mechanism run by the Ministry of National Education was unable to set a unifying effect upon diverse forms of higher education with diverse legal status;
- Lack of planning and policies in higher education;
- Extravagance and deterioration in higher education.

Higher education institutions were linked with different administrative organs such as MONE and several other ministries and there were several forms of laws governing higher education institutions. For example, Law 7334 regulated the activities of the Academies of Economic and Commercial Sciences, Law 1418 the State Academies of Architecture and Engineering, and Law 1172 the Academy of Fine Arts (Güler, 2003, p. 248). In addition to these variations, the rapidly emerging urbanization and the need for technical personnel were not catered for. The schools opened to respond to the demands of the youth, such as academies and higher vocational schools, did not follow a planned action (Güler, 2003, p. 250).

With the Constitution endorsed in 1982, the essential principles stated in Law 2547 were based on stronger and unchangeable formulations. According to Constitution Article 131 the CHE is established:

> to plan, organize, administer, and inspect education in higher education institutions; channelize education and training activities in these institutions; make sure that the higher education institutions are established in accordance with the goals and principles stated in the law and that the sources made available to the universities are used effectively; and make plans for training and educating the academic staff (Alışkan, 2006, p. 9).

Law 2547, with items and sub-items, clearly and in a detailed manner defines the CHE and its members, its mission along with its sub-divisions such as boards, committees and commissions, and provides definitions of higher education institutions and the administrative and academic staff within them. Briefly, the law sets the norms of higher education in Turkey with a strong emphasis on the principles and reforms of Atatürk as an indispensable point of reference, the characteristics envisioned in the human model suggested, and the level and qualification of the type of education needed for achieving the modernity, civilization, and advances expected of the Republic of Turkey (Güler, 2003; Alışkan, 2006). The years following the 1982 reform in higher education in Turkey, marked the beginning of a new era as it founded the legal grounds for the course of actions taken and the number universities opened in the years to come.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The purpose of this study is to explore and understand the diffusion process of the structures and practices within the Council of Higher Education in Turkey from the perspective of the theory of New Institutionalism. The data gathered through the interviews with the members of the CHE and the rectors as well as the analysis of the relevant documents constitute the core of the study. The data from these sources were analyzed qualitatively and the themes and categories were drawn in accordance with the research questions that guided the study. This chapter includes the findings of the investigation under these themes: the emergence of the Council with reference to actors behind the incentives in its establishment and how the process of emergence took place; the organizational field that characterizes its operations, relations, and diffusion of its structures and practices; and the organization itself with all its structures and practices and how they become institutionalized. To be more specific, the historical perspective is perceived to be an accumulation of social, cultural, political, and economic constructs that constituted the context in which the Council has emerged. In a similar way, the organizational field is scrutinized with major emphasis placed on actors, agencies, and relations that are thought to be influencing and shaping the way the Council appears to be and its functions. Finally, the organizational frame that corresponds to the Council itself with its structures and practices as well as how it maintains its legitimacy and survives are investigated. All of these contextual constructs are thought to be interrelated, therefore, the findings and results of the analyses of the documents and the interviews have been displayed in an incorporated manner so as to draw a network of relations.

4.1. The Incentives in the Establishment of the Council of Higher Education

The interviews and document analyses indicate that the establishment of the CHE was an action related with some interplay of factors emanating from the past and present developments in the field of higher education, bearing social, political, and economic significance. The somewhat blurred nature of the higher education system in Turkey, namely, a mixture of the pre-republican French model, the German model introduced with the 1933 reform and the American model characterized by the establishment of four universities in 1950s, was one of the causes of the disturbance prevalent before the military takeover in 1980. Second, student involvements in political fanaticism resulting in protests, boycotts, and other severe acts of crime added to the growing need for intervention. Consequently, universities were held responsible for the increasing threat against the Republican ideals and values shaped by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his reforms constituting the essence of the Republic of Turkey, which had led to serious considerations among several cycles. Third, initiating a coordination and control mechanism over Turkish higher education had been a long-lasting plan of the State, however, due to the objections of the academic cycles on the grounds that the move would be contradictory with the Constitution of the time, it had not been accomplished.

Apart from the above-mentioned incentives listed by several authors and scholars, though, the analyses of the informant views collected reveal a platform of changes introduced with the establishment of the CHE, signaling a transition from a static form of higher education to a more dynamic and interactive one. In other words, the informants' views on what changes have taken place with the establishment of the Council indicate a list of innovations that are claimed to have triggered a new perception of higher education and a set of expectations along with it.

Almost all informants stated that the anarchic movements conspicuous all over Turkish higher education institutions before the 1980 movement had been the apparent cause of calling for a regulative and supervising agency over higher education. About fifty percent of the informants stressed the initiative taken by the CHE in reinforcing the status of the acquisitions made with the Republican movement and the reforms and ideals of Atatürk. Furthermore, eleven of the fifteen informants described the establishment of the CHE as a step taken in order to enforce

the acceptance of professional norms, rather than personal relations, in appointments and academic promotions, whereby achieving world standards and quality. Eight of the informants pointed to the emerging need at the time for uniting higher education institutions under an 'umbrella' for eradicating the multiple standards and introducing a controlling mechanism for enabling accountability.

The implications drawn by the researcher, however, equivocally indicate the existence of a set of outcomes or, in other terms, items in a hidden agenda underlying the reform imposed upon Turkish higher education. First of all, as one informant put it, the establishment of the Council and the endorsement of Law 2547 "facilitated the dominance of a conservative mind-set over the more democratic orientation of 1960s." Moreover, five informants referred to the "liberal" nature of the political reforms activated by the government established right after the military takeover and pointed to their repercussions through Turkish higher education. One informant described the situation as an "inevitable end of the west-oriented movement," referring to the Anglo-Saxon model being instituted. Another informant pointed to the Anglo-Saxon model as the single choice for the Continental European one was basically based on a sentiment that had no concerns stemming from political involvement and thus "no match" for the case in Turkey.

Briefly, the transition in Turkish higher education enabled by means of the reform after 1980 takeover and the establishment of the CHE is seen to have envisioned the resolution of the problematic issues. The most obvious characteristic of these issues was that they presented themselves as adamant barriers leaving the state somewhat beleaguered amidst a plethora of uncertainties.

The fundamental factors that initiated a call for a reform can be categorized as the multiple standards stemming from the existence of various models of higher education and higher education institutions and the political involvement that drove universities into chaos and disturbance (see Figure 12). Consequently, a reform appeared to be imminent as it seemed that the present condition of Turkish higher education would lead to nowhere except serving as a threat to the integrity of the Republic and distorting the hope placed on future generations.

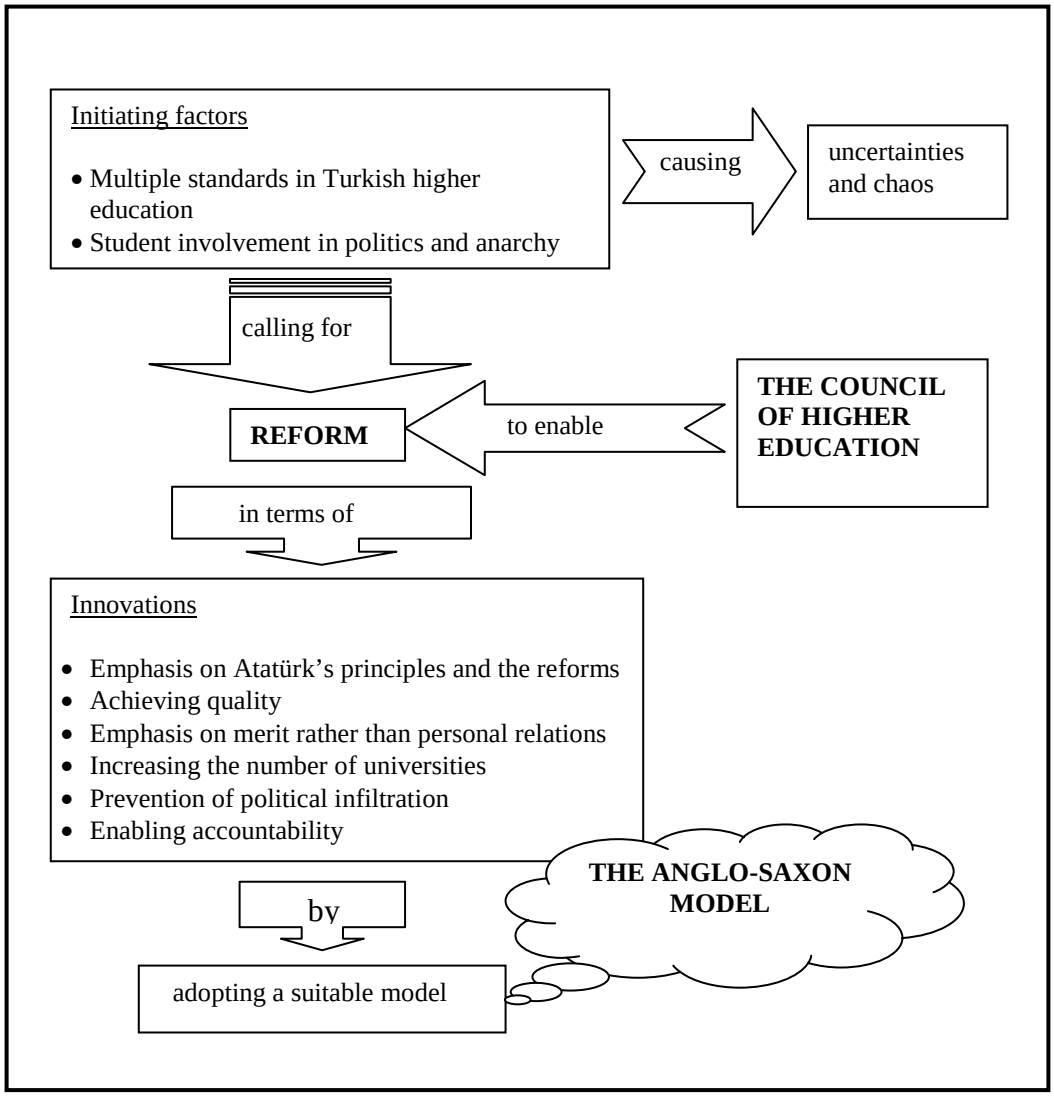

Figure 12. The interplay of the incentives in the establishment of the CHE

As well as restoring order in universities and preventing divergences in the form and status of higher education institutions, some other new implementations were introduced. Achieving quality in higher education, emphasizing merit-based promotions and assignments, holding universities accountable for their achievements and performance, opening new universities around the country, and doing all these placing the Republican ideals and Atatürk's principles in the center and keeping politics outside the academia were included in the macro plan for solving the problems. To replace the existing system which was deemed corrupt and dysfunctional, the Anglo-Saxon model, thought to be suitable for meeting the needs

and securing the integrity, was tacitly activated. Finally, the CHE emerged as the embodiment of all these incentives for shaping Turkish higher education in the desired direction.

4.1.1. The Actors behind the Incentives

When asked to confer upon the incentives in the establishment of the CHE, almost all of the informants referred to the Turkish Armed Forces who, they believed, had acted as the architect of the new order brought about with a series of social reforms after the takeover in 1980. The armed forces' intrinsic reflex gained through history, as defined by İsmet İnönü, can be taken to demonstrate in order to justify the informant views:

> Turkey goes through some restoration periods from time to time. When such periods are on, the Army intervenes, stays for a while, and then leaves. After a while, we politicians mess things up again. The Army intervenes. This will be the nature of things to come and these restoration periods will be more frequent (cited in Birand, 1984, p. 13).

The emergence of the CHE, on the other hand, was described as a consequence or a by-product of the whole maneuver.

Those informants who were either students or young academic staff during the military takeover recalled the anarchic movements in their universities and described the situation as "chaotic." Therefore, they ranked the disturbance in higher education in those days in the first place as they referred to the incentives in the establishment of the Council.

Especially those who were senior members of the academic corps at the time, however, described the process of instituting the Council as something beyond an effort in restoring order. While they approached the problems of the time from a systems perspective, mentioning low quality in higher education, small number of universities around the country and their uneven distribution, nepotism in staffing and promotions and their consequences, and the scarcity of funds supporting higher education, they pointed to a shift in mentality in governing universities and executing their educational activities. Professor Ali İhsan Doğramacı, who was the first president of the Council as well as its founder, was believed to be the brain-father of

the new model that would dominate the whole higher education system from then until now. As one informant put it in a nutshell:

> The model imposed with the 1981 reform was modeled after what Doğramacı had in mind. The planners from the military side had their plans implemented via Doğramacı.

Indeed, almost all of the informants referred to Prof. Doğramacı, one way or another, as they mentioned the time the Council was established and its functions during the following decade. Yet, from the standpoint of the innovations implemented and the perceptions viewed to be changing, Prof. Doğramacı was put on the spot by those senior informants for his wits and experience in matters related with higher education and the firm and unwavering procession in achieving what he had desired all along.

Two of the informants, on the other hand, described the changes introduced with the 1980 reforms as a transition to liberal economy in politics and market-driven political decision-making which, they believed, had its projections on higher education policies. One of them described it effectively as follows:

> I don't think the incentives behind the movement were related directly with the economy, however, the transition to a neo-liberal system surely had its impact on higher education.

They conceptualized this transition as convenient grounds for achieving the aforementioned reform in higher education and turning higher education into a "field of investment for accomplishing progress." This transition period, as they described it, was named after Turgut Özal, the Prime Minister of the time and a prominent figure behind the political, economic, and social developments afterwards.

Although not much was said by the informants about who was behind the incentives, the analyses of the documents related with the establishment of the CHE yielded some results confirming the three sectors formulating solutions for the problems that called for a reform in Turkish higher education.

The actors on the military side, namely the members of the National Security Council (NSC), had frequently voiced their pending concerns related with the chaotic nature of higher education in Turkey. In the same vein, back in early 1970s, the NSC had issued an ultimatum, referring to the escalation of the anarchic events taking place in universities and outside and the inefficiency of the government in handling them. Kenan Evren, who was the Head of State and Chairman of NSC as well as the

Supreme Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces of the time, accounted for the severity of the situation in Turkish higher education and the involvement of the students and academics in political fanaticism emphasizing the need for a reform to set things right (12 Eylül, 1998).

Other findings related with the incentives in the establishment of the CHE yielded strong relevance to political formulations concerning the need for the discovery of a fit model for Turkish higher education in the Republican history. The reforms of 1933 and 1946 and the subsequent laws 2252 and 4936, respectively, were constituted to introduce a new higher education model for solving the problems and reaching contemporary standards of their time spans. In other words, the 1933 reform and the corresponding law were meant to replace the French model in Turkish higher education with the German one, known as the Von Humboldt model, favoring collegial norms in higher education. However, the reform of 1946 and Law 4936 were introduced to overcome the inefficiencies of the current model by rendering universities as autonomous entities and emphasizing academic involvement in solving the problems of the country. The universities established in the following decade were geared up to meet these demands (see Gürüz, 1994).

The autonomy granted to universities in 1946 and the privileges given to the academics were challenged by an amendment made in 1971 and the right to assume the administration of universities was given to the government. Most of the findings from informant views and document analyses point to the disconcertion in Turkish higher education resulting from mushrooming forms of institutions resembling the condition of the madrasas and other forms before the Unification of Education Act passed in 1924. As one informant described it, the system-wise picture of Turkish higher education was as follows:

> The system of the time comprised of different forms of emerging higher education institutions under the supervision of various groups acting independently and uncontrollably. In fact, it was not visible who was doing what.

In 1973, an attempt was made to unite and control these divergent forms under the supervision of a Council over Turkish higher education, however, it failed to achieve its goal.

Prof. Doğramacı, as a senior and experienced academic figure, was notably the primary character earning the credit for his contributions to and achievements in

the establishment of the CHE and the status it acquired in Turkish higher education history. In his book titled *Governance of Higher Education in Turkey and in the World* (*Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Yüksek Öğretim Yönetimi)*, Doğramacı explains the model and the ideals he henceforth prescribed for Turkish higher education in detail. Prof. Doğramacı, as one senior informant put it (and as can be spotted in his book), was "fully-equipped with the vision and knowledge as regards how higher education was governed throughout the world." The same informant recalled one of his personal interactions with him as they tripped together to a European country to attend a conference related with higher education to which several university rectors and administrators were to attend. The informant expressed how overwhelmed he had been as he witnessed the respect and attention paid to Prof. Doğramacı by other rectors from all over Europe.

All the results pertaining to the influential figures behind the incentives in the establishment of the CHE reveal a constant search for an ultimate model for higher education in Turkey and the turn-taking among the actors behind various formulations. Each actor came with their own perceptions and understanding and immediately inserted their own structures and practices into the system. Yet, the establishment of the CHE marked, in this respect, a convergence between the incentives formulated by the military and political actors as well as academicians like Prof. Doğramacı, whose expertise was referential.

4.1.2. The Nature of the Changes Planned

Until 1980 and the subsequent changes implemented in social, economic, and political spheres, it is observed that several other attempts had been made to direct the country toward a novel alternative with the hope that it would fit the expectations and enable the Turkish nation to achieve the goal of reaching the level of the "contemporary civilized world," as defined by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. This adamant ideal presenting itself at almost every stage of the Republican history can be identified as the cognitive asset underlying the Turkish State's constant endeavor in making it real through reforms.

From a historical perspective, a correlation can be drawn between the models introduced upon higher education and the political forms adopted, signaling a

paradigmatic nature. In 1946, for example, the transition to a multi-party system brought along autonomy granted to universities, whereby enabling them to decide whom to recruit or elect as rector. Likewise, the 1961 Constitution, which is still recalled as a well-written document by most scholars, granted full autonomy to universities in governance, decision-making, research, and supervision.

However, the declaration of an ultimatum in 1971 by the NSC and the escalating concerns among the state officials and policy-makers as regards the detrimental problems resulting in almost a deadlock in higher education gave way to some measures in order to demarcate the freedom universities were entitled to have. Consequently, in 1973, with the endorsement of Law 1750, the Council of Higher Education was instituted to supervise and coordinate higher education activities, however, it could not survive due to the objections from the academic cycles.

The return of the CHE in 1981 was accompanied by several coercive measures enforced by the martial law and the contents of the relevant law (2547) and managed to achieve what the previous one could not.

Throughout the interviews, the informants referred to the coercive impact of Law 2547 and the extent of the authority the CHE was equipped with, stating that "it influenced the speed and manner of the changes implemented". In mentioning the type of actions planned for resolving the problems of Turkish higher education, almost all of the informants claimed the disturbance was basically caused by the "lack of coordination and control" and that a "unification/standardization or homogenization" process was what the implementers had in mind. As one of the informants described the initial stages of the reform:

> The attitude of the CHE and the implementations accompanying it were fearsome. There was an upheaval going on. Perhaps the intention was to do whatever it would take to make the reform effective.

The name of the Middle East Technical University (METU), one of the four universities established in mid 1950s in accordance with the "land-grant" model (see Şimşek, 2006, p. 1009), arose frequently during the interviews (especially with senior informants), mostly for the exemplary model it presented because it inspired Prof. Doğramacı and his colleagues (see also Doğramacı, 2007). Five of the informants mentioned that METU had undergone almost no major modification or change for its existing structures and procedures had already been in agreement with

the stipulations and impositions brought about by the CHE. It can be thought that the emphasis placed on METU was an indication of the need for imitating what was perceived as productive, advantageous, and lucrative with reference to the good results achieved in a higher education setting.

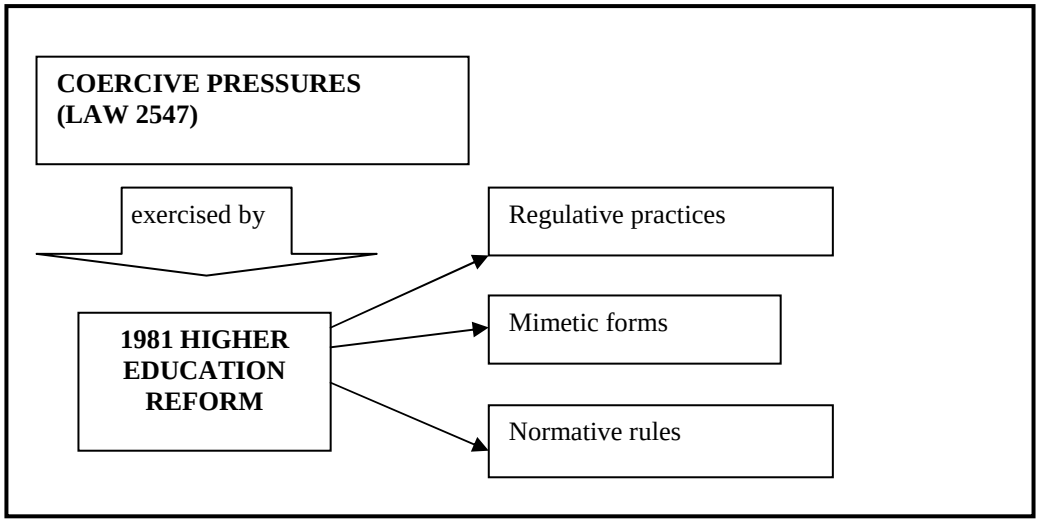

Figure 13. Mechanisms used in implementing the measures in 1981 reform

Figure 13 summarizes the process of putting the transition into practice by means of the strategies and mechanisms used in achieving each of the desired characteristics formulated for Turkish higher education.

The informant views indicated that the unifying and homogenizing measures had been planned by the military officials. As one current member of the CHE recalled during the interview, the original intention of the military officers was to homogenize and standardize the higher education in Turkey completely:

> There was a general, who I believe was some kind of a secretary to the generals (the members of the NSC). Because I was with the working group that worked on the previous higher education law, they came up and talked to me. And I explained to them the model of university (that reflected what Necdet Uğur, the former Minister of National Education, had in mind) which was more democratic. I don't remember exactly but I think there were a lieutenant colonel and a colonel and what they had in mind was a university just like the Military Academy. They believed no uniformity would be achieved if there were five engineering faculties and all of them were following a different syllabus in training their students. They said their Academy was also a higher education institution and it followed a very challenging disciplinary course. I explained to

> them why homogeneity was not the issue in higher education and that higher education called for diversity in order to achieve excellence.

Also, the best example the officers concerned could conceive of was the Military Academy depicting the ideal uniformity and order. Such a thought might have sounded odd and impossible at the time, however, there surely was an element of uniformity prescribed for Turkish higher education, at least in order to eradicate the complications caused by the multiplicity of forms the regulation of which was almost improbable. In the same vein, the remarks of Kenan Evren seem to have responded to the speculations as they presented justifications for the move:

> If an ultimate solution had been made possible by means of the autonomy granted, we would have made most of our institutions autonomous. We would have made our provinces and governors autonomous so that each province should govern itself.
>
> The situation with the universities was apparent. They had the autonomy and no one was able to interfere. They were completely on their own. Even the police were not able to enter. I know of those who put the gun on the desk and forced the instructor to give them a satisfactory grade. Universities harbored terrorists. Therefore, they had to be taken under control" (cited in Birand, 1998).

On the other hand, the kind of governance model and the criteria based on merits to be considered in appointments and promotions, proposed by Prof. Doğramacı, emphasize a norm-based evaluation rather than something based on personal relations, which was believed to have constituted the core of the problems.

It can be concluded that the measures planned and implemented so as to eradicate the uncertainties causing the chaotic atmosphere would be effective once they were coercively inserted into the system. In other words, the interplay of the regulative, normative, and mimetic mechanisms described above was the rationalization of a solution within the scope of the 1981 reform in Turkish higher education.

4.1.3. How Were the Changes Introduced?

The period just before the 1980 reform, as was explained earlier, was perceived to be highly fragile to political instabilities and universities were, as one

informant put it, “prone to political groupings inside and political pressures from outside”. Another informant, speculating on the reform following the 1980 military takeover, described the nature of the mindset behind the reform, saying:

> The emergence of the CHE and the following implementations were the results of a perception that had held universities responsible in the first place for the conditions which brought the country to September 12 and the establishment of the CHE was a response to these conditions.

The same informant perceived the emergence of the CHE as “an institutionalization of a reaction.” Another informant described this reaction as “a restoration, reordering, and a social engineering that included higher education to a large extent.”

In view of how the reform was implemented, especially those informants who had personally experienced the impact of the reform recalled some of their colleagues being expelled from their universities, lectures being attended by disguised officials, interrogations, ceaseless flow of official letters, etc. The most frequently mentioned aspect of the reform implementations was the replacement of many administrators with those appointed by the CHE, who were known for their allegiance to the government established with the September 12 movement and those who were the planners and implementers of the higher education reform, namely, Prof. Doğramacı and his colleagues.

As regards the manner and impact of the reform, some of the implementations reported by the informants were noteworthy for the messages they manifested. For example, one informant reported that the name of the department of economics was changed to “iktisat” for the purpose of enabling uniformity in the field. The same informant reported the compulsory use of special identification cards within the premises of the university, the demands for lab studies or office studies after the hours or on the weekends being subject to receiving permission from the dean, and entrances to the university being confined to only one gate. Pointing to the severity of the coercion being imposed on the universities, the same informant recalled one of the incidents he thought was illustrative enough:

> I remember one of my colleagues being taken to the rector’s office and then delivered to the officials for interrogation on a new year’s eve. We learned afterwards that he had been using a textbook in which a couple of banned words were cited. He was interrogated on the grounds that he may have been involved in

> some political acts and may have been attempting to influence his students politically.

Another informant described the reform as "the establishment of a precisely totalitarian and radical transition through coercive means." He went on to comment on the extent of the reform saying,

> They even tried to interfere with the curricula. Those who had had affiliation to the ideals of the reform were put in charge of supervising and controlling the transition. I remember, at one time, lectures being attended just because the words 'planlama ideolojisi,' I mean the word 'ideology' was written in the title of a thesis study.

The same informant, referring to scope of the movement, described the reform as a radical movement that had been planned to cover all universities.

A current member of the CHE described the reform initiated with the establishment of the CHE as "authority-building" through a hierarchical structure within the CHE as an organization and the universities. He mentioned the authorization being piled up at the top, which resulted in the shaping of the whole system according to the norms and ideals favored and dictated by the ones administering the system. In the same vein, the informant named the style undertaken as a completely centralized one. By the same token, another informant, who is the rector of a university at present, referred to the rules and regulations written for defining the course of the transition emphasizing the degree of bureaucratization.

The movement triggered by the takeover on September 12 and the subsequent reform efforts, based on the reported incidents and examples above, can be summed up as an overall modification of things in Turkish higher education through regulative measures enforced with coercive means. Assignment of those with affiliation to the movement to key positions and dismissal of the potential dissidents are noteworthy in explaining the degree of the overhauling. The legislative action comprising the passing of Law 2547 and the rules and regulations deduced from it denotes the type of bureaucracy being created. The informants' references to the measures taken in overseeing the administrative and academic issues and the practice of strict discipline in academic environment are indicators of the severity of the movement. All these aspects depict the reform as a radical movement to change

Turkish higher education enabling a transition from one paradigm in the system to another.

4.2. The Operational or Organizational Field of the Council of Higher Education

During the analyses of the documents and the informant views it was observed that the emergence of the CHE and its ensuing operations have been shaped by an interplay of the expectations of the armed forces, the political actors who emerged in the aftermath of the 1980 takeover, and those who represented the academia.

Although the intentions behind the establishment of the CHE were based on several factors, such as modernizing the university structure in Turkey or improving the quality of higher education, the Armed Forces have almost always been held accountable for how the Council emerged. In fact, the reform came with a number of other reforms introduced by NSC to overhaul the social, political, economic, and cultural life in the country back in early 1980s. The main actor who took the initiative was the Armed Forces, who, as several authors indicate, believed it was their primary duty to defend and protect the democratic, Kemalist, and unitary structure of the Republic of Turkey and the situation prior to 1980 coup necessitated taking action. In fact, the military intervention and its following measures taken to restore the order were not confined to the establishment of the CHE. Several other bureaucratic forms were introduced to regulate public services and keep them under close surveillance.

The question which captured the center stage with the onset of the reform in public administration after 1980 was related with reinforcing the standing aspects of administration and economy against the interfering effects of the populist policies on daily basis. In the same vein, the main characteristic of the action was that it emphasized rationalist and effective understanding in administrative structure and introduced autonomous structures as a shield. Consequently, the post-1982 era witnessed the emergence of numerous high-level Councils, a few of which were the Supreme Council of Radio and Television (RTÜK), the Banking Regulation and

Supervision Agency (BDDK), and the Council of Higher Education (YÖK). These autonomous structures were equipped with all legal authorization in order to make rules and supervise in administering the procedures of the organizations under their control. Thus, the activities performed by the institutions annexed to these high-level bureaucratic forms were determined and supervised by the techno-bureaucrats.

The CHE was initiated in 1981, when both politics and the Republic were run by those with military backgrounds. Perhaps, it should be appropriate to say that there was an apparent uniformity in the political and legislative implementations. The Constitution which was made in 1982 was the product of the same authority. Yet, Prof. Doğramacı, the main character behind the emergence of the Council and his colleagues who acted with him in planning the new model in Turkish higher education, can be seen as an intermediary between the incentives of the actors from the unified form of the military and political sectors. In other words, Doğramacı and his team carried higher education to more professional grounds and presented their formulations within the domain of professional norms which they perceived had been influential and promising. Accounting for the ideal norms, Prof. Doğramacı explained in his book *Governance of Higher Education in Turkey and in the World*,

> The concept of democratic university is something beyond the immunity of the academic staff composed of distinguished individuals employed under certain conditions. It is something that perceives the university as a solid form with its students, academics, administrators, and technical personnel. It is an understanding that entails the evaluation and control of universities by an outside agent. The CHE has been established to achieve such standards (2007, p. 13).

In the same vein, the planning stage of the CHE was accompanied by Doğramacı's personal contacts with foreign experts. He noted in his book that, in drawing the blueprint of Law 2547, they cooperated with nine high-level administrators of universities from several other countries, including Andris Barblan, the Secretary General to the European Rectors' Conference (Doğramacı, 2007, p. 24). Also, on several other occasions, Prof. Doğramacı frequently referred to the contemporary higher education models in developed countries and stated that Turkey needed to comply with the most up-to-date forms if it were to succeed.

In sum, the interplay of all these influences that loomed the emergence of the CHE are deemed essential in that it indicates the existence of a planned and determined path followed in constituting the organization the way it was. The CHE was not the product of a whim nor was it the result of a trial and error process. The pressures of various sectors acted together in carving out the best potential model for Turkish higher education and instituted the CHE over it.

4.2.1. What Interactions Is the Council Involved In?

The analysis of the early emergence of the CHE yielded evidences relating to the pressures shaping the way Turkish higher education was directed and determining the function of the CHE on top of it. In fact, the initial function of the CHE was planned to be that of a regulating and controlling mechanism which was supposed to keep Turkish higher education in the desired track, however, the findings indicate the significance of the Council's interactions with related agencies and institutions in accounting for the direction it is heading.

Apart from Turkish higher education by its nature, it is found out that several other agencies, both within and outside the country, have some form of relations with the CHE. These relations are found to have stemmed from political and economic platforms upon which the Council and those it interacts with are seen to exist together.

4.2.1.1. Interactions with the Political Actors

One of the Council's initial goals was to keep higher education institutions away from political manipulations and "involvement of higher education matters in daily politics," as one of the informants indicated. As another informant put it, the establishment of the CHE was "to prevent the students in particular from meddling with the country's political problems and voicing their concerns." To a certain extent, these measures proved to be successful in achieving their goal. A study conducted by the European Community Institute in Marmara University stated that 34 percent of the student population had no political inclinations and that the political parties captured the top place in their most-unreliable list (Güçlü, 2004, p. 18).

The legal status of the Council, on the other hand, holds it in a position that calls for interactions with the political sector. For one thing, the law states that one third of the members of the CHE are assigned from among those proposed by the Board of Ministers before being endorsed by the President. To cater for achieving harmony among the influential agencies and provide impartiality, the law originally ensured the involvement of the political decision-making mechanism, the academia, and the President representing the Republic in deciding on higher education issues.

The same law also indicates that the CHE is to coordinate its fiscal issues with the Ministry of National Education. In other words, although the governance of the Turkish higher education was embodied within the structure of the CHE, the Ministry of Education was made to retain the right to speak for the financial needs of higher education in Turkey. Furthermore, two of the informants who were former rectors of two public universities stated that they had personal contacts with the Minister of Finance as regards their financial demands and that they felt free to speak with the Minister, skipping the formal procedures going through the CHE.

The informants all agreed that one of the CHE's primary tasks was to keep politics away from the universities. According to the views of the informants, this was a justifiable function in that it was an attempt to prevent Turkish higher education's involvement in daily politics. Some of the informants indicated that seeing the involvement of political inclinations in the university was what bothered them most. They also expressed their concerns about those in administrative positions favoring the ones with the same or similar political views and tending to ignore academic qualification, merit-based evaluation, and performance-based evaluation in promotions.

As for the Council's interactions with political actors or agencies, however, the situation appears to be somewhat complicated and weird. While the basic intention of the CHE was to mediate the fact that the academia and politics were the two terms constituting an oxymoron relationship, about half of the informants claimed that the CHE itself does not abstain from political involvements. Three of these informants stated that it would be to the benefit of Turkish higher education if the Council dealt with educational and academic issues rather than political matters. In this respect, the comments of one of the informants were noteworthy:

> Unfortunately, since its establishment, the CHE has been amidst political discussions. The CHE must not be a place where politics is discussed. Universities must stay out of politics and, to enable this, the CHE must stay out of daily politics, too. I know that these involvements take much time. The discussions held over universities contain political views and they must at once be pushed aside and attention must be paid to what will become of universities. We must concentrate on what we should do to modernize universities. When we go abroad, we witness that those foreign countries are dealing with productive measures while we are lingering on dealing with trivial matters. We realize that we are struggling with different other agendas that have no relation with the university in its modern sense. The CHE must give up discussing daily matters such as head-cover but it must spend time on fulfilling its mission stated in the Constitution. Because the Council's constitutional obligations are noteworthy. It must not stray away from them.

Yet, two other informants stressed that the CHE, by nature, cannot be deprived of political confrontations. In other words, the implication was that the CHE cannot fulfill its mission without establishing contacts with the politicians for their sustenance, in a way, depends on political decision-making. Truly, compared to the regulative function of the CHE, the government ruled by political decision-makers has superiority over the CHE with its legislative status. However, as one of these two informants pointed out, the CHE and the government should not be challenging each other over the issue of hierarchy. The other informant, in a similar way of thinking, stressed that friction between the Council and the government would lead to discrepancies and problems in Turkish higher education:

> The Council must be in good terms with the Ministry of National Education, the Government, the President of the Republic. The President is the superior office and the Council reports to it. It must have good relations with the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Organization. It must be in good terms with all of them so that it can achieve something. You cannot just say that you ignore the government. You believe in democracy and they have been elected. There is nothing you can do. They endorse your cadres and budget and you are going to say you turn away from them? When you do that there is trouble. I am not suggesting that the Council be on same political platform with the ruling party. What I am suggesting is negotiating. If the executive chiefs of other state organs go and negotiate with the Prime Minister, the representative of the Council is supposed to do the same.

As can be understood from the examples above, the interactions of the CHE with the political side implicate controversial aspects. It has been reported that the Council was established to eradicate the problems stemming from political conflicts in the first place affecting Turkish higher education. Also, it was discovered that the political intentions and the implementations of the CHE were in considerable agreement. In the early stages, governmental action was taken to execute appropriate legislations in order to equip the Council with utmost potentials for enabling it to regulate higher education in the desired way.

Prof. Doğramacı (2007) mentioned the passing of Law 3826 on July 7, 1992, that introduced the practice of elections in determining the university rectors as an unfortunate event. According to the law, six candidates would be elected by the university and three of them would remain in the short list after the revision of the CHE. The President would select one of the candidates and appoint him or her as rector. The day the law was passed Prof. Doğramacı resigned from his post as the president of the Council, which he had occupied for ten years. Doğramacı's resignation, which can be interpreted as a rupture in a planned transition to Anglo-Saxon model, marks the beginning of a new era signaling a divergence between political incentives and the motives of the CHE.

Almost all governments, after 1987, included higher education in their agendas. Emphasizing the need for making changes in the YÖK Law as regards the requirements of the present day, the issues in the agendas include the call for a Council that will speak for the demands of the universities and play the role of an intermediary board in making plans and proposals and discuss them with the Government. In 1994, the 50th Government concluded that autonomy should be granted to universities in terms of academic efforts and administration. Also, during the upcoming years, competitiveness, reorganization of secondary education (for the purpose of facilitating the transition to higher education), and providing opportunities for people to improve their knowledge and skills through vocational schools of various kinds as well as emphasizing the need for private universities. Other governments maintained the need for modifying the structure of the Council of Higher Education and limiting its function to merely coordination. On the other hand, the plans envisioned in the programs of the political parties are very similar to the ones proposed in Government Agendas.

Recently, on the other hand, the CHE has been spotted to reside on top of severe disputes taking place among political cycles. The conflicts between the government and the CHE centered mainly on two issues: The government's efforts in opening new universities and in making women's headscarves a legitimate asset permitted in the premises of universities. In the following months, in an attempt to legitimize their arguments by ascribing them to public opinion, the government announced the need for a set of amendments in the Constitution in order to implement the changes they wished. Afterwards, they formulated a new Constitution that included the items for higher education and presented its draft to public media.

The draft of the proposed Constitution, which has been publicly mediated within several web-sites and on-line documentations, is based on the mindset that the conditions underlying the 1982 Constitution have changed and the restrictive measures introduced are no longer needed. The amendments to be made, as noted by those who prepared the draft, are precariously assessed to enable the penetration of more democratic forms and procedures into the governance system of Turkey by leaving as much authority as possible to those representing the people instead of keeping steady control over the organized actions which should be infused with democratic values and norms. Consequently, without eradicating the high-level coordination and control mechanisms such as NSC or CHE, the authorities claim, decision-making should be left to policy-makers and individual agencies. As a consequence of the stabilization achieved within political fields and in line with the global norms and trends, a planned and elaborately-assessed set of amendments are claimed to be essential for the welfare of the country.

The proposed draft of the new Constitution envisions rendering the CHE an agency that plans the education of academic staff, approves the number of students to be enrolled in universities each year, and establishes coordination among the universities. According to the draft, the CHE is made of 11 members. 6 members will be selected by the Board of Ministers, at least four of whom will be professors from different universities. The other five professors will be selected by the universities along the lines indicated in the law. The Council will serve for three years and one of the members will be elected as the President. All the procedures and functions of the Council will be in accordance with law.

The current political pressures are urging the CHE to assume a coordinating and planning role and ensure a more autonomous academic environment equipped with freedom of academic thinking. With the new political movement indicated in the proposed Constitution, it is suggested that the rectors be elected by the universities with no access to the Council's or the President's (of the Republic) approval, signaling a switch back to the Collegial model. Briefly, the push for implementing changes within higher education at administrative levels encapsulates structural and procedural reformulations.

It seems that the abovementioned convergence between the CHE and the political side in the very beginning of the CHE movement started to perish and Law 3826 was a landmark in this development. While the political actors in early 1980s supported the CHE with all legislative means to make it as powerful as possible, today's political actors are observed to be making every effort in diminishing its influence as best as they can.

4.2.1.2. Interactions with the Business and Industrial Sectors

As the coordinating agency over Turkish higher education, the CHE is called upon to address the offers of the industrial and business sectors that consider higher education as a vast field of investment.

The results of the analyses indicate the existence of some interactions between the CHE and the industrial and business sectors emanating from a convergence of their interests in one common field – universities. However, the relationship between them seems to be indirect. That is to say, few evidences have been collected to demonstrate the CHE and industry/business sectors in direct contact.

Pointing to the model being instituted during the initial years of the CHE, Doğramacı (2007) refers to the ideal of a higher education system centering on professionalism. Also, describing university as a self-sustaining institution, he mentions the trendy implementation in developed countries with which universities have become involved in relations with the industry and business (p. 12).

References to the emerging trends in science and technology, knowledge economy, and knowledge society made by Professor Kemal Gürüz, a former

president of the CHE, also validates the suggestion that higher education is being channeled to productive ends (Gürüz, 2002). Similarly, in 1994, TÜSİAD, The Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association, issued a report, *Higher Education, Science, and Technology in Turkey and in the World* (*Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Yükseköğretim, Bilim ve Teknoloji*), emphasizing the need for benefitting from higher education in development. The description of the change proposed and the role cast for the CHE are worth mentioning:

> Departing from the reality that higher education and science and technology are inseparable, the basic mission of the Council of Higher Education is to coordinate higher education system, name the functions of the institution within the system, and evaluate the performance of the system at macro level, in accordance with the general policies identified by the Supreme Council of Science and Technology (TÜSİAD, 1994, p. 253).

In the report, TÜSİAD points to the contributions of the academic institutions in terms of research and development, projects, and tenders to the economies in developed countries. Also, the report maintains that achievement of similar standards and success rates depends on a modification in Turkish higher education starting with the composure of the CHE:

> The composition of the Council of Higher Education must be rearranged so as to receive one-third of its members from the private business sectors having excelled in fields of science, culture, arts, industry, commerce, and finance; another one-third from among high-level executives in the State Planning Organization, Undersecretaries of Treasury and Foreign Trade, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, and Ministries of Defense and National Education; and the remaining one-third from academic staff from non-administrative positions with academic papers published in foreign journals (TÜSİAD, 1994, p. 253).

In the same vein, *The Long-Term Strategy and The Eighth Five-Year Development Plan (Uzun Vadeli Strateji ve Sekizinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı)*, issued by the State Planning Organization in 2000, points to the need for cooperation between universities and industry. The plan calls for necessary legal and institutional action to be taken for the establishment of Techno-police and Technology Development Regions.

A letter written by late Sakıp Sabancı, who was a leading businessman known for his contributions to education in Turkey, refers to the bureaucratic

implementations of the CHE impeding the progress of a higher education setting, emphasizing diversion and competition. Stressing the benefits of private higher education for the country's wealth, he asks for more flexible higher education and more autonomy in financial matters:

> It seems contradictory with the Constitution and the law to enact an obligation to seek for the CHE's approval for student fees (Sabancı, 2004, cited in Şimşek, 2006, p. 404).

The letter addressed to the Office of the Turkish Prime Minister in 2004 concludes with Sabancı's demand for state support and bureaucratic flexibility for opening new privately funded universities.

A report presented by the CHE in 2003, *The Present State of Turkish Higher Education* (*Türk Yükseköğretiminin Bugünkü Durumu*), also mentions a protocol signed between the CHE and the İstanbul Chamber of Industry Foundation (İSOV) in 1997, named School – Industry Cooperation Protocol. The document is considered significant in that it highlights a joint operation for establishing Vocational Higher Education Schools in order to cater for the demands of the industry.

The informant views on the CHE's interactions with industrial and business agencies, on the other hand, marks divergence. Eight of the informants referred to university's involvement in business and industrial sectors and claimed that it would be very helpful in enabling progress and reaching world standards. While six informants said nothing about the issue, one informant emphasized with admiration the classical identity of the university and mentioned the medieval aspects of the academia and its ritualistic atmosphere:

> The university is a splendid entity, an excellence. When the first university was founded, distinguished individuals would gather to speak about philosophy. Some say that the word university originated from the word "universal". They do not know the first thing about the university. The university was a guild. It was a guild in Paris, in Bologna. The one in Paris was a guild of professors and the one Bologna was that of students, something that originated from the European culture.

As opposed to this view, however, one of the informants favoring university's involvement in industry and business indicated the significance of such a relationship in the progress of the country's economy, emphasizing the role of the CHE as a potential facilitator:

> In my opinion, the industrial and business organizations in Turkey must be the first of those the CHE is to be in constant relations with. It must cooperate with them. What kind of employees do you want from me? There are various models in enrollment in universities. One of them is human resource planning model and another one is the social development model. The human resource planning model is what I believe is correct. In other words, Turkey needs to plan its human resources but it cannot do it. Consequently, Turkey needs to educate its youth accordingly.

The opening of a privately funded foundation university in Turkey was the start of a new era during which higher education was seen as an area for investment. One of the incentives in doing so was to keep up with the world standards, as one informant put it:

> With the onset of globalization, all dynamics changed. Turkey needed to cope with the changing standards in the world and take its place in the ruthless world of competition. It needed to assume such a role as to comply with the demands of the knowledge economy and the information age which shaped the field of higher education.

This incentive was good enough for those who were seeking for new areas of investment. In a book published by the CHE in 1999, *Higher Education Reform* (*Üniversite Reformu)*, it was consensually accepted by almost all rectors from all over the country that an entrepreneur type of university was more essential than the one exposed entirely to state authority. Coupled with the internal dynamics pushing higher education institutions toward alliances with the industrial and business sectors, international norms and global trends embodied within the steps taken by global organizations such as the World Bank, OECD, and World Trade Organization offered tempting collaborations that attracted Turkish higher education field which had always been in search of developing in a western style. Consequently, a report submitted by the State Planning Organization in 2000 introduced a new definition of university marking a modification in perceptions:

> University is the institution that produces universally approved knowledge, carries out research studies and educational activities, provides the grounds for transforming knowledge into technology, and disseminates the knowledge produced (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2000, p. 10).

With the change in perceptions and the discovery of higher education as a field for investment would find safe grounds as the demands for moving higher education off the back of the state escalated. In doing so, as it was claimed, the higher education sector would become more competitive which, in return, would bring quality. Quality in higher education, as one informant stated, would change the structure of governance in higher education as well resulting in a new interpretation of the function of the CHE:

> Increase in quality means there will be no need for a centralized administration over higher education. As in developed countries, if you are able to expose your performance, use of funds, and accreditation to those who evaluate you, you do not need to be centralized.

With the onset of the reform represented and implemented by the CHE, Turkish higher education witnessed a new movement, the private universities. Several of the informants, witnessing the impact of the CHE, recalled Doğramacı participating in foundation laying ceremonies of private universities and other kinds of inaugurations marking investments in education. The movement was a fledgling mobilization to welcome a spreading approximation between the universities and business. However, the CHE's controlling mechanism over higher education was considered louder than its mission as a coordinator. Yet, as the Council is called upon to make more concessions on this issue, it is presumed that the picture has started to change.

4.2.1.3. Interactions with the International Higher Education Sector

From a broader perspective than just a quick glance at the current state of higher education in Turkey, it can be observed that the reform efforts have always been triggered by the adamant motive for becoming more modern and developed. However, these motives have acted to persuade the country to look westward and adopt the promising models which gave them the riches that impressed all. Thus, the reforms during the pre-republican era, instituting the French norms in higher education, the 1933 reform that introduced the German style, the 1946 reform in the political structure and the higher education which followed it instigating the Anglo-Saxon infiltration were all Western models brought in to shape Turkish higher

education accordingly. The reform of 1981 brought along with Law 2547 and the establishment of the CHE was yet another attempt taken in erasing the problematic misfit of the previous era and constituting a new one that allegedly promised to make the Anglo-Saxon model the dominant one.

One difference spotted in the making of the 1981 reform was that it corresponded to a time before which almost all the major models had already been tried out. Prof. Doğramacı, known to be the leading actor behind the movement, as one informant who was a former rector put it:

> knew the higher education systems in the world. Because he was well-informed and had first-hand experience with the European and American systems, the military officials found him and had series of contacts with him. In fact, the CHE system was the product of a long and challenging discussions and studies and contacts with experts from outside. Many professors were invited from abroad among whom there were rectors of several universities.

This process mentioned by the informant resembles the ones pursued when the first modern universities were opened in the eighteenth century. French officers were invited to install their systems in the military academies in order to educate and train the Ottoman officers to become equal leaders to the standards of the western armies. Similarly, Austrian and German professors were welcomed in 1933 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as he initiated the higher education reform.

The basic rationale behind receiving assistance from abroad was perhaps the constant urge to replicate the norms of the West and open the gates of the country to the developed part of the world. This claim can be justified with the view of one of the informants who approached from a systems perspective as he said, “higher education needed to be open to interactions with the world in order to survive”. The prevailing understanding that corresponded to the 1981 reform, in this respect, was an adaptation with the world and a conceptualization of a solution that would help overcome the pending problems. One informant talked on the ideal system practiced in the world justifying the reform:

> Indeed, all student enrollments, promotions, and assignments are done according to merits. There are some requirements in academic placements as possessing certain qualifications and having made a certain number of publications with certain criteria. The norms for these qualifications are determined and named on an international platform.

The existence of an institution such as METU, on the other hand, seems to have acted as a catalyst in adjusting to the prescribed transition for it presented "a successful model", as one informant explained. One of the innovations, the use of the academic title "assistant professor," had already been in practice in METU, for example, and the process of acquiring this status was explained by one informant:

> There was a need for academic staff in Turkey. Assistant professorship was something that had been in practice in METU. We recommended the acquisition of this practice by all universities. Some major universities protested. They said, "What on earth is this new title? What about the associated professors?" And then, someone said, "How about 'yardımcı doçent' then?" And the word was added to the terminology.

Another innovation introduced via METU was that the need for accreditation according to world standards was declared as a necessity and the previous applications of METU were taken as a model. Upon seeing that the practice created qualified achievements, as one informant put it, it was appreciated by the Council and recommended to all others. Yet another innovation introduced afterwards, following the example of METU, which assumed its medium of instruction in English language, was the requirement that held all academic staff pursuing careers liable to having a good command of English language.

The level reached in adopting the western norms in higher education, however, was defined to be unsatisfactory by one present rector during the interviews. The remarks of this informant were noteworthy in that they indicated that the only solution to the current problems and inefficiencies facing Turkish higher education lied in further comparing the performance of Turkish universities to those abroad.

It was observed that each foreign model adopted had resulted in failures due to false interpretations and mismatches between the Turkish higher education and those adopted. In other words, the systems modeled after were sort of translated word for word without drawing necessary interpretations in order to adjust them to the domestic conditions or they were taken only superficially, not in essence. In view of the comments of some of the informants, it became apparent that, though the Anglo-Saxon system was brought in to introduce professional norms, an ideal type of higher education has not still been achieved because of the persistent nepotisms, one-man

dominions, insincere approaches, and interest-based relations. One informant effectively described the reform process that shaped Turkish higher education until now:

> We had adopted the Continental European model with high aspirations. They turned into ivory towers. There were bag-carrying associate professor (to be favored by their superiors); students were not able to speak up in front of their professors; let alone students, even the professors were not able to speak up against the senior professor holding the chair. Briefly, the whole system turned into small dominions in their localities.

The same informant referred to the social template in Turkey which, he described, diminished the impulse of the move by yielding to the problematic characteristics of Turkish culture and changed nothing but the manner of the fallacies:

> It is the system… we took it and installed it as the new model. We established the European type of democracy. We have the political parties, elections, and the parliament, all of them. Yet, it does not proceed because we have limited human resources. We are not able to carry on with this through benchmarking. I mean, even if you bring in the best model, inasmuch as you lack the individuals to run the models and the institutions, you cannot do it. The same is true for the CHE.

Currently, the erratic element causing the inefficiencies within the system has been ascribed to the centralized nature of the Council. Once established and introduced the way it was in order to restore the order in Turkish higher education, the CHE, with its current nature, has been defined as an extension of misinterpretations that had caused the overthrow of the earlier models warmly adopted and coercively inserted. Referring to the unwavering characteristic of the CHE, one former rector implied desperation, saying:

> In Turkey, those who make the law and those who execute it are the same person. At present, they are talking about the accession to EU. In Europe, every institution identifies its own course of action. Some others come along and approve it. With its present status, I wonder how the CHE will be able to do this. In order to achieve EU standards in higher education, the CHE must avoid being centralized.

In contrast with the abovementioned despair, however, another informant pointed to the recent developments in the political context and, in a praising voice, notified an inevitable change:

> A more pluralistic setting has emerged with the change in conditions. Our relations with the EU have had an impact on our efforts in approximating our standards to those of the EU in higher education. The significance of higher education is now better understood amidst a globalized world. They have now comprehended that establishing a university in the modern sense is required for taking big strides in the field of higher education.

In fact, the movement toward modernity in higher education field is also linked with the technological advances that enabled individual institutions to establish instant contacts with the rest of the world. With its centralized structure and the multitude of institutions it is supposed to check upon and control, it seems that the despair of the informant mentioned above is overcome by an overwhelming amount of interaction universities feel free to establish with the outside world. In this regard, the relations with the international field of higher education seems to be imposing compelling norms and practices to which the CHE itself agrees, as it manifested in its recent report on *A Higher Education Strategy for Turkey (Türkiye'nin Yüksek Öğretim Stratejisi)*, published in 2007. To this end, the strategies emphasized in the report point to the need for transition to the type of higher education administration more sensitive to public and economic demands, accountability and quality assurance, and compatibility with the universal norms and trends. To do this, autonomy in academic endeavors, identification of alternative resources for financial needs of universities, and divergence (as opposed to drift) in specializations and methods for achieving advancement are stressed as the trends to be followed for excellence.

4.2.1.4. Interactions with Universities

The function of the CHE during its initial stages was identified to be regulative, acting on the coercive power of the law constituting its backbone. As one informant described it, the Council was established as a reaction to the chaotic nature of Turkish higher education caused by its disorganized structure and anarchy. Another informant referred to the severity of the implementations and named them "unpalatable" for they were not suitable for a decent and esteemed setting such as universities. Yet, a sense of justification shone through almost all informants'

comments as they all noted an urgent need to bring on a coordinating and controlling mechanism over Turkish higher education for it had been going nowhere.

"With its bureaucratic structure and implementations, the CHE is aloof from the universities," said one of the informants, pointing to the groundless interventions it may be found to make. In fact, the CHE was described as an organization involved in everything but dealing with the real problems of the university, its main and only function. The comment of one of the informants was very effective and illustrative in this sense:

> It only checks upon the input; the number of desks, chairs and so on. On the contrary, it stands to check the output of the system. It never sees to whether the output is satisfactory.

Another informant accounted for the reason for the notoriety the Council possessed, describing the process of its establishment as a high-level bureaucratic organization and its quick adaptation to the social structure in Turkey instead of enabling professionalism:

> The CHE used the authorities it was not authorized to use but ignored the ones embedded in its natural identity. It never looked at the number of students, success rates, or research activities. They were preoccupied with the logs related with the disciplinary issues, the lists of the movable and immovable items, and so on. These were done by other officials. Why? Because they were not qualified to evaluate. They were just like inspectors. They had no contributions.

During the interviews, it was also found out that the relations between individual universities and the CHE were based on personal links and interests. Some of the informants reported their friends or acquaintances lamenting about the treatment they received during their contacts with the Council. In the same vein, two informants, one present rector of a university and the other a former rector, mentioned their own personal experiences with the Council and referred to the distance with the Council foreshadowing a possible approval or disapproval:

> I was acquainted with the president of the Council. Some of the members of the Council were my friends. I would jump in the car and go to them. I would have everything done through my personal relations with them. Sometimes, I would argue with them on matters related with academic issues. I would never give in and carry on with what the academic board in my university decided on.

However, the same informant accounted for the situation of a rector if he was inexperienced and had poor relations with the CHE:

> If the rector is not experienced, the Council intervenes. How? It is interesting; when the administration of a university was adamant in their demands and believed that they could do something despite the Council, they would almost a hundred percent be able to do it.

The pressures of the international norms, the growing demands for autonomy in educational and administrative matters, and the pending need for academic freedom were mentioned by university rectors in 1999 during a convention of the Board of Rectors, a sub-committee of the CHE. The Board identified their demands that seemed to have centered on abolishing the centralized structure of the system. The rectors all agreed that universities must be granted the autonomy in dealing with administrative matters such as the use of funds, interactions with the outside world, and decision-making related with recruiting academic personnel, promoting, and dismissing. For this reason, the rectors claimed that the authority must be allocated to the smallest possible units within the universities, considering their level of responsibilities, in order to achieve excellence in setting the criteria for decision-making.

All in all, the rectors emphasized the need for instituting an educational environment in higher education based on democratic values, equality, competitiveness, professional and academic norms, autonomy, and quality. To achieve these, the rectors believed a downsizing should be planned and implemented on the centralized structure of the governing power over Turkish higher education, whereby enabling a more dynamic and effective higher education.

From these views, it is understood that an objection to the Council's structure and practices has developed over the years. The initial regulative voice of the Council is tending to diminish to be replaced by a low tone almost parallel with the demands of the academia, as was indicated in *A Higher Education Strategy for Turkey*. A former rector's remarks present some evidence for such evaluations:

> The CHE has turned into an organization with little or no authority or power. It is only trying to look effective. There are over a hundred universities. Within the last few years, it completely went off-course. The rectors feel free to meet with the government by by-passing the CHE.

In sum, once feared and obeyed by all in the field, the CHE now seems to be receding to a less regulative posture and more cooperative stance. As the experienced and knowledgeable individuals from among the academia, the informants' views denoting mental image they draw, referring to the Council's current status, yielded an organization much less effective and unbending figure as they described it as "a paper tiger," "a black sheep," or "a giant" incapable to rule properly as it once used to do.

4.2.2. Consolidation of the Findings on Interactions

The interactions of the CHE with some, if not all, of the sectors within its field of operation yielded some resulting reflections on how these interactions interplayed to shape the Council's present location within the whole system. The resulting mind-map, as illustrated in Figure 14, divides the life-span of the Council into two main eras with different postures and functions. The first period, notably until the end of Prof. Doğramacı's term in presidency, marked the almost absolute reign of the CHE over Turkish higher education with its regulative impact enabled through the coercive means provided by Law 2547, resembling the solid ideals of the takeover in 1980. The second period, which started with the reform in 1992, when amendments were made in the Constitution and the unwavering attitude of the Council was shaken, corresponded to a transition to a context more convenient for universities in voicing their demands and for other sectors in naming their expectations of the higher education system.

One aspect that illustrated the interactions between the CHE and the political sector during the initial stages was that the relations were based on mutual grounds and that the expectations of the CHE and those of the government at the time converged. In fact, the political power enhanced with the incentives of the military sector, the leading actor behind the takeover, equipped the Council with all the means to ensure its regulative impact. The emerging template upon which the Anglo-Saxon model would be fielded with its norm-based professionalism and production-based ideals rather than higher education in its classical sense acted as an incentive for the investors recognizing it as a huge potential.

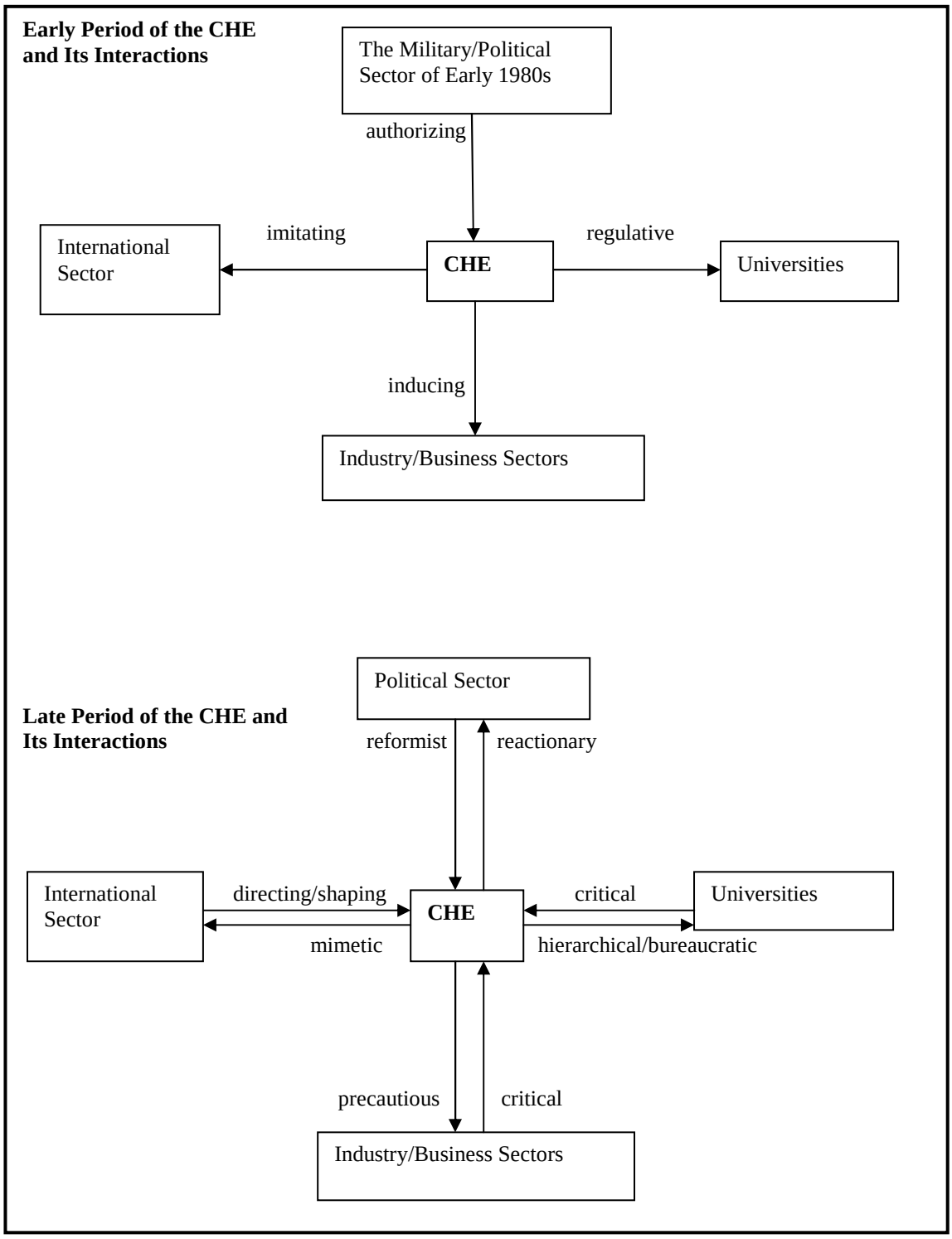

Figure 14. Interactions of the CHE with sectors in its organizational field

The incentives inspired by the international norms and trends, on the other hand, were found to be influential in identifying and shaping the standards Turkish higher education had wished to achieve all along.

As the later stage of the CHE period was ushered in, an inevitable shift in the expectations and demands that shaped the role of the CHE and the position of universities was observed. During this stage, universities found themselves moved more toward the center and became more responsive to the developments in their field of operation. Therefore, as the Council became more prone to criticisms from a wide range of sectors for its allegedly impeding impact on universities' interactions with those sectors for improvement, it tended to become more cooperative and responsive to the demands and expectations. The CHE was detected to be criticized by universities for its strongly hierarchical and bureaucratic structure harnessing their flexibility. Likewise, it was also criticized for its inherent centralized characteristic which, particularly, the industrial and business sectors perceive as a barrier.

4.2.3. What Norms and Values are Influential for Legitimacy and Survival?

The political and bureaucratic templates upon which the CHE was established and became a legitimate institution ranking among a series of other high-level bureaucratic organizations introduced in almost the same period advocated the integrity of the democratic and secular structure of the state, depoliticizing of their relevant fields, a controlled and coordinated manner of achieving quality, and the unyielding struggle to reach the level of the civilized world as proposed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

All of the informants iterated their agreement with these above mentioned standards and pointed to the need for an institution over Turkish higher education that would see to the achievement of these standards. As one informant put it,

> Throughout the initial 10 or 20 years, the CHE may have implemented some anti-democratic procedures yet, given the fact that there are currently over one hundred universities, it is inevitable to keep them coordinated. Otherwise, managing these institutions would be too difficult.

The emergence of the CHE, as one informant described, was "a top-down implementation of a plan to take Turkish higher education under strict surveillance and control". In doing so, as the informant went on to explain, the universities were not consulted or asked to present their opinions for the type and nature of the reform to be imposed. The establishment of the Council was accompanied by a law that

encapsulated the coercive base upon which it was erected. The dismissal of several academic personnel accused of resisting the movement or of having been involved in political actions deemed to be contrary to the ideals of the model prescribed were measures taken to reinforce the coercive effect of the reform. Hence, the legitimacy of the CHE was confirmed by its legal status.

The emergence of the CHE, as it was concluded from the analyses, marked the rise of several norms and values that were demanded of Turkish higher education institutions. In other words, the qualifications and characteristics surrounding the theme of the human model drawn in the Constitution, particularly items 130-132, define and describe the characteristics of Turkish higher education. Article 130 presents a definition of the type of higher education with special emphasis placed on congruence with the principles and norms of the Turkish State as a Republic. Accordingly, the higher education system in Turkey is made to accommodate these characteristics:

- understanding of a higher education in its most modern sense,
- addressing to the needs of the nation,
- complying with the norms of scientific and positivist procedures,
- and emphasizing sovereignty and integrity of the country.

The Constitution grants freedom in scientific and academic endeavors as long as these principles and norms are maintained. In addition, the establishment of universities, their administration, and all academic functions attached are based on legal constructs and are held exempt from any intervention to be made by actors and agencies other than those specified in the law. Briefly, the Constitution holds the State responsible for establishing, coordinating, controlling, and regulating higher education in Turkey.

The second section of Law 2547 states the principles, values, and norms that constitute the core ideals upon which Turkish higher education is erected. These ideals center around the establishment of a higher education system that stands to create a human model. The values, traits, and characteristics embodied in the model can be summarized as:

- Kemalist principles and ideals,
- Turkey’s national interests,
- sovereignty and integrity of the Republic,
- and standards set by the level of civilization achieved in the world.

and personality traits such as

- strong sense of responsibility,
- objectivity in scientific thinking,
- good citizenship,
- and mental and physical well-being.

Law 2547 holds higher education system responsible for planning and organizing education activities so as to emphasize

- values and principles stated above,
- unity of higher education,
- science and technology,
- equality,
- and establishment and development of higher education institutions in a planned manner.

According to the law and the regulative means the CHE is equipped with through the law, the absolute legitimacy of Turkish higher education institutions depends on the acquisition and maintenance of the qualifications and values listed above.

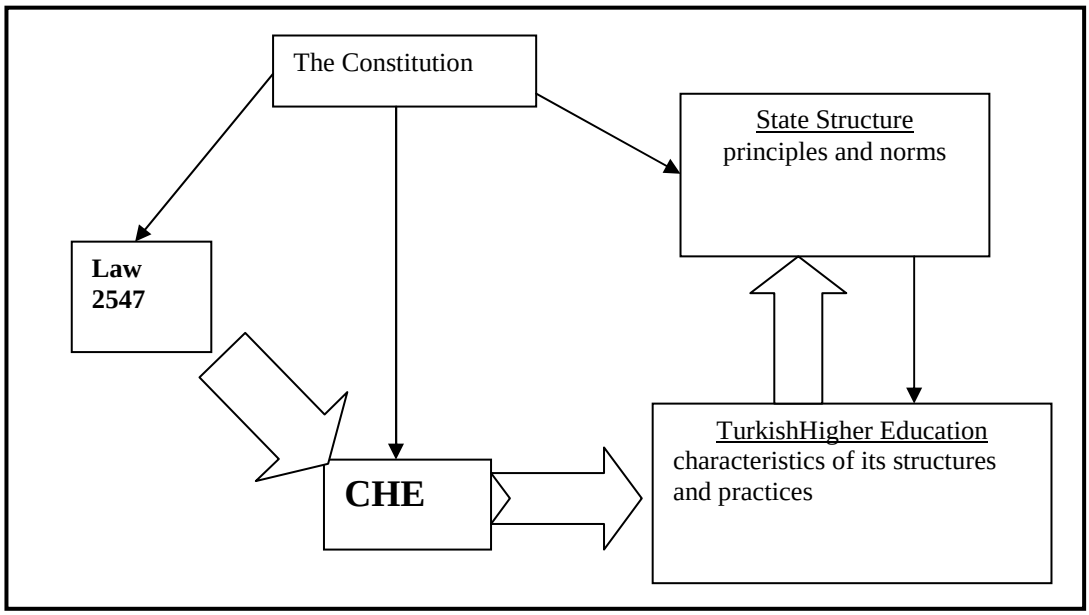

Figure 15. Law 2547 and its impact on Turkish higher education system

In section four of Law 2547, the duties and tasks of higher education institutions are defined. It is observed that these duties and tasks are phrased so as to

enable these institutions to comply with the principles and values imposed by the Constitution and are ensured by the mission the CHE stands to fulfill. Accordingly, Law 2547 provides the legal basis for the CHE in fulfilling its mission (see Figure 15).

The Council of Higher Education, as it is stated in Law 2547, perceives universities as legal institutions; in other words, as public or private establishments that are to be governed and administered through bureaucratic procedures. Throughout the interviews with the informants, it was observed that the members of the Council and the rectors, almost unanimously, agree on the necessity for a means of regulation and coordination in higher education. However, the individual perceptions of the informants on higher education reflected some variations. For example, as one current CHE member put it:

> University is refinement or elegance. University is a guild. The university in Paris was a guild of teachers and the one in Bologna was a guild of students, something that originated from the European culture. It was like the Ahilik system here. The madrasa was not a guild. The main transformation in Europe took place in the Academia. The university under the influence of the Church broke free of its chains. We did not have that abstract thinking. Here, there was knowledge transferred from somewhere else.

However, at another point the same informant expressed his reflections on the type of university he considered as ideal, mentioning the extent of the regulation and coordination:

> The university should not be homogenized. University is the essential unit of consideration. It must be able to designate its own history.

This view was further elaborated by another CHE member:

> University is composed of diverse ideas or else it cannot develop. It must be open to all ideas. This is what distinguishes the university. University must be a place where thoughts and beliefs can be expressed freely. Pressures on scientific thinking cannot be tolerated. Universities must be free of those who intent to obstruct free thinking. Violence, racial or ethnic discrimination, etc. are not suitable for the environment in the university.

A former rector took a different stand at this point and defined higher education as a process. The two aspects he wanted to emphasize centered on the quality of education and productivity:

> The system here focuses solely on the function of the input. I mean the higher education system… It must be based on output-control. I mean to say that, when a new private university is about to be founded, the only thing under consideration is the question of whether the acres provided for the campus will be enough or if there is enough equipment to do something… all input. It must be the output that is controlled. The question is whether the civil engineer graduating from private university X is qualified enough to work as a civil engineer. He must be accredited. This is not just for private ones. For example, there are only two instructors in the civil engineering department of university Y and they offer education to a total of 1200 students. Do you think this can be justified? This is massacre.

Another rector expanded this idea of output-control to benchmarking that can be done by comparing the performances of Turkish universities with those of the West. Still another informant rather bluntly puts an end to the discussion as he defines university from public service point of view:

> Universities are public institutions. They are subsidized by the government. They cannot be independent. The State is questioning what the money has been spent on and where it is going. In fact this question must be asked by the taxpayers. They cannot object to the demands coming from above. When you tell them they are supposed to increase the number of students, they cannot say no. So, there must be a limit to their autonomy.

The contemplations focusing on the image of university center on one common feature: the freedom to carry on scientific and academic activities. At an opening ceremony, it was declared by the 11th President of the Republic of Turkey that

> universities will take the lead in social progress and assume the role of a locomotive. They will convey our nation to the future. Universities must become places where all ideas, old and new, disagreeing with the majority, marginal, eccentric, etc. will be heard and protected as long as they do not imply violence and terror. Here, granting academic freedom to the members of the university becomes significant. It is impossible for a university to fulfill its mission if it does not have autonomy of its own. Reforms called for by the requirements of the age must be made to provide autonomy for the university and maintain academic freedom (Radikal, 2007, p. 5).

In fact, each of the perceptions mentioned above deals with one aspect of the university as a phenomenon. Based on the perceptions listed here, higher education can be said to have implications that address economic, political, social, cultural, and academic incentives. Figure 16 shows a network of definitions for higher education in relation with the findings.

The emerging perceptions of higher education, as were excerpted from the informants, point to the rising demands shaped and imposed by the expectations formulated within its organizational field. Accordingly, the current form of the CHE as an organization and its implementations seem to be run against a new set of norms and values by the actors and agencies influential in the field. These perceptions, in time, may all or in part indicate the direction Turkish higher education will progress, whereby implicating the form of the governance it will be exposed to and the extent of the interference administered in its issues.

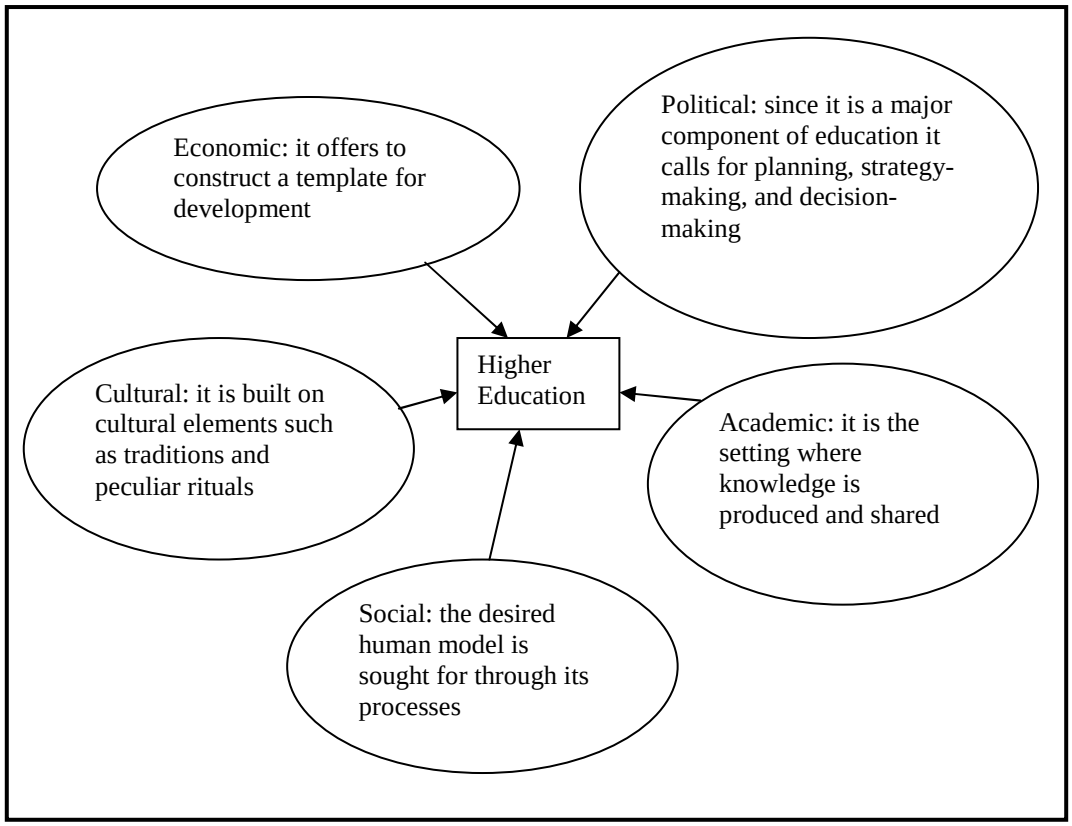

Figure 16. Perceptions of higher education

Today, the CHE is seen to be making statements that are in much agreement with those of the universities and other sectors. For example, the report, *A Higher Education Strategy for Turkey*, submitted by the Council in 2007, stresses the need for autonomy in academic and financial matters. Also, the report makes references to the significance of the university-industry relationship in drawing strategies for the future. Besides all these, the report points to an understanding to be instilled in the academia that will enable the emergence of democratic values and principles. These values and principles, the report mentions, will institute a more participatory context for both the academic staff and the students to be able to take part in administrative issues. Emphasizing the importance of research efforts and excellence in knowledge production, the report also stresses the necessity of quality and transparency in performance evaluations.

The discussion of legitimacy seems to be lading to consideration of a set of diverse expectations and perceptions, emerging from the contextual template upon which the CHE is established as an organization of governance. While demands rising in the field are evaluated under this heading, the organizational characteristics of the CHE are deemed essential in accounting for how the Council is really doing. The CHE and its legitimacy process are discussed later in this chapter.

4.3. The Council of Higher Education as an Organization of Myths and Rituals

The documents and the views of the informants analyzed yielded three different types of high aspirations, namely myths, posed within the core of a reform and the resulting control mechanism. The resolutions to the problems related with Turkish higher education tended to gather around the cognitive formulations of the state mechanism itself, the academic cycles, and the manifestations of the proposed system – the Anglo-Saxon model. Consequently, the structuring of the control mechanism, the CHE, and its practices appeared to be linked with the display of changing patterns in interactions and reactions in relation with the prescribed myth.

The documents analyzed in searching for a pattern as regards the historical context from which the CHE emerged yielded some thematic implications gathering around frequently stated aspirations. In fact, the long journey of achieving the

contemporary standards, perhaps starting with the establishment of a handful of universities modeled after their modern counterparts in Europe, and the unification and modification efforts in the ensuing years centered on one adamant drive – modernism.

A principle or a paradigm in essence, on the other hand, the term "positivism" as the mindset in reaching out to construct the reality has been recurrently mentioned in the documents to indicate the struggle for making it the legitimate method. Indeed, the fight for eradicating any diversions from the path of reasoning throughout Turkish history was accompanied by the efforts in establishing an academic environment free of religious dogmas and doctrines, a mobilization so far known as "secularism".

Because of its function as reform facilitator, the CHE assumed the task of ensuring the creation of a human model through higher education infused with the values and principles encapsulated within the aforementioned myths. Several of the informants, during the interviews, referred to Kemalism, mentioning Atatürk as the unquestionable hero of the Republican ideals and modernism, and attributed the achievements made in protecting these ideals to the CHE. One informant described this process as follows:

> The most outstanding contribution the CHE has made is that it has always emphasized democracy, secularity, and the principles of Atatürk. This way, it [the Council] appears as an important mechanism that shapes Turkey and, I have reason to believe that it does deserve the place it has earned so far.

On the other hand, the mechanisms mobilized by the CHE in securing order and integrity in Turkish higher education were named as regulative and standardizing by means of its centralized structure. In this way, as iterated by the informants frequently, the Council's primary task was to keep politics away from the universities. In this respect, one informant mentioned the depoliticizing effect of the CHE's impact on higher education:

> The CHE has particularly had an immense influence over the developing universities. Especially during the stages where political variations amounted to a large scale, diffusion of fundamentalism in universities would have had terrible results. However, the CHE, as a shield, has saved Turkey from this outcome.

In enabling the realization of ideals and principles in pursuit of the myths described above, the Council was equipped with all means of authorization in order to implement its regulative function. The authorization was described by the informants on several occasions as "appointing rectors affiliated with the implementers of the reform" or "delegating authority to rectors".

The authorization process, however, found different interpretations in the social context of Turkey. As pointed out by the informants, granting authority to individuals, although it might have been planned for justifiable purposes, resulted in an effect described as "paying undue respect," "trying to receive the upper hand from the authority-holder," "one-man dominion," or "absolute obedience". The remarks of a former rector were quite effective in describing it:

> The rector is essentially the sole authority in a university. The Academic Board has an advisory capacity. The rector has the power to reverse the decisions of the Board and cannot be held responsible.

The authorization, from the perspective of traditional practices within Turkish bureaucracy or hierarchy, was considered to be nothing but an extension of the same ritual of obedience and acquiescence visible during the former collegial system of "chairs". Another former rector commented on this emphasizing his frustration:

> Trying to look pretty to the rector or the president of the CHE is a ritual which is a conspicuous characteristic. It is everywhere. We just cannot change it.

In relation with this context, Prof. Doğramacı's name was recurrently mentioned for his "unquestionable implementations" and "unchallenged reign" during the initial years. He was also referred to for his knowledge and power as well as his reputation in academic contexts not only in domestic spheres but also outside Turkey.

Another set of myths extracted during the interviews pointed to "universality of university", "freedom of thought," and "academic highness". Perhaps as reminiscence of the former collegial model and its promises of reputation for academicians, one informant referred to the classical image of the university and described it as a "guild":

> University is refinement or elegance. University is a guild. The university in Paris was a guild of teachers and the one in Bologna was a guild of students, something that originated from the European culture.

The freedom-in-thinking aspect of the university was also one of the high aspirations attached to the ideal university image by another informant:

> University is composed of diverse ideas or else it cannot develop. It must be open to all ideas. This is what distinguishes the university. University must be a place where thoughts and beliefs can be expressed freely. Pressures on scientific thinking cannot be tolerated. Universities must be free of those who intent to obstruct free thinking. Violence, racial or ethnic discrimination, etc. are not suitable for the environment in the university.

Apart from the classical and liberal aspects of the university, placing university in an elevated position within the society was yet another aspect signaling the emergence of a myth. According to this view, university's function could not be allowed to pursue material ends for its fundamental mission of mediating universal values such as "reasoning," "humanities," or "philosophy". One informant reminded of the emergence of the modern university in the past and stressed the name "Darülfünun," meaning the "Home of Science". Objecting to the inclusion of vocational training in the overall objectives of higher education, a former rector commented:

> Including vocational training in university programs will backlash. It will have reverse effects. This was tried elsewhere and it did not work. This is not a job for university professors. Professors cannot teach such subjects.

Informant views stressing the highness of university within the society were related with certain practices showing peculiarities different from what was normally expected of the academic staff by the regulative and centralized impact of the CHE. In other words, informant views yielded examples of routines practiced for the sake of the ideals of the academia rather than those of the state. Of the stories reported, the recollections of a former rector were noteworthy:

> When I felt something was conflicting with what I perceived to be suitable for the university as an academic environment, I was ignoring the Council's directives. I never allowed any toleration in academic issues. I implemented the decisions of our Senate, Faculty, or Academic Board and assumed all the responsibility.

Finally, the basic characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon model, as newly emerging trends and goals in Turkish higher education were also stated to be the

"savior" or "high ideals." These ideals listed as "professionalism/anti-collegialism," "cooperation between the university and industry/business," "world standards", "knowledge society," and "science and technology" were interpreted as the primary solutions leading to compatibility with the rising trends in the world. The METU example, set as a model by the actors behind the reform, and its promising practices were shown as mechanisms of inducement in tempting other higher education institutions. Some informants reported of opening ceremonies and inaugurations organized for new privately-funded universities. Also, one informant referred to the speeches of several university rectors made at the beginning of academic years stressing the significance of allocating resources for the establishment of techno-police and techno-parks within their campuses and their lucrative contributions to the development of science and technology.

These myths and their corresponding rituals display a complicated network of relations peculiar to the context of Turkish higher education as illustrated in Figure 17 below. This network of relations are based on a platform of mechanisms driven through the impactful status of the CHE over Turkish higher education which provide a template for interests sought by different actors or groups. In fact, the field of higher education in Turkey seems to be exposed to the clashes among the sectors exercising their own incentives by using the theme of reform as a shield.

The network of relations displayed in Figure 17 is noteworthy in understanding the nature of the course of actions undertaken within the emerging organizational field of higher education in Turkey. In other words, the procession of relations within the field demonstrates some peculiarities suggesting how to proceed in the journey of exploring the diffusion of structures and practices in the context of Turkish higher education.

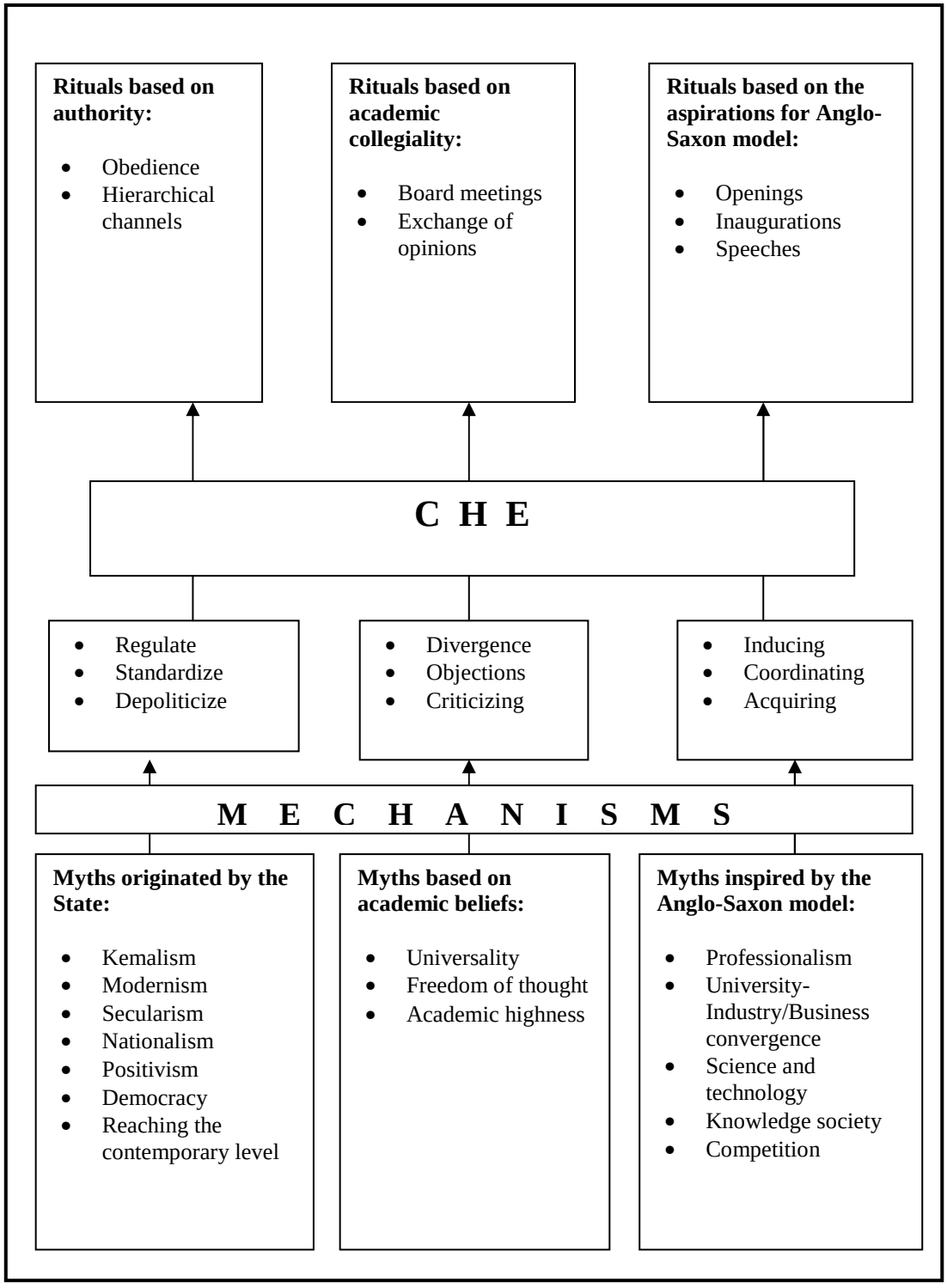

Figure 17. The CHE practices as a combination of myths and rituals

The myths and rituals that constitute the proceedings of the CHE and its relevant components within the field are originating from high aspirations reflecting images from outside the Turkish context. In fact, each set of myths and rituals is the interpretation of those who claim them for their field of interest. This divergence evident in the way the myths and rituals are incorporated within the field of Turkish higher education creates gaps or controversies in the way rules and regulations are practiced. For example, it is thought to be rather puzzling by the researcher to see that the proceedings of the Council demonstrate harmony and tranquility although severe disputes are expected of the Council's board meetings for the members are selected by competing sectors within the structure of the state. The ultimate conclusion in this respect points to an invisible pattern moving deep inside the field and holding diverse mechanisms together to legitimate the system and make it survive.

4.3.1. The Relations Based on Informal Power Base in the Field

The interviews with the rectors and the members of the Council yielded relevance with the use of authority on informal bases and the effect of personal relations in practices. Supported with high ideals and incentives as regards the improvement of Turkish higher education, the introduction of professional norms into the field was observed to be one of the basic goals of the reform and the best perceivable solution to the problems that had stemmed from the way the collegial model was interpreted in Turkish context.

In the previous section, the retention of the authority-based relations through the transition from the "chair" system to a "professional" one was mentioned with references to the shows of allegiance to the authority-holder. Also, the remarks of one of the informants, grieving over the failure in eradicating this ill habit, were used to illustrate the impact of channels created to usurp anti-collegialism:

> Trying to look pretty to the rector or the president of the CHE is a ritual which is a conspicuous characteristic. It is everywhere. We just cannot change it.

Similarly, the use of personal relations with the authorities through informal channels was frequently stated to be a useful tool in "overcoming the CHE barrier"

or “having things done.” Most of the informants, particularly the former rectors, indicated the significance of “good relations with the CHE” in ensuring smooth operation in administrative and academic matters. Few of the informants even put it bluntly claiming;

> If you are in good terms with the president of the Council, there is nothing you cannot do. Those with poor relations have a hard time in persuading the Council to approve of their proposals.

One former rector expressed the freedom he enjoyed during his term as rector in solving the academic and administrative matters related with his university by establishing personal contacts with the president of the Council with whom he had had intimate relations for years. He added that he simply got what he wanted over luncheons or dinners with the president.

On the other hand, another informant recalled the experience of his friend, a rector, who he claimed had poor relations with the president of the Council and had to undergo a series of interrogations for something the Council took as suspicious. The informant expressed he had no reservations in believing that his friend was fully loyal to the ideals of the Republic and that the interrogations were the result of a personal matter between his friend and the president.

The informal relations used in favor of achieving goals based on mutual feelings are signs of divergence from the ideals of professionalism and professional norms. Also, they are the indications of attempts made in ignoring the standard operational procedures of bureaucracy and hierarchy, the intrinsic characteristics of the CHE, and doing what is believed to be right in line with sector-based interests. Interestingly, the Turkish context related with higher education field seems to be offering opportunities for all divergences in opinions and interests. For example, individuals may be found to be in contact with those owning some form of power or influence in order to get by in their deeds. The experience one of the informants, a former rector, shared with the researcher showed the use of informal relations for top-down requests:

> We had received some fund from the State Planning Organization in order to build a new computer system in our university. At that time it was something unprecedented in Turkey. If I am not mistaken the fund amounted to 6 billion TL. I was told that I had a phone call and the Minister of Education was on the line. The Minister and I were good friends. He kindly

> asked if I could spare some of the fund that I had received for another university. I said I was not able to do it because that money was for the center we were to build. The Minister said that the president of the Council was with him and that the request indeed came from him. I replied that I could personally talk to the president. I added that the project was for the good of the country and that without that money it could never be actualized. He only said, "I see," before he hung up. Later they wanted to persuade me through the Minister of Finance, who was my classmate from the university.

The conclusion drawn on the informant views and the stories reported points to some contextual clues as regards Turkish higher education field. One, the set of ideals and corresponding myths as well as rituals do have an influence over the way regulative procedures of the CHE, as a high-level bureaucratic organization, are interpreted and implemented. Two, the regulative power granted to the CHE and the implementations appear, at times, to be uncoupled resulting in gaps filled with informal relations. Three, the nature of the courses of actions pursued in fulfilling the tasks related with higher education tend to be based on a rationality bound with the circumstances.

4.3.2. The Coordination and Communication Mechanisms Used

The 1982 reform introduced a congregation of the authoritative power within the central agencies in the fields of commerce, industry, and small business, though the Constitution made in 1961 had granted autonomy to the Chambers. One aspect indicated in the 1982 Constitution was that these coordinating mechanisms were held free of political ideologies and were not allowed to function in any way other than what was stated in the law.

In Law 2547, the organization of the CHE is defined and specifications about its components and sub-units are determined. The Council consists of the General Assembly, the Executive Committee, the Inter-university Board, and the Student Selection and Placement Center. The president of the Council presides over the meetings of the General Assembly and the Executive Committee and is chiefly responsible for the implementation of laws, regulations, and the decisions reached at executive levels.

Placed among several other high-level bureaucratic organizations introduced after the 1980 military coup and the subsequent Constitution, the CHE is observed to be highly centralized and hierarchical organization equipped with an immense authorization to make sure that Turkish higher education is on the correct course. In fact, whatever decision is to be made or whatever action is to be taken, the decisions have to be filtered through the CHE. The two aspects frequently mentioned by the informants during the interviews were the image of the CHE as highly bureaucratized and hierarchical. Stressing the somewhat paradoxical image of bureaucracy and academic affairs, the informants voiced their disagreement with too much paperwork, the time wasted in vertical line of communication, and the bulky structure of the Council. As one rector put it,

> the CHE is a bureaucratic organization that was established to steer and develop higher education in Turkey. Given that the Council is both the representative of and the executive body on top of Turkish higher education, it cannot seem to be directly involved with scientific and academic affairs. The so-called General Assembly and the Executive Committee are bureaucratic establishments.

As one informant, a present rector, pointed out, the Council, with its activities and functions, emerged as a bureaucratized and centralized entity:

> In fact, I personally believe that the CHE creates an incredible amount of bureaucracy… to such an extent that the Council itself is suffocating under this load. All our correspondence is done through the CHE. A cooperation agreement between two universities, academic or cultural, is submitted to the Council's approval first. When an official document comes from the ministries or other government agencies requesting some information, these agencies are kindly diverted to the CHE and are asked to convey their messages via the Council. Now there are about a hundred universities and the CHE is at the crossroads where an immense amount of paperwork juxtaposes. The CHE determines every course of action to be taken by an individual university. I can say that every minor detail is being shaped by the CHE. All regulations are written and submitted to the Council to be approved.

Also, the decision-making process and supervision of the institutions under the Council makes it a hierarchical organization which is authorized to tell them what to do and what not to do. This hierarchical structure was thoroughly explained by a CHE member:

> When its relations with the universities are considered, I can say that the CHE has a hierarchical structure and this is a legal one. The position of the CHE over the universities is that of a hierarchical supervision. It makes decisions based on principles. For example, the Council is able to interfere with the financial matters such as the payments of the academic staff. Also, it deals with the interrogations of the rectors. What is more, the appeals are made to the CHE.

From the informant views it is understood that the bureaucratic structure and the relevant paperwork along with the hierarchical procedures are in line with the previous conclusions, emphasizing absolute obedience, about the procedures the Council is involved in. However, coordination of the academic affairs from a centralized structure, albeit the size and nature of the field, seems to be subject to tongue-in-cheek evaluations made about its efficiency.

Although the informants emphasized the need for a central coordination and control for achieving qualified education and accountability, they all agreed that the Council was too centralized. As one rector stressed:

> it is rather ridiculous to remain in the center and contemplate how many research assistants are needed at X university or how many teaching staff are required and whether they should post an ad in the newspaper. Even I, as the rector of a university, cannot delve into such trivial matters. We delegate the authority for such matters to faculties or departments. There are countless number of departments which the Council is unaware of. This, I believe, is the worst example of centralization. Therefore, it has a bad image among the public, for the function it fulfills and for the name it bears. The reason for this is that it retains the authority and refrains from delegating it. Those who criticize the CHE for its centrality do not abstain from using the immense authority granted once they become a part of the Council.

In the same vein, another informant referred to the Council's incapacity in fulfilling its main function – shaping and supervising higher education for better academic quality. He maintained that too much authority delegated to it created too much of a workload. Another rector illustrated how complicated things might become when too much centralization was at hand:

> Just think about it; there are 100 universities. You have a student who has committed an unbecoming behavior and you are to interrogate it. After the interrogation, the student receives a minor penalty. We have to inform the CHE about it. We have about 3800 students. There are 70,000 students in the University

> of Istanbul and another 70,000 in Konya Selçuk University. Gazi University has 50-60 thousand students. There are a total of about 2 million university students in Turkey. And you have to write to the Council about every issue concerning these students. The same goes for the personnel and the staff. Everything, from administrative to ethical or discipline matters, everything goes to the Council. So, how on earth will one single organization be able to handle all this effectively?

Another aspect that makes the CHE an organization based on traditional norms rather than professional norms asserted by academia is that there are decisions taken overnight without much professional assessment and matching up with academic norms. Some of the practices, as one former rector claimed, are contradictory with the norms of higher education:

> I would like to illustrate what this means. It (the Council) never comes to check upon the number of the students, success rates, educational and research activities of the university. It does not inspect if we are fulfilling our main mission. They ask for the discipline log where disciplinary judgments are recorded or they ask for the list of our movables. Why? Because those that are doing these inspections were not professionally capable of inspecting what was to be inspected in an academic environment. They acted like inspectors as if they were from the Internal Affairs. Consequently, they had no contribution at all.

On the other hand, no normative action whatsoever has been taken to implement change-related activities within the Council and the existing law for regulating higher education in Turkey, as the same informant noted:

> Since late 1980s or 90s, they demanded a real higher education reform. However, there was always an objection saying "if we propose a new higher education law, we cannot be sure what will become of it after it has gone through the Parliament". Therefore, it was postponed until now and nothing has been done so far. The current law is something that everyone criticizes and it still survives. The only reason is the lack of perception and trust. Turkey has wasted its years this way.

At another instance, an informant pointed to the non-professional implementations of the CHE referring to the Council's approach to proposals depending on the level and nature of the relationship between the Council and rector making the proposal:

> The Council does not know what it is after. They do not know why they approve or disapprove. There is uncertainty all over it.

> They have no established way of handling things. There are no professionally set norms to refer to. Chaos prevails.

In sum, the authority-based nature of the CHE rather than academic norms and professionalism seems to be the main source of objections to its practices and implementations within and outside higher education arena. The Council's bias toward using authority, personal preferences at executive levels, and negligence of academic concerns and needs coupled with its centralized and bureaucratic structure makes the Council drift away from professional norms of the academia in its universal sense.

The clash of expectations from higher education and the way it is perceived by the actors from different sectors in the field cause failure in achieving the stated goals and aspirations. When interests conflict, attempts to bypass authority or to seek approval of other authority-holders come to rest upon the system and become a habitual practice. As one of the informants stated, the rectors today just skip the stage of confronting the CHE as the coordinating body and arrange meetings with the relevant ministries.

In conclusion, the social context in Turkey is observed to be shaping the way the high ideals are perceived and interpreted. It is understood that interpretations vary depending on interests shared or defended. Accordingly, the symbolic practices representing the fulfillment of tasks and achievement of goals tend to take on varying courses of action. Hence, the aspirations of the state, the academia, and of the proponents of the entrepreneur university find a vast battle ground where each of them engages in a fight to receive what they desire. The CHE, on the other hand, appears to be less than effective in achieving what it originally set out to accomplish.

4.3.3. The Stories Reported to Draw a Mental Image of the Council as an Institution

Two of the questions asked of the informants, both members of the Council and the rectors, related with drawing a mental image of the Council as an organization by requesting them to state what they thought it resembled. Also, the informants were asked to explain what metaphor they believed best described the Council by referring to its administrative structure. As stated above, the Council is

found to be highly centralized and bureaucratic with its mechanical and hierarchical structure. Having analyzed its mechanical structure earlier, the mental images extracted from the informants are thought to indicate what they personally believe the Council really stands to fulfill, depending on their first-hand knowledge and experience with it. Basically, what the informants came up with as they were asked to compare it with something, a mythological character, a hero, or anything they might think of, they all mentioned beings that refer to power, authority, and dominion. One informant put it:

> I think the Council is like a "paper tiger." It has a scary image but it has a limited capacity. It does not have a sufficient cadre it is not fully organized. Its staff are underpaid. Turkey is able to steer its own educational matters. So, that makes the Council a "paper tiger". Ministry of Finance is more influential than the CHE. The Rectors go up to the Ministry to discuss their budgets bypassing the CHE.

Another informant put similar remarks but with a different reference:

> There is something about the CHE that has become a common view. The thought that the Council was a product of the military coup in 1980 and thus possesses nothing but a tough texture makes people believe that it must be abolished. Whatever it does to promote science and academic endeavors, it is known for its voice sounded harshly during times of ideological turmoil. It either gains proponents in its struggle for protecting the fundamental principles of the Republic or encounters strong animosities. So I call it the "black sheep" (of the country). Whatever goes wrong in a university with limited relations with the Council, all the blame is put on the CHE. When there is a criticism made against the current discrepancies in Turkish higher education, it is all the Council's fault.

Some other informants referred to the isolated nature of the Council and the centralized structure it retained by likening it to an "ivory tower," "sultanate," or an epic character such as "Zaloğlu Rüstem" for its position at the top of the hierarchy which never yielded to external pressures. The "ivory tower" or "sultanate" references were made to indicate that the Council was determined to do what it believed was right, with the biggest credit paid to the president of the Council and the authorization he was equipped with. Thus, as stated earlier, the Council changes its appearance with the turnover of the presidents. The "Zaloğlu Rüstem" reference,

on the other hand, was made to indicate the position of the Council, "trying to prove its authority – in fact, non-existent authority – in the face of over hundred universities that it cannot control".

A similar remark, but from a different standpoint, indicated that the CHE acts more like a "mother goose" watching its babies all the time, ready to attack potential intruders. Here, the babies are the universities that are perceived to be vulnerable by their mother, the CHE, and thus should be under constant protection. In other words, protective mood has become a reflex or a built-in pattern of behavior for the Council.

Still another informant likened the Council to a "caterpillar" with a lot of feet. According to the informant, the feet represented the many functions the Council undertakes. The informant went on to say:

> It is like a caterpillar. It does not have a fixed number of feet. New feet are added to the existing ones. It is rather complicated. There are private universities, public universities, those that are outside the metropolitan cities, traditional ones, modern ones, big ones, small ones, those with instruction in foreign language, summer schools…the numbers are counting. It is very difficult to manage from one center. There are a limited number of people making an effort in trying to control and coordinate it.

The images described by the informants are in concordance with other views on the structure of and the mechanisms employed by the CHE. The informants voiced their ideal higher education system and how a coordinating and controlling organization should be structured and run to make it real. The informant views on the Council's structure as rather mechanical, centralized and bureaucratic, giving no way beyond hierarchical chain of command, as well as exceeding its limits in governance indicate the informants' discomfort with the Council as members of it or as individuals assuming high-level administrative positions in universities. The informants collectively admitted that the Council's initial mission, as stated in the Constitution and the law, is a legitimate cause for its existence. However, anything beyond that is contradictory with the academic nature and required freedom of thinking needed for higher education. One present rector went even to the length so as to emphasize his agreement with what he recalled one of his friends saying, "YÖK must become YOK" referring to the dots that he believed were redundant. All in all, it is evident that the informants call for changes in implementations and form of the Council, which brings the issue of legitimacy into question.

4.4. How Can the Legitimacy Process Be Accounted For?

The process through which the CHE has become a legitimate organization implicates various definitions. First of all, defining legitimacy from the perspective of the peripheral factors, such as the environment, interactions, myths, and other components of the process of diffusion, demands an explanation of the interplay involving these components. Taking legitimacy as an external characteristic, on the other hand, calls for an explanation of how far and how long it will enable the organization to survive.

The data collected on the issue and the analyses made by the researcher have yielded some results depicting the CHE sitting on a set of intricately interwoven relations with temporal, spatial, and factual depths.

Describing the emergence of the CHE as a formal and bureaucratic entity over Turkish higher education, with a highly centralized and hierarchical structure and then presenting the laws and rules authorizing its mandate leads to the conclusion that the Council is a coercively enforced and legitimized organization. However, sufficing with such a factual approach to describing the phenomenon would be misleading and incomplete.

The analyses on the emergence of the CHE with reference to the configuration of the incentives behind it, the methods employed in enabling the desired outcomes, the emerging organizational field based on the Council's interactions, the norms and values characterizing the field, and the traits featuring the CHE itself show that there is more to explaining the legitimacy process.

The contextual implications drawn from history, demonstrating the CHE as perhaps a final attempt in setting things right in a chaotic higher education system may tell a lot about how a rationalized solution was found in solving the problems. Yet, the analyses of the results show the intention to create a new system in higher education and the efforts in shaping the direction it was to take as well as the field it was to operate in.

A discussion on the types of interactions, on the other hand, is helpful in identifying the boundaries of the field and of the extent to which the boundaries have been crossed. Also, the interactions of the CHE with the sectors, agencies, and the actors within its field of operation work as clues in understanding how the original incentives were defined and redefined. Hence, the issue of legitimacy comes to lie on

separate grounds as the incentives, defined and redefined, become subject to the process of approval within the field.

Finally, the CHE, as the organization under investigation, appears to sustain certain structures in the form of organizational components, laws and regulations, individuals, and other assets such as myths, beliefs, values, principles, or norms. Also, the CHE is observed to be engaging in activities such as regulating, controlling, supervising, or coordinating the matters related with Turkish higher education. The analyses also indicate that these structures and practices, as they appear at present state, have stood adamant in certain cases but become manipulated in others. For example, the shifting mood exhibited by key actors within the Council, depending on the nature of the relationship with those coming for their grievances, brings to the mind the question of to what extent the legitimacy, or legality, granted to the Council can be legitimized. From another perspective, seeing the CHE as a savior, the question of whether the time has come for the Council to set higher education free and suffice with its capacity as coordinator should probably project the discussion on its legitimacy onto other grounds.

Briefly, after these consolidating remarks binding the analyses made up to this point, the diffusion of the structures and practices, motivated by the reform in 1981, in a formal organizational setting, the CHE, seems to be leading to a somewhat cross-referential investigation. In other words, the question of to what extent the Council's structures and practices have gained legitimacy was asked of the informants, referencing their views with the frame drawn.

4.4.1. To What Extent Can the Council Be Claimed to Have Attained Legitimacy?

As noted earlier, the emergence of the CHE was enabled by means of coercive implementations and measures such as laws, rules, and regulations. Referring to the incentives through a historical context, it can be said that the Turkish nation's quest for achieving modernism and the State's constant endeavor in instituting the adopted models for reaching the level of the civilized world had a remarkable influence on the way higher education in Turkey was configured.

Consecutive reforms brought along their own institutional and bureaucratic forms, resulting in, as a former rector described it, “a mixture of unadjusted models.”

The stage at which the CHE was established was described by approximately 70 percent (10 out of 15) of the informants as an unfortunate period. In doing so, some of the informants referred to the implementations saying, “They were not fit for the university as an academic entity.” Some others found the implementations “unpalatable” or “undemocratic.” Yet, almost a hundred percent of the informants maintained that a coordination and control mechanism over Turkish higher education was necessary.

The “necessary” remark on the establishment of the CHE justifies the political incentives formulated by the military actors behind the reform. Nevertheless, the incentives stated by those coming from the academic cycles and drawing the blueprint of the reform cannot be held exempt from this justification for the conditions leading to the reform were chaotic and uncertainty-ridden in both political and system-wise respects.

The model tailored for Turkish higher education was fielded with the slogans of “democracy,” “professionalism,” “quality,” “productivity”, and “Kemalism”, which specifically encapsulates the ideals of “positivist thinking,” “modernism,” “nationalism,” and “secularism”. However, the views of the informants, pointing to the initial years accounted for disturbances resulting from “undemocratic” or “unprofessional” implementations. One of the informants, for example, recalled the academic staff expelled from their positions for their political preferences or taken under custody for their actions implying political fanaticism.

Although the movement was based on a sentiment, as was alleged in the quotes from the key actors, to mobilize professionalism in administration and promotions, several of the informants reminded the strategies implemented in appointing high-level administrators in higher education institutions.

The Council’s attachment to the formulation of a nationalist policy, as defined in the Law 2547, was questioned in the remarks of an informant, a current member of the Council, stating that it failed to nationalize the adopted structures. He simply, accused the Council for not adapting the “imported” model to the peculiarities of the country.

In this respect, another informant, a senior member of the CHE and an academic figure having personally experienced the impact of the reform, made some outspoken remarks on the political tendency of the movement:

> As regards the improvements in particularly social sciences, 1960 is the turning point. With the introduction of the State Planning Organization in 1960, there was a boom in social science research. Toward 70s, creative attempts following the pervasion of some political ideologies in Turkey led to proliferation social science activities. This contributed to improvements in that field. Some contradictory paradigms emerged. And such developments gave way to the military response in 1971.

These remarks may sound contradictory with the "modernism" approach of the reform and challenge the justification of some of the implementations. Here, justification may not rest on the phrasing of the incentives and ideals underneath the structures of the Council, nevertheless, it may reject the way they were implemented.

The structures, namely the laws, rules, regulations, and other forms of regulative tools as well as the organizational buildup of the CHE were introduced to achieve consistency and efficiency in higher education. The comments of one of the informants proves this suggestion because he said, referring to the pre-reform period, "the current state of the system would go nowhere". An ordinary attempt to make sense of these structural assets can lead one to believe that the purpose was to restore higher education, in the first place, by directing it to integration with the international norms. This mimetic drive, by itself, strikes as an effort to place the reform on legitimate grounds. On the other hand, reinforcing the effort with law-based coercive means serves to validate or legalize its legitimacy.

The informant views pertaining to the legitimacy process of the CHE movement display their approval of the stated intentions to restore Turkish higher education. From both academic and political perspectives, it seemed like they all approved of the idea of rescuing the system by mounting it upon best examples from the "civilized world". When they talked about an ideal practice, they referred to their personal experiences with the western contexts. For example, when one of the informants described an ideal university, he described it as "elegance" or "a guild" referring to the first universities opened in Bologna and in Paris.

Referring to the reform modeling after world standards, a former rector mentioned the aptitude of Doğramacı, the key actor behind the establishment of the CHE:

> Doğramacı was very brilliant. He had spent time in many countries. He knew about the U.S.A. and Europe. He established the system here after studying the models outside Turkey, suggesting the best examples.

The implication that can be drawn from the way the informant put it is that the reform was modeled after the best forms and the actor behind it was Doğramacı, who was experienced and thus reliable. In other words, the informant believes Doğramacı's experience with external contexts followed by a higher education system restored with reference to Western standards was good enough to make the reform recognized as a legitimate action.

The informant views and the documents analyzed show a transition, also, from a relatively static form of relations to a more dynamic and interactive one. The "ivory tower", "sultanate", or "dominion" remarks in describing the pre-reform era indicate the nature of universities as closed systems refusing to interact with the outside world and change. As one informant noted;

> it was impossible to interfere with their activities. They were like empires run by senior academicians. There was no improvement. You had to wait until the "chair" holder retired to be promoted.

Justifying the intent of the reform in modifying the system, another informant, a current rector commented on the contributions of the CHE:

> The reform marked a transition from a closed system to an open one. You need to be interacting with your surroundings. Otherwise, you will disappear.

The transition to a more dynamic and interactive state indicates the need for perceiving the CHE in a new field of operation. In other words, the CHE was established to respond to the demands of a less dynamic system susceptible to political influences. Yet, the boundaries indicated by means of the reform highlighted alliances with the outside world in terms of professional norms and perception of quality in higher education. The consideration of "academic achievements" and "research studies" in promoting academic staff called for "benchmarking with western standards" as one informant put it.

The growth triggered by the CHE movement in terms of the increase in the number of universities all around the country was yet another achievement attributed to the CHE by several informants. As well as the impact of the growth in the form of workload, the diversity of demands coming from within the field through emerging channels of interactions gave way to expansion of the boundaries. During the interviews, while some of the informants emphasized the Council's emerging inefficiency in coordinating the growing mass of interactions involving universities and other related institutions and agencies, others stressed the need for the Council's coordination efforts with the policymakers and industrial sector.

The changing face of the environment or the field in which the CHE, as the governing body over Turkish higher education, operates raises the question of whether the CHE is responsive to the changing needs and expectations within the field. In this respect, the homogenizing purpose of the Council, its initial function as was discussed before, was criticized by several informants in different ways. In this respect, criticisms on the Council's generic structure and its relevant implementations go beyond mere slogans. For example, the CHE is criticized for its controlling mechanism which is considered "too much" for a higher education environment trying to catch up with international norms. Emphasizing the spree of the concept of "knowledge economy" and the role played by private universities in achieving it, Burak Mavi's article, "İstanbul Stock Market Exchange (İMKB) Education 25 Index", appearing in *Turkishtime* magazine in 2007, illustrates this point effectively:

> The over-regulative measures of 1980 takeover are still the biggest obstacles in the way to development for universities. There are those who are persistently rejecting the idea that education is a commodity. You do not have to seek the approval of the electric companies when you have invented a new toaster. It is the consumers that decide whether the product is good, not the guardians (Mavi, 2007, p. 70).

Mavi's comments on the current state, indicating the extent of the dynamism called for by the market pressures, point to the lack of satisfaction felt in experiencing the rigid structure of the CHE. It is evident that the emerging organizational field with its multiple links and communication channels with several sectors requires reinterpretation of the matters related with higher education and redefinition of the CHE's structures.

In the face of the emerging trends and expectations, the legitimacy of the CHE seems to be prone to some hot discussions. These discussions basically center on the structural characteristics of the Council and its practices originating from its structural configuration as a "bureaucratic," "centralized," and "hierarchical" feature. As the rectors and the members of the Council, present or former, almost all informants expressed their concerns about the current structure of the CHE defining it as a mismatch with the system it stands to coordinate and control. The remarks of a former long-term member of the Council are noteworthy in identifying the significance of the social template upon which the institutionalized form is built:

> In 1960s, when Demirel became the Prime Minister, İnönü had a personal meeting with him. İnönü told him to consider the public reaction if he were to launch an operation in Cyprus. Public approval, he said, would be the leading factor in achieving an ultimate victory. It is the same with the CHE. The success of the CHE depends what the people in universities think of it. It also depends on how the Council is perceived by its members. If there are constant pressures administered by the Council and if undesirable decisions are made, the institution may not achieve success.

So, how can the emerging demands and expectations of its organizational field be conceptualized in view of the Council's role as a governing body over higher education? At this point, the issue of legitimacy, pertaining to the CHE's existence, comes to lie on a controversial status. In other words, the coercive nature of the Council's legal legitimacy and the rising pressures within the field exerted on higher education seem to be clashing with each other and waiting for a resolution.

The emerging characteristics of the field expect Turkish higher education to be in contact with some international and local sectors. Here, as the coordinating agency, the CHE is called upon to take on varying roles. As one informant stressed, the CHE is expected to increase its capacity to be able to appreciate the international norms, namely those of the EU:

> As you know, our higher education system has taken its place within European Research and Education Area. It means that we need a coordinating agency that will represent Turkey outside and lead the way in development.

The Council is also expected to be in close contact with some local sectors. In this respect, as one informant maintained, the CHE is expected to fulfill its mission in coordination with the policy-makers:

> For effective planning, the CHE must coordinate with the Government. It must act in coordination with the Ministry of National Education in order to plan higher education for upcoming generations. The Council needs to consider demographic movements.

In the same vein, the informant views indicate the need for a coordinating agency over higher education with more intimate and mutual relations with the universities. Rather than an institution that expresses its reservations, an initiator's or a leader's role is emphasized for ideal higher education governance. Stressing the university-industry/business relations, an informant pointed to the role cast for the CHE:

> The CHE is supposed to encourage universities. There are many companies. The Council must coordinate universities' links with them. Preaching should not be its sole function.

With its current state, the CHE is criticized for its lack of interest in dealing with universities' emerging needs. In this respect, an informant, a current member of the Council, mentioned the gap between the Council and universities:

> The CHE must mingle with universities. It seems that there is a gap. When decisions are made, hands are raised. There is no serious emphasis on real issues. The Executive Board cannot function properly.

In illustrating the irrelevant image of the Council as a governing body over higher education, the view of a current CHE member is rather to the point:

> The CHE gains its proponents and opponents with its voice heard during ideological turmoil, not with its contributions to scientific and academic areas. No one ever heeds the Council's actions related with higher education.

The volume of the documents describing the functions of the CHE and the procedures to be followed in running the higher education system in Turkey leads one to an overwhelmed state. However, with the increasing demands within the field and the nature of interactions with international and local sectors, the Council seems to be lacking the desired capability to manage the system. As one senior member of

the Council commented, the CHE is not capable of fulfilling the demands, or rather the technical demands, of the system due to its inconvenient structure:

> Universities are expected to comply with the norms of accountability. The Ministry of Finance cannot do it because they are not aware of the nature of higher education. Therefore, the CHE must be in the loop. However, the Council is not geared up for this.

Similarly, to iterate the need for a restructuring in the Council, the same informant described the inefficient structure of the Inter-University Board:

> The Inter-University Board has no bureaucracy of its own within the CHE. In fact, there is no unit in the Council that will do the planning. There are the relations with the EU but there are no well-equipped people in the Council who can proceed with these relations. The CHE must be restructured according to the emerging functions.

Informant views on the characteristics of the Council, which are not in agreement with the conditions observed and the demands and expectations originating from its organizational field, are stated to have made the CHE nothing but incompatible. While the Council is observed to be creating too much bureaucracy and paperwork for the emerging nature of higher education, on the other hand, it appears to be incompetent in dealing with its authoritative and regulative function as a high-level bureaucratic organization. The informants' metaphorical descriptions of the Council as highly bureaucratic, hierarchical, and centralized are reinforced with the mental images they have drawn in identifying it.

The "paper tiger" reference used for describing the Council reminds of an incompetent character, awesome in appearance but ineffective in deeds. The "Zaloğlu Rüstem" reference, on the other hand, personifies the Council as a rough character to be feared and obeyed. This reference sounds more meaningful when conceived of in a context involving higher education. The "black sheep" reference, on the other hand, corresponds to a stereotype resulting from the common belief among people depicting the CHE as a potential source of fallacies.

All these remarks lead to the conclusion that there is a common concern about the current nature of the CHE. Although the coercive power of the law and the authorization granted to the Council just do not seem to suffice in perceiving it as a fully legitimate entity. Therefore, while the legal legitimacy of the Council is a

taken-for-granted qualification, how far this suggestion will enable the Council to survive depends on how long it will take the influential actors, agencies, and the sectors to figure out a convenient organizational model in order to address to the emerging demands.

4.4.2. What Conclusions Can Be Drawn on the Legitimacy of the Council?

The cognitive frame denoting the ideals underlying the CHE reform initiated in 1981 can be identified as the country's constant determination to achieve modernity representing western norms and standards. Atatürk's contributions to this frame, by means of his reforms and principles, dictate the path to follow and delineate the course of action to take.

The template upon which the higher education reform embodied in the establishment of the CHE, the structures and practices employed by the CHE as an organization, and the organizational field in which it operates are to be diligently investigated if the process of diffusion within its organizational setting is to be accounted for. Figure 18 presents a consolidation of the findings that explains an organizational analysis of the CHE.

According to the analysis presented, the existence of multiple institutional forms and the disturbance within higher education institutions are perceived to be the sources of uncertainty and threats to integrity from a national perspective in the context of Turkey. The solution to these problems is formulized as the initiation of a reform – a rationalized bureaucratic governance. The emergence of the CHE, as a high-level bureaucratic organization over Turkish higher education, reinforced with the introduction of a new constitution and legal arrangements, stands as the pedestal upon which the ensuing coercive implementations through which Turkish higher education is unified, modified, and standardized.

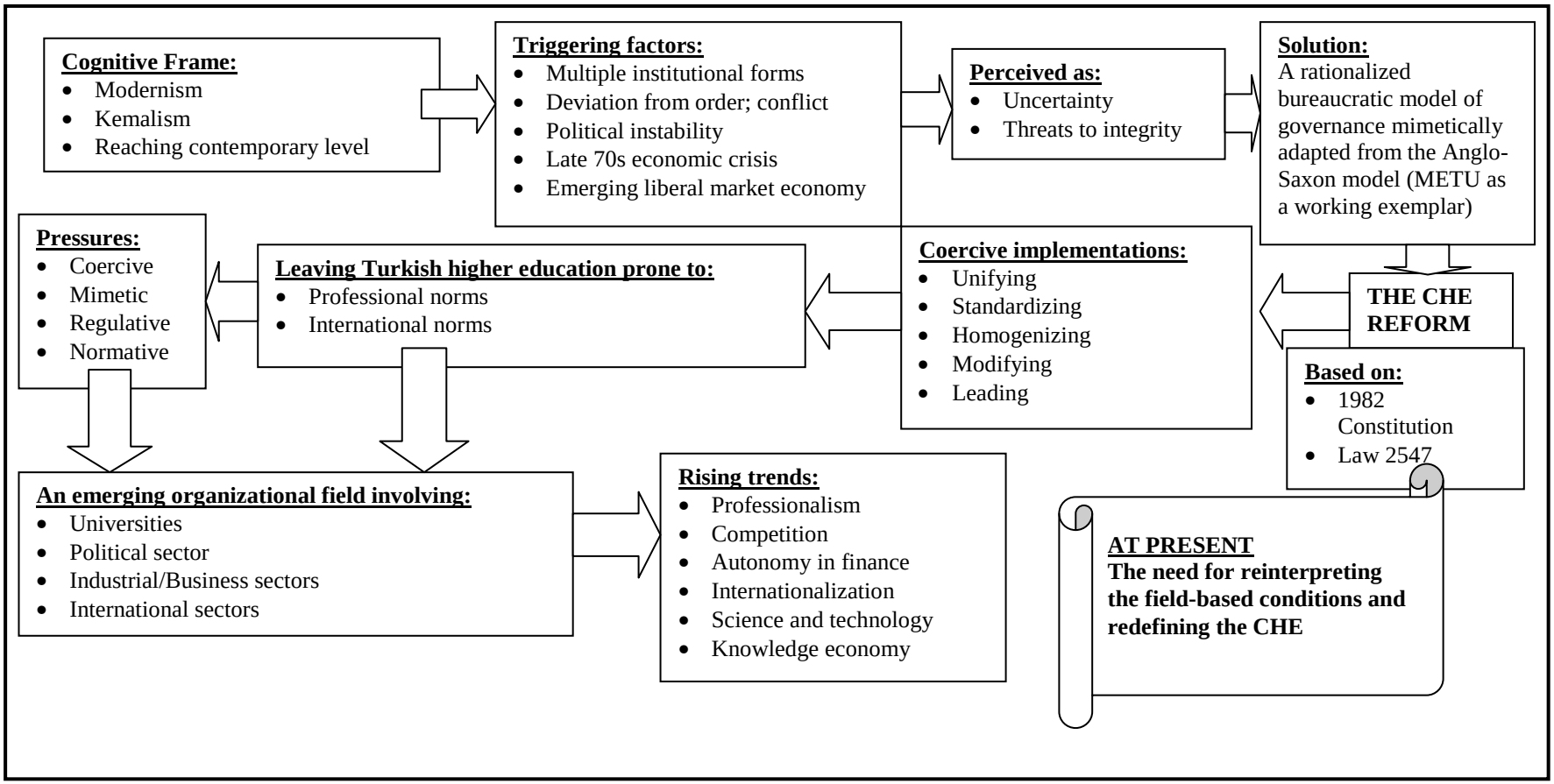

Figure 18. An analytical flowchart for the diffusion process of structures and practices in the Council of Higher Education

The emergence of the CHE is, at the same time, is taken as a measure in defining and shaping an organizational field that sets Turkish higher education prone to international and professional norms. As one of the units within an organizational field where universities are linked with political, industrial and business, and international sectors, the CHE and its authoritative influence appears to be challenged by the rising trends; namely, professionalism, competition, autonomy in financial matters, internationalization of norms, science and technology as motivators, and knowledge economy as a globally acknowledged drive in educational policies.

The mechanisms employed by the CHE, regulating Turkish higher education and directing it toward Western norms, play the key role as they have urged the system to imitate what was perceived to be in line with the principles and ideals constituting the cognitive frame. The emerging state of the system and features gained through time, with or without the help of the CHE, are seen to have called for a more interactive and responsive higher education system. One CHE member expresses his dissatisfaction with what he believes is rather controversial in the present context:

> In fact, there is no need for strong supervision. Worldwide reputation in academic achievements does not depend on performance scales. You may have all the academicians compete against each other, but you may still not be able to achieve the level you want. Scientists with international reputations did not come out of these performance scales. When you have performance scales, you see someone splitting the work he or she has done and publishing them separately, earning the alleged prize two times. Is this professional? There is no need for external pressure. You have to make an atmosphere influential over the university where peer pressure should be at work. The academicians must have a self-questioning stand with which they continuously ask of themselves whether they are efficient and contributing to the academic environment and their country. I believe creating such an academic atmosphere where there is a positive competition is more important than keeping it under constant pressure.

The informant's remarks summarily explain the controversial issues as regards the structures constituting the Council and the practices it is observed to be involved in. It is evident in the data collected from key informants, as experienced and knowledgeable individuals related with higher education administration and the

CHE, that the Council itself is also aware of the controversies created by the system. They iterate the need for change – a modification resulting from the need for reinterpreting the novel conditions within higher education field and redefining the CHE.

The recently published report, A Higher Education Strategy for Turkey, prepared by the Council defines the direction of the actions to be taken for a more productive and effective higher education in Turkey. As a current member of the Council put it, the proposed strategy consists of four parameters of a new paradigm:

> The new strategy proposes a higher education model based on offering it as a public service emphasizing human rights; designing it on entrepreneurship, inducing investments; perceiving it as a place where democratic citizens are being educated; and defining it as an embodiment of the desire to protect one of the most classical heritage of humanity – the university.

Another informant phrased the intrinsic intention of the Council in a different way:

> The image the Council wanted to take on at the beginning was that of a central body over the whole higher education system. A hierarchical system. However, the Council is willing to change this image today; and this is not normal. No one holding the authority is willing to give away the power. Nevertheless, the CHE wants to delegate its authority.

Seeing the Council as a legally legitimized form and a necessity for keeping higher education coordinated and supervised on the one hand and some of its structures and practices being rejected on the other, it is thought that the field-based pressures and conditions enable the retention of some of the forms while leaving others subject to reinterpretation and redefinition. The rate of retention here refers to the extent to which the diffusion of these forms is enabled by means of the existing pressures and demands emanating from within the organizational field.

It becomes apparent that the Council's perceived lack of effectiveness, defined by the informants' metaphorical remarks such as "paper tiger" or "Zaloğlu Rüstem," albeit its proven coerciveness, indicate existing dynamics at work shaping Turkish higher education despite the Council. In other words, the issues raised during the interviews bring to mind the question of functionality of the Council. To be more specific, the higher education as a system is still capable of operating and fulfilling its functions although the CHE, with its current appearance, is claimed to be

impeding it. Hence, the structures upon which the CHE is erected and the practices it is involved in tend to demonstrate a loosely-coupled state in certain cases.

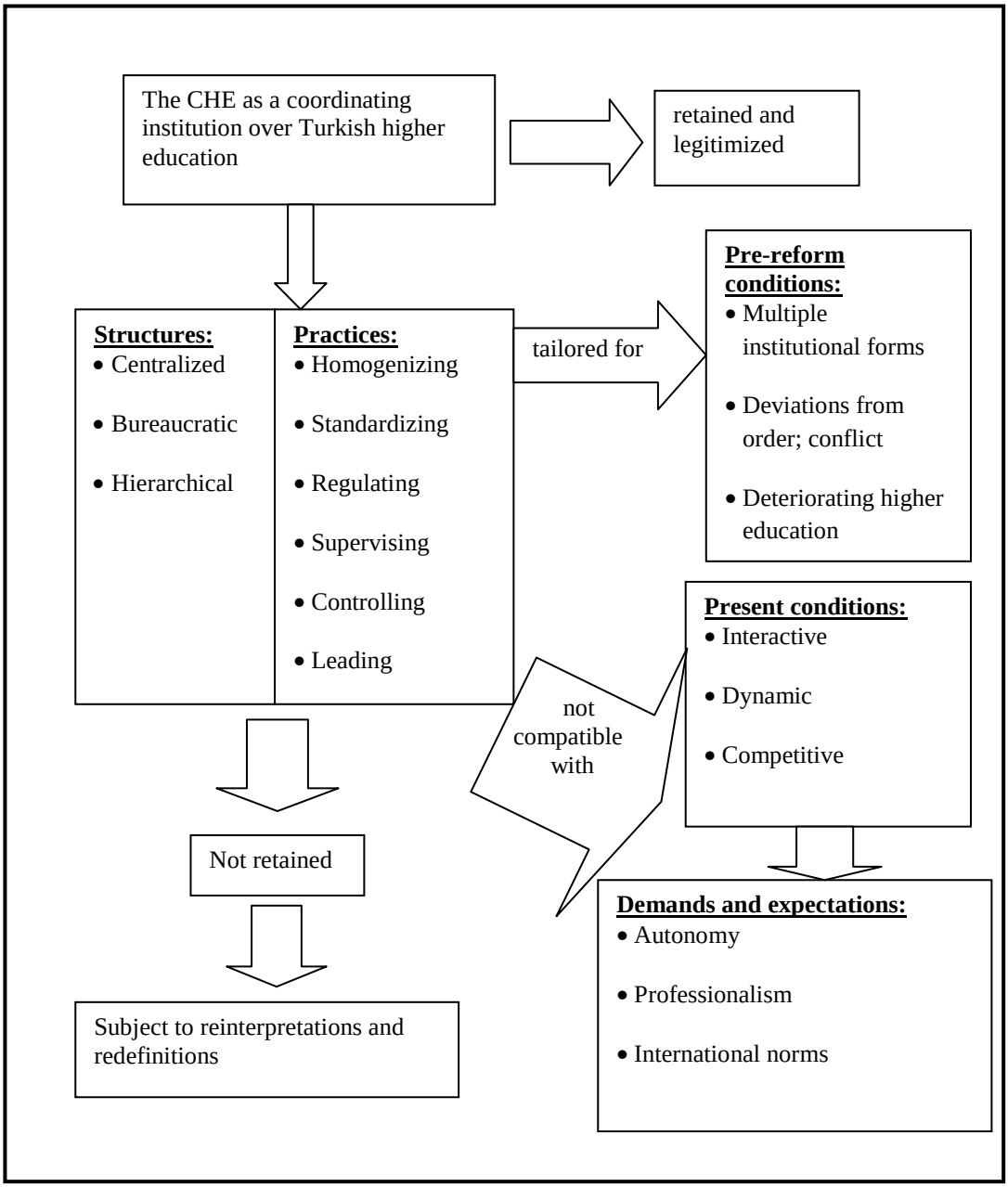

Figure 19. Retention and rejection of the forms of the Council of Higher Education through time

In conclusion, the idea of a CHE as a coordinating agency over Turkish higher education is a justified proposal, whereas its structures and practices tailored

for the pre-reform era are seen to be subject to adaptations to be able to respond to a newly emerging higher education setting (Figure 19).

4.5. How Likely Is It That the Council Will Survive? Should It Continue To Exist or Not?

The discussion on the legitimacy of the CHE yields some indications of a clash between the coercive power of the legal status the Council has been formed upon and the pressures exerted by the field in which it operates. Despite some minor reservations, specifically about the way the measures were implemented by the Council at the beginning, most of the informants maintained that a restoration effort in higher education was necessary. In other words, except for pursuing "undemocratic" means, as the informants put it, in appointing high-level administrators, dismissing several academic staff, or introducing strict measures within the context of higher education, it is widely observed that the idea of putting higher education system under control was reasonable.

The data gathered show that the Council was established to introduce a rationalized form of a higher education system while unifying multiple institutional forms. It is also evident in the views of the informants that the reform was a radical measure to restore the order in universities. The data extracted from the informants indicate the outcomes of the reform in the form of achieving quality and world standards in higher education as well as increase in the number of higher education institutions. On the other hand, almost all of the informants admit the contributions of the reform to the restoration of order and stability in universities enabling a sound academic environment.

The changes introduced, on the other hand, seem to have exposed Turkish higher education to some institutional impacts rendering the CHE an inevitable or indispensable component of the field. In other words, the status reached by Turkish higher education does not validate the assertion that the Council is no longer needed. On the contrary, it becomes evident that the Council is needed to be able to respond to the emerging demands and expectations enabled, or facilitated, through the efforts of the CHE.

Previously, the informant views were presented in demonstrating the emerging role expected of the CHE. The informants' remarks on the need for coordination between higher education institutions and other related sectors within the field were noteworthy in understanding how higher education governance is supposed to be shaped and run. The informant views stressing the emergence of international and professional norms, entrepreneurship, calling for university-industry/business alliances, and the need for long-term policy-making justify the existence of the CHE as a coordinating mechanism.

The sophisticated nature of the matters related with higher education and growing number of universities, as stated by most informants, make the CHE a necessary organ over higher education. As a current member of the CHE mentioned:

> There were just three universities when Law 4936 was passed. It was understood that a regulative mechanism was needed. Now, there are many universities. They certainly need to be regulated. Yet, this regulation should not be a process of homogenization, as was in early 80s.

The reference to Law 4396, made by the informant, points to a requirement of coordination to accompany the reform introduced in 1933.

As the myths underlying the reform efforts ever since "modernity" and "the level of the civilized world" became the goal to be achieved through higher education, "democracy" and "democratic thinking" have been emphasized in association with "positivism" and "positivist thinking". However, the results of granting freedom to academic populace have been conceptualized as threats to the ideals of the Republic. This was stated to be largely due to the way freedom was interpreted on the academic side. The dominions formed within universities and the powers held by "chairs" were considered to be too unprofessional.

In this respect, the introduction of a movement to reinstitute higher education upon professional norms and contemporary standards was stated to be a reasonable course of action. Even today, as several of the informants pointed out, the social context in Turkey appears to be convenient for intrusions of self-interests. Therefore, the ideal of democracy is believed to be best achieved through coercive and regulative means. Among several of the related informant views, the following can be shown to explain the situation succinctly:

> We should note this. There are many people today talking about autonomy. However, democracy does not mean that you can do anything. There must be accountability. For example, the spent must be checked.

The issue of accountability, on the other hand, is mentioned in connection with the rising norms of professionalism. In other words, what is recommended for professionalism lies on perceiving universities in their own contexts and conducting more evaluations. The CHE, as a member of the Council maintained, is the most suitable organ to do this:

> Universities cannot use their resources as they please. They must be held accountable. A performance-based funding is needed. The Ministry of Finance is not capable of doing this evaluation. They don't know the first thing about higher education. It is the duty of the CHE to do this.

Finally, one of the implementations of the CHE, inducing the adoption of best practices, as was formerly mentioned in the example of METU, can be demonstrated as a justification of a coordinating agency over higher education. The emerging field of higher education places higher education institutions within the center of a numerous interactions with other sectors. Also, the level of technological developments achieved in the field compels these institutions to be on a constant watch and urges them to adopt innovations. As stated by the informants, and illustrated through the analyses, the CHE's contributions to managing an interactive network among universities enabling them to imitate each other has been fruitful.

As the current dynamic nature of the field of higher education indicates, more plausible and cost-effective implementations will be needed in the years to come. Therefore, as a coordinating and manipulating agency, the CHE will play a crucial role in facilitating a collective growth.

Neither the informant views nor the analyses reached indicate the need for abolishing the CHE. That is to say, the coordinating and managing functions of the Council remain as solid realities emerging from within the context of higher education. The level reached in higher education and the characteristics acquired make coordination and management innate components of the professional and international norms, which the CHE was constituted to achieve.

The resulting image of the CHE, as a peculiar aspect of Turkish higher education and the context in Turkey, appears to be integrated with the concept of

university. The CHE is a form of institutionalization. Any further maneuvers seem to be dependent on the path created by the 1981 reform and the CHE, as a high-level bureaucratic organization.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, the conclusions based on the answers to the research questions and relevant information collected from the documents and other sources are presented. Implications are made for practical, theoretical, and methodological purposes.

5.1. Conclusions

The conclusions are based on the main research focus of the study. Therefore, the diffusion of structures and practices within the organizational setting in the context of the CHE is analyzed through historical, field-based, and organizational perspectives. Consequently, the emergence of the Council as a high-level bureaucratic organization, its organizational structure, the field in which it operates, the dynamics that influence its legitimacy process, and perceptions on its survivability are presented with a view that takes the institutional theory as the theoretical frame.

5.1.1. The Council of Higher Education and its Historical Context

Given the fact that the institutional environment does play an important role in determining the way organizational structures and practices diffuse (or do not diffuse), as discussed in the theoretical framework of this study, the environment template is perceived as a two-dimensional tool with temporal and spatial depths. In other words, the cultural-cognitive mechanisms such as beliefs, norms, values, and other triggering assets cannot be deemed to be the products of overnight processes.

In line with the findings presented in the previous chapter, a pattern of change between order and conflict is visible in the historical context related with Turkish higher education. The establishment of the CHE, which followed the military intervention in 1980, is observed to be the embodiment of the attempts to ensure that Turkish higher education remains adhered to the Republican ideals, Kemalist principles, democratic and secular ideology, and prove academically excellent.

Throughout Turkish history, higher education has been perceived as one of the pillars upon which modernity was to be erected. The idea that modernism can be achieved by means of the elite groups to be positioned in central positions within both public administration and military leadership made higher education institutions move into the center of political incentives (Lewis, 2002; Ökçün, 1976). During the initial stages of the emergence of modern university, military academies with their special emphasis on engineering sciences and the military schools of medicine, was the sign of transition from higher education based on religious traditions to a more modern one infused with positivist ideals introducing curricula based on natural sciences and reasoning.

The reform movement led by Atatürk in 1933, which marked strong determination and decisiveness in favor of building a modern higher education in Turkey, shows signs of coerciveness and an equally compelling set of measures in order to overhaul the system altogether (Gürüz, 2001). The innovation brought about with the 1933 reform centered on the restoration of Turkish higher education system upon the German model (Şimşek, 2006). With the onset of the multi-party system in 1946 and the influence of the Democrat Party in 1950s, the American Anglo-Saxon model was seen to penetrate into the system. The pro-American attitude of the ruling political party was observed to have had an impact on the way higher education was planned as four new universities were inaugurated, marking the emergence of the land-grant model in Turkey (Şimşek, 2006).

The emergence of the CHE, as a coordinating, controlling, and centralizing organ over Turkish higher education is observed to have mobilized similar coercive measures in order to introduce an institutional model and eradicate discrepancies within the system. As such, the move represented with the reform shows a parallelism with the previous reforms enabled to institutionalize Turkish higher education upon an ‘ideal form’ much in conformity with the political preferences

promulgated by the governments. In other words, from a symbolist viewpoint, the ideals symbolized with the political incentives of the governmental actors are found to be based on a form or a model to be imported from outside (Kim, 2005; Tolbert, 1985).

Both 1933 reform and the implementations of the Democrat Party were infused with values and beliefs as they attempted to manipulate the existing higher education system, yet, the combination of the two models, the Continental European and the Anglo-Saxon, created a duality, rendering a complete diffusion of either of them less than effective. On the other hand, the enactment of Law 2547 and the establishment of the CHE marked a stronger rate of diffusion for it emphasized the emergence of a solid form representing the Anglo-Saxon model. Here, as argued by Meyer and Rowan (1977), the institutionalizing impact of the CHE as a formal organization comes from the fact that it introduced a set of coercive measures with bureaucratic means to maintain, stabilize, facilitate, and coordinate interactions and relations.

The historical template upon which the establishment of the Council is based serves to yield a pattern of building a modern and competitive higher education system in Turkey. In this sense, 'modernity', 'contemporariness', 'Westernization', and similar other incentives, coupled with the ones envisioning restoration of order and regularity, mark a consensus on the move toward progress and the way these myth-like values are interpreted by the actors. From this perspective, the claim that the emergence of formal organizations as standardizing embodiments of collective value-driven behaviors holds true for the establishment of the CHE in higher education context of Turkey (DiMaggio, 1988; Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Apart from the time-based evaluations, spatial aspects representing the interplay of the environmental factors do seem to have shaped the way the Council came to regulate higher education. The pattern of governance incentive visible throughout the course of history shows an accumulation of cognition that stands to favor a reform seeking the ideal in Western models and the formulation of the subsequent "rules and routines" around an acquired mood reflecting a long-term modernization experience as a nation (March & Olsen, 2005, p. 16).

Much of the relevant literature on institutional theory emphasizes the existence of myths as taken-for-granted assets free from personal discretion and

above and beyond the prescriptions of any individual or organization (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Meyer & Rowan, 1977); nevertheless, DiMaggio (1988) stress the influence of key actors or agencies, such as professionals, politicians, or those known for their links with the state, in setting the norms to follow and interpreting the myths in line with their interests. In the case of the CHE, on the other hand, Prof. Doğramacı is seen as the key figure in defining the higher education model to be adopted. Also, the political incentives found to be parallel with those of the military actors and the economic model initiated by the ruling government of the time demonstrates a consensus on the form of higher education system to be introduced and the type of the regulative agency to implement it.

The CHE originally established to eradicate a system of chair-based dominions enabling the use of power for personal interests was inaugurated to introduce professionalism as the sole criterion in staffing and promoting. However, the rationale behind the movement was countered by ceremonies of favoritisms paid in return of acknowledged allegiances and mutual interests. Thus, relations based on informal links emerging as a consequence of power use or resource manipulations show the downside of the type of institutionalization taking place in the organizational setting of the CHE, perhaps peculiar to the context in Turkey. This situation is an indicator of the proceedings occurring despite the coercive and regulative effect of the legal mandate imposed through the CHE, signaling the existence of a loose-coupling between what is prescribed and what is actually practiced (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Weick, 1976).

Finally, the plan for a change in Turkish higher education resembles a radical movement, whereby enabling a complete transition from one institutional template to another in defining and instituting a network of relations, structures, and implementations. The magnitude of the impact stated and the nature of coerciveness observed in either mobilizing the mechanisms of the new model or subduing the resistance to it is visible in the informants' accounts describing the movement as an overwhelming restructuring. In this respect, the nature of the changes planned for Turkish higher education and the subsequent implementations indicate a paradigmatic shift (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Şimşek, 1994).

From an analytical standpoint, defining historical contexts in understanding how organizational structures have come to diffuse in a setting promises significant

implications for it enables the researcher to draw a holistic template to observe the evolutionary process of emergence (Jost, 2005). Consequently, a snap-shot visualization of an organization may be misleading in understanding the institutional reality of the organization in question. In the context of the present investigation, the CHE can be conceptualized as the outcome of an overnight decision-making, embodying a long-lasting incentive in state policies formulated ever since. The prior interventions in higher education, namely, the reform efforts before the foundation of the Republic, the reform introduced in 1933, and the initial attempt to establish a governing council over Turkish higher education in 1973, have all indicated the existence of an administrative intention to take higher education under control.

In fact, there is evidence in current literature that characterizes historical context as a distinct feature separating it from the viewpoint of the classical rationalist approach (Steinmo, 2001). Therefore, conceptualizing the emergence of the CHE as the outcome of a simple rational choice-making would underscore the delicacy of the closely interwoven network of relations it has created and become involved in. The evidence explaining the incentives in its establishment and the actors behind them as well as the way it was embedded within the whole system help better understand the way interactions have been shaped and the stakeholders have been identified, leading to a following endeavor in investigating the organizational field created (DiMaggio, 1988; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Scott & Meyer, 1991).

5.1.2. The Organizational Field of the Council of Higher Education

As regards the raison d'être of the CHE and its functions, the analyses reveal that the Council presides over a network of relations involving higher education institutions in Turkey and their links with similar institutions, agencies, organizations, and other forms of social entities both within and outside the country. By nature, the Council can be considered however, as an organization that monopolizes these relations by means of its centralized, bureaucratic, and hierarchical structure. The procedures and the regulations written with reference to the Constitution and Law 2547 are observed to be restricting the ability of the universities to act on their own by delegating the authority of speaking on behalf of higher education to the Council itself.

The current literature points to the role played by formal organizations in enabling the diffusion of structures and practices through an organizational setting (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Also, it is emphasized that rationalized institutional forms do have a standardizing effect upon multiple forms of practices (DiMaggio, 1991). Furthermore, organizational forms are claimed to gain legitimacy as they become more widely accepted and retained (DiMaggio, 1991; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Rowan, 1982). In the case of the CHE, however, legitimacy stands as a given (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), although the evidence implicates some speculations about how far the degree of acceptance reaches.

The CHE, as a high-level bureaucratic organization, is seen to have initiated a new template for the operation of higher education system in Turkey by defining and shaping its organizational field (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Currently, as a result of universal trends, higher education is seen to have captured the attention of economic, industrial, technological, and political circles, at times indicating boundary-crossing in interactions (Meyer et al., 2005). The research potential embedded in their workload and market-oriented incentives place universities at the core of intensive interaction with other agencies and organizations (Scott and Meyer, 1991). The fledgling concept of knowledge economy adds to the significance of universities in that they are established for producing knowledge and disseminating it (Gürüz, 2002). For this reason, business agencies, or even governments, are urging political action to facilitate the involvement of universities in such endeavors.

The location of the CHE in a multi-faceted, dynamic, and interactive organizational field, marked with the interplay of external and internal dynamics initiating innovations to be noticed by higher education institutions in general has a lot to say about the pressures the Council is being exposed to. International and domestic agencies, in this respect, have influenced Turkish higher education and triggered changes. The ideals presented with the reform, emphasizing democratic values, professional norms, progress in terms of science and technology, world standards, and the quest for reaching the level of the civilized world, have all been interpreted as the goals to be achieved. In other words, as was discussed within the remarks of Prof. Doğramacı, the acquisition of these ideals was implicated to be dependent on the best practices observed in Western models. Therefore, the emergence of the CHE, with its regulative and manipulative power, has ushered the

Turkish universities into a newly defined field of operation where they are exposed to the pressures and expectations imposed by influential organizations, sectors, and other related agencies (Zucker, 1991).

A quick glance at the interactions between Turkish higher education institutions and related sectors within the field can be useful in identifying the characteristics attained. Interactions with international contexts and agencies, political sector and the government, universities, and other local business groups and industrial sectors with their expectations and demands of higher education, the CHE is observed to be put on the pedestal that stands among over a hundred universities in Turkey within the network of relations constituting its organizational field.

The organizational description of the Council and references to its operational field offer clues for its institutional analysis. First of all, with its original coercive and authoritarian nature, the Council seems to be a unique example of governance model over higher education. This conclusion may lead to the need for contextual interpretations of the institutional theory and its relevant parameters (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). Also, the type of structures it is based on and its implementations are indicators of what to observe in understanding the normative pressures it is exposed to (Aypay, 2003; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b).

The existing literature pertaining to institutional theory, specifically the theory of new institutionalism, emphasizes the prevalence of the mimetic, coercive, and regulative pressures imposed on organizations by the influential sectors and agencies characterizing their organizational fields (Aypay, 2003; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b). During the investigation, it was found out that the CHE's attitude toward higher education institutions it was made to coordinate and control was rather coercive, regulative, and at times restrictive. On the other hand, it is pointed out that Council's counterparts in Western countries, as the models envisioned with the reform, act more professionally emphasizing academic achievement and excellence (Doğramacı, 2007). Second, the posture assumed by the CHE resembles that of, for example, the state. It would not be unreasonable to think that the CHE is more prone to imitate the subunits of the state such as, say, the Supreme Court or the Parliament, implicating clues for determining the interplay of isomorphic pressures.

In this respect, while the postulations that the need for clarification on existence of multiple institutional forms or eradication of uncertainties result in the

emergence of formal organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) holds true for the case of the CHE, the claim that organizational forms and practices are subject to field-based pressures seems to call for revision and reinterpretation. In other words, contextual features may offer other clues that account for isomorphism (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

The aspect of change as an indispensable component of organizational contexts, also, needs elaboration as regards the domain of the theory of new-institutionalism (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996). From the perspective of the new institutional theory, institutionalized structures and practices are shown to resist change-based manipulations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a); however, it would be doubtful to conceive of the survival of an organization irresponsive to the shifting demands and conditions within its organizational context.

The legitimacy and survival of institutional forms and practices are believed to reside on the degree of acceptance they accumulate (DiMaggio, 1991). It is contemplated by the researcher, on the other hand, that forms and practices manage to diffuse through their organizational settings as much as they are retained by the components of the field. In fact, it can be said that structures and practices are embedded in organizational settings in their interpreted forms, that is, the way they make sense in that particular context (Szabo & Sobon, 2003). Those that do not match are either redefined and reinterpreted or become void.

When institutionalization is taken to indicate the retention of certain structures and practices through acceptance, replication, and stabilization, the emergence of higher education governance as a coordinating, facilitating, and leading mechanism may validate a complete diffusion and legitimacy leading to institutionalization (Rowan, 1982). In this respect, structures and practices brought along with the CHE reform are prone to periodic evaluations and assessments. Consequently, the institutionalization resembles a dynamic process, not a static one, calling for redefinition and reproduction (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

For one thing, legitimacy is a given in the eyes of the Council (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Its legal status and its location within the state structure of the Republic of Turkey are legally mandated and are not prone to further speculations. This aspect is basically an indicator of the rationality the law and the structures of the Council were based; however, the way interactions are loomed and innovations

permeated into the system of higher education, its solid and unwavering structure will certainly cause the Council and the system of higher education it stands to govern drift apart (Pajak & Green, 2003).

When vertical and horizontal links with other sectors and agencies are concerned, it is thought that the Council is to reconsider its role and contributions to the system of higher education (Scott & Meyer, 1991). With the current universal state of higher education and its position in the social, political, economic, and scientific arenas calling for dynamism, competitiveness, and flexibility (Gürüz, 2002; Meyer et al., 2005), the Council will eventually be called upon to reevaluate its bureaucratic and centralized structures and practices.

The definitions for the isomorphic pressures stemming from within organizations' fields of operations, also, are deemed to offer meaningful implications for what should be expected to become of the CHE itself. Political incentives are witnessed to have yielded to the societal and peripheral demands concerning higher education (Brint & Karabel, 1989). The universality of the rationalized models prescribed cannot go unquestioned when they are applied in remote contexts, similarly, an adopted model needs adaptations to fit into local contexts. When inserted directly, new forms and implementations find redefinitions and reinterpretations in the hands of the influential local sectors, anyway (Erçek, 2004). Therefore, partial retention of structures, as indicated in the example of those of the CHE, can be an additional insight in the conceptualization of how structures and practices become loosely coupled in organizational contexts (Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Weick, 1976).

5.1.3. The Council of Higher Education as the Organizational Context

It is widely observed that the CHE has been criticized and blamed in many ways. Since the time it was established, the Council has been recognized as the odd-man-out, a grotesque figure, or the scapegoat. Prof. Doğramacı, the first president of the Council and perhaps the most influential figure in its history, has been subject to severe attacks. Prof. Doğramacı has been mocked, ridiculed, or even scornfully derided in the newspapers and magazines several times. However, the initial severity

of the reactions to the Council was reduced in time to mild protests and criticisms appearing now and then in the newspapers or expressed orally.

The negative aspects associated with the mental images used for describing the CHE are mostly based on the impact created with its emergence. Senior informants' recollections of somewhat oppressive practices in reshuffling and regulating higher education indicate a tacit resistance and annoyance demonstrated by the academia.

The use of authority, coercion, pressure, or submission to obedience can be the terms characterizing the CHE reform and its initial process of diffusion. Yet, the amendments made in 1992, particularly the redefinition of the procedures to be followed in appointing rectors, can be conceptualized as breaches created within the monolithic structure of the reform. Furthermore, the resignation of Doğramacı, whose name had almost become associated with the movement, perhaps helped with the diffusion of a way of thinking that the CHE was not at all invincible.

The vivid exemplars provided help illustrate at what stage of institutionalization the Council can be located. When metaphorical images of the Council are associated with its 'problematic' implementations, the emerging picture displays concrete organizational references that confirm its placement within its organizational field discussed earlier.

Looked at from the perspective of the old version of the institutional theory, the CHE sets a good example for institutionalization as its internal dynamics such as bureaucratic structure or centralized and hierarchical chain of communication can be found to suffice in accounting for its organizational existence (Selznick, 1996). Yet, the current level of understanding of organizations as institutional realities compel one to conceive of the interplay of the external dynamics as well in order to account for and validate if an organization has actually become institutionalized (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer & Scott, 1991; Rowan, 1982).

Organizational analysis has gone through several stages of perceptions that determine what an organization really is and how its processes can be conceptualized (Burrell & Morgan, 1988). The paradigmatic shifts in theorizing and subsequent implementations seem to influence the way structures are defined and organizations are formed. It is widely observed that today's principles of management favor placing as much importance on the constituents of a system as possible to achieve

better results, both in production and service sectors (Burrell & Morgan, 1988). Consequently, mechanical and fully structural approaches in management and administration are either abhorred or severely criticized for they only serve to minimize the efficiency of a system and reduce its outcomes (Bolman & Deal, 1991; Morgan, 1986).

On the other hand, collective determination in remaining organized and sustaining social existence in almost all sectors of order call for defining certain procedures and rules in order to guarantee secure governance. This claim can be associated with what is perceived as "myth and ceremonies" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 340) and the isomorphic pressures of "organizational fields" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, pp. 64-65).

In the case of the CHE, the findings revealed that there is a strong consensus on the necessity of an organizing and coordinating structure over Turkish higher education. This drives one to the conclusion that the existence of the Council is justifiable and thus legitimate. However, when efficiency of the system is concerned in view of the emerging field of operation and its pressures on the organization, the structures designed in accordance with the myths and the implementations geared up to match with what is understood of the ceremonies need reconsideration (Friedland & Alford, 1991).

The years following the reform are observed to have shaped the relations mostly steered in accordance with the CHE's incentives in regulating higher education. In other words, universities of the time had nothing but pursue the directives and requirements proposed by the CHE. In this respect, it is plausible to think that the emerging organizational field was, in a way shaped by the initiatives of the CHE and the key actors behind them, which calls for a reflection on the essential contributions of those influencing diffusion (Erçek, 2004).

Today, on the other hand, the nature of relations involving the CHE as a component within the field demonstrates a change in the roles acted. The mental image of the CHE, as was discussed earlier, describes it as an organization underacting its role. The Council's name is associated with redundancies incapacitating the Council in executing its original mission; that is, leading higher education. Yet, at times, the Council seems to be held exempt from the accusations related with the negative aspects of its structures.

On the other hand, the informants referred to the sophistication prevalent in the matters related with higher education. They mentioned the complicated nature of the influences on higher education and its institutions. They emphasized the inevitable interactions and the level of contingency observed through the universities and their vertical and horizontal links with other sectors within their organizational field (Scott & Meyer, 1991). The informants drew the picture of a Council incapable of following every issue, sometimes overwhelmed by the extent of the relations and losing its control and suffocate amidst trivial details. This raises the question of how farther the Council will manage to carry on with its current size and function or if it will continue to exist, a point which matches correctly with the image of an organization as a living organism that is born, lives, and dies (Morgan, 1986).

All the criticisms and objections put aside, the Council is justified for its endeavors in preserving higher education's commitment to Atatürk's principles, the pursuit of the norms of the civilized world, commitment to secularity and democracy, and obedience to the rule of law. The institutional explanation for this claim can be best put in reference to the initial formulation of a rationalization stressing sound ideals to hold on to and reminds of myths as rule-like procedures (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In other words, Atatürk and his principles are believed to act as an amalgam for keeping the nation together and, ultimately, pointing to the direction to follow.

The institutionalization process of the organization as a whole based on the extent to which its structures and practices have diffused through its organizational setting, it can be said that the CHE as a formal organization, does have an institutional impact on Turkish higher education (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), however, these institutional effects are shaped by contextual peculiarities and may be found to have resulted in diverse implementations.

The final component of the proposed frame for the analysis of organizations, the organizational setting itself, can be defined as the maturation stage of the whole investigation process. The prior stages, on the other hand, provide the template to match the organization at hand with, namely, the historical and organizational field contexts. The theoretical frame of the investigation, with its tripartite analytical steps is extracted from the plethora of approaches to defining organizational reality and serves as a tool for analyzing organizations through the perspective of the theory of new institutionalism.

5.1.4. Implications for Practice

The problem that keeps Turkey from making a move, in general, stems from its inability to cope with and accommodate change and innovation. One of Atatürk's principles, reformism, refers to the disposal of outdated and redundant structures and practices and replacing them with more functional and appropriate ones. However, Turkey's strong attachment to traditional values and rituals makes the setting rather impermeable for corrections to diffuse. Likewise, as discussed before, each corrective attempt in Turkey's recent history has been coercive in nature. In the same vein, in Turkish higher education's history, every major move in attempting to repair the system entailed coercive and regulative measures in order to ensure the reception of new forms and applications with no exception.

The values and principles on which the CHE and the relevant law were based are now partially retained and partially rejected to be reinterpreted and redefined. The influence of the agents and actors within the organizational field of higher education, within and outside Turkey indicate contingency upon existing forces which question the applicability of the coercively placed structures and practices. In Turkish higher education, it seems that the time has come to give credit to the demands of the system and consider them constructive. The basic drive in the establishment of the CHE was to reinforce the principles that supported higher education and protect them from distractions. However, today, the course of Turkish higher education appears to be in complete allegiance to the integrity of the Republic of Turkey. This understanding is widely accepted and stabilized. The extent to which the CHE movement can be said to have institutionalized can be illustrated with the apparent and adamant loyalty of the academicians, administrators, and the students to Kemalist principles of democracy and secularity. Yet, the restricting and intervening nature of the Council appears to be a mechanism that needs to be reinterpreted and re-devised. In other words, the Council is expected to lead Turkish higher education in a world of changes, not to emerge as an administrative board whose mere task is to maintain the status quo.

The current investigation delving deeply into the process through which structures and practices diffuse in an organizational setting, on the other hand, signals the discovery of some practical implications. In the context of the CHE, the implications can be classified as those pertaining to the Council per se and those

relating to Turkish higher education that the Council stands to govern. In fact, as stated earlier, the study of the CHE as the unit of analysis is thought to be in direct relationship with higher education for all forms existing in the Council and its relevant implementations are geared up for shaping, administering, and controlling universities and their relations with other sectors.

Having said that the emerging emphasis paid on the professional norms and international trends calling for a dynamic and competitive higher education setting characterize the newly defined organizational field for Turkish higher education, certain factors seem to be calling upon the CHE, as the organization of rationalization and institutionalization, for taking action. First of all, it is understood that the bureaucratic structure of the Council formed to overcome uncertainties characterizing the period before its establishment through rationalization is expected to be reconsidered and redefined for the current conditions.

Second, the initial image of the Council, perceived to be authoritative and regulative, seems to have given way to certain challenges and demands arising from within the field and calling upon the CHE to respond. Therefore, the Council is expected to adapt to its institutional context as well as play an active role in shaping it. Consequently, the Council needs to admit its emerging status in a competitive field of higher education demanding flexibility, dynamism, and professionalism.

Third, the authoritative and regulative image of the Council is prone to a shift in conceptualization and seems to have been replaced with the one depicting it as somewhat an ineffective organization. In other words, the Council's structures do not appear to match with the practical demands within the field. Consequently, its authority is sometimes bypassed, albeit covertly, in order to facilitate the course of actions and processions. This situation allows the practice of certain actions outside the jurisdiction of the Council. Therefore, the Council's structures and implementations should be reassessed to be recalibrated for a tight coupling with the practices within the field and to render the Council more effective.

As for Turkish higher education, on the other hand, it is concluded that a coordinative mechanism over universities is a necessity and an institutional need to facilitate a smooth operation in the field of higher education and it becomes even more so in view of the growing number of universities in Turkey. Coordination in

terms of professional management and administration emerges as a sine qua non characteristic of higher education as a vast field of operation.

The current state of affairs in Turkish higher education signals the existence of a set of interactions and relations that have become rather sophisticated due to the advances in communication technologies and the alliances established between institutions. In terms of coordination and control, though, this sophistication seems to be resulting in disorientation and haziness. In order to cope with these aspects, it is thought that a more competent and adaptive CHE is needed to get the best out of this potential in higher education.

The field of higher education becoming more competitive, the environment in which the CHE operates is observed to have placed heavier pressures upon it, whereby turning the Council into an organization that ceaselessly establishes itself as central to the cultural and traditional ideals of the Turkish society in general. In the face of the growing demands and criticisms directed toward it, the Council seeks ways to protect itself and its position by projecting counter arguments to the ones formulated by other sectors such as politicians, businessmen, and even universities. The Council's manifestations are perceived to be unparallel with its intrinsic functions and duties. In this respect, the Council is observed to be acting outside the range of higher education and is accused of negligence. Consequently, the Council is called upon to be more involved in educational and academic matters that are in universities' and other related agencies' best interests.

Finally, the Council is expected to make some rearrangements to counter the demands for more flexibility. The Inter-University Board, for example, is stated to be unduly crowded and thus impractical. As a result, the law formulated for the conditions of 1980s and earlier should be redefined and amendments be introduced in order to enable productivity. Also, the hierarchical and centralized structures of the Council should be reassessed by seeing if the initially compelling situations still remain. As an economic model based on liberalism was ushered in almost synchronically with the 1980 reform, economy, investment, technology as commodity, and entrepreneurship have become trendy in educational arena as well. Therefore, the type of leadership expected of the CHE calls for relationships between the CHE and the universities based on collaboration and mutual trust rather than a mechanism of coercive measures and discipline.

5.1.5. Theoretical Implications

The old version of the institutional theory, placing the individual organization in the center, considered organizations as a set of collective practices focusing on the groups forming the organization. The new version, on the other hand, takes a deeper and broader perspective in viewing organizations and their settings. The former limits its scope to organizational context in its unit of analysis whereas the latter perceives the study of organizations as a holistic endeavor and emphasizes a network of interrelations. Owing much to (open) systems theory and contingency theory in organizational analysis, the new version stresses the significance of the relationship between the organizations and their environments, namely, other organizations within and outside their domains, vertical and horizontal links, and the existing pressures influencing the way they operate.

Several authors with their seminal works demonstrate the intricacy of the relationships affecting organizations, mostly dwelling on a particular channel through which relations exhibit a clue that marks a visible pattern. The institutional theory perceives organizations either as a set of myths and rituals or taken-for-granted norms or entities operating within their organizational fields. Here, both cognitive/cultural aspects and field-based pressures emerge as influential factors shaping the way organizations are formed and act. The discussions based on the theory lead to diverse views in accounting for how and why organizations act the way they do. On the one hand, it is claimed that organizations are erected upon rational decisions for the purpose of reducing transaction costs, mostly favored in the field of economics, and eradicating uncertainties while, on the other, they are taken as institutionalized practices determined by pressures originating from their organizational fields.

The survival of organizations is based on the degree of their compliance with what counts as valid and acceptable within their field of operation or the environment within which they exist. Thus, it is argued that organizations are inclined to remain within determined sets of structures and practices in order to prove their legitimacy and survive. According to the current literature on the theory, depending on the incentives triggering their emergence, organizations are prone to activating mechanisms that drive them to enabling diffusion of structures and practices within them. Organizational structures and practices are either imposed through

authorization or inducement or assumed by the organizations through imitating others.

The lingering questions that puzzle the minds in this respect relate to why some structures and practices diffuse while others do not and how the concept of change can be addressed through the institutional perspective. This study, drawing on the knowledge gathered so far, attempts to tackle these questions by means of a two-step theoretical perspective; a continuum of institutional template and the process of diffusion. Based on the results, it is concluded that the cognitive/cultural aspects are significant in understanding the rationale behind the organizational structures and practices that are embedded while field-based pressures indicate the extent to which these structures and practices are retained. The picture of the institutional frame drawn on the organization's profile display the values and principles underlying its existence and the nature of the diffusing mechanism in view of the circumstances interpreted by the agents. Evidently, the organization in focus is based on some dynamics generating coercive measures, introducing strict regulations, and emphasizing a set of principles and values. The structures are observed to be imposed by law and the implementations are practiced parallel with the level of authorization delegated to the officials.

The further extension of the theoretical frame, on the other hand, indicates some interplay of factors resulting in resentment as regards a portion of the organizational structures ad practices and a failure in retaining them. The conclusions, drawn on the relationships among the findings and the relevant thematic coding, point to the agents' involvement in the process of retention. In other words, the extent to which certain structures and practices are retained and ultimately legitimized depends on how the field-based characteristics are interpreted and defined. Therefore, it is observed that the survival of some structures and practices assumed to be institutionalized may turn out to be a false judgment and the interplay of dynamics calling for modification. The nature of relations, the degree of flexibility, shifting norms and expectations, and the degree of tolerability determine how further the structures and practices can be sustained. At the same time, the extent to which certain organizational structures and practices have diffused determines the level of institutionalization.

It is understood that field-dependence is an indicator of the type of diffusion mechanism at work. In this context, mimetic behavior and norm-based demand for a regulative mechanism come up as the built-in characteristics of the organizational field. Thus, the predictable but unforeseen dynamics lead the organization to reconsider its own organizational dynamics and the way it perceives its function within its field of operation. Coercive measures in technically-endowed and norm-infused settings can face conflict, albeit tacitly, and give way to loose-coupling between the organization's original task and the actual course of actions.

Another contribution that can be made to the literature on institutional theory relates to the level of permeability displayed by the organization in allowing the structures and practices to diffuse. Enabling a radical change by overthrowing a traditional base and replacing it with a brand new model reminds of an overhauling in perceptions and understanding, briefly a shift in paradigm. The 1933 reform triggered by the decisive and determined initiatives of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk can be named as a revolutionary step taken to eradicate the traditional and mostly religion-based mindset dominating higher education and establishing a modern one with complete allegiance to positivist thinking. In fact, the action can be demonstrated as the embodiment of the long-lasting struggle for modernity which just had not been able to unfold itself. From the perspective of organizational analysis, triggering a sweeping change in organizational settings, tearing down the institutionalized structures and practices should not be an easy step to take.

On the one hand, the reforms brought about with the onset of 1980 movement can be classified as a move to bring back the ideals of the Republican Turkish university, which almost became a myth. On the other hand, the post-1980 era witnessed a spree of liberal thinking in economic sense. The rise of liberalism and its projections on social life and all its sectors found way to move to the top before the idealism that was planned to be instilled in the aftermath of 1980 intervention. At present, the apparent and ubiquitous uproar against the mood of the 1980 reform marks the coming of a new paradigm. Consequently, the issue of permeability comes to depend on the course of the mainstream of perceptions, whether noticed or not, and the structures and practices produced by rational thinking may not always be effectively implanted in the system.

Finally, from a macro perspective, social order appears to be an imminent outcome of the social process. The concept of man as a social being is perceived to be the core ingredient in the discussion of social life and in the process of producing, disseminating, and admission of the rules, norms, and templates for this social togetherness among sociologists such as Rousseau, Durkheim, Weber, or Parsons. It is frequently observed in the comments made by organizational theorists and sociologists alike that it is in the nature of human beings to stick together or to emphasize the need to lead a communal existence – a coexistence reminiscent of a *social gravity* (italics to emphasize) – as is conflict. In other words, forming social groups and becoming members in these groups is almost an inevitable characteristic of human rationale and a prerequisite for acquiring an identity and survival. It is perhaps this social feature that enables a human being to achieve a full satisfaction in his/her existence. It is again this aspect that renders being socialized (or the process of socialization) an indispensible component of becoming a human being as some sociolinguists argue.

The above-mentioned controversy – social gravity vs. conflict – is seen to have infused in almost all spheres of sociological accounts of social phenomena and this very controversy makes up the core of the disputes over whether to take the individual or the society in consideration before making decisions, passing judgments, making plans, and, finally, formulating theories for how to make individuals obey (as in more strict governance models such as monarchies) or appreciate (as in more modern and democratic forms) the conditions for living together. It is also conceived – and this conception is based on the literature cited here and numerous other sources not included in this context – that social life has always been subject to thrusts that stimulate people to maintain order or arouse conflict among them. A constant dynamic that characterizes societies, in general, is that some forces stimulating resistance or diversion and the existence of a reverse mechanism that pushes them back in to maintain order – hence the terms centrifugal and centripetal (see Figure 20). However, one way or another, human beings seem to be equipped with or preformatted for the ability of forming social groups.

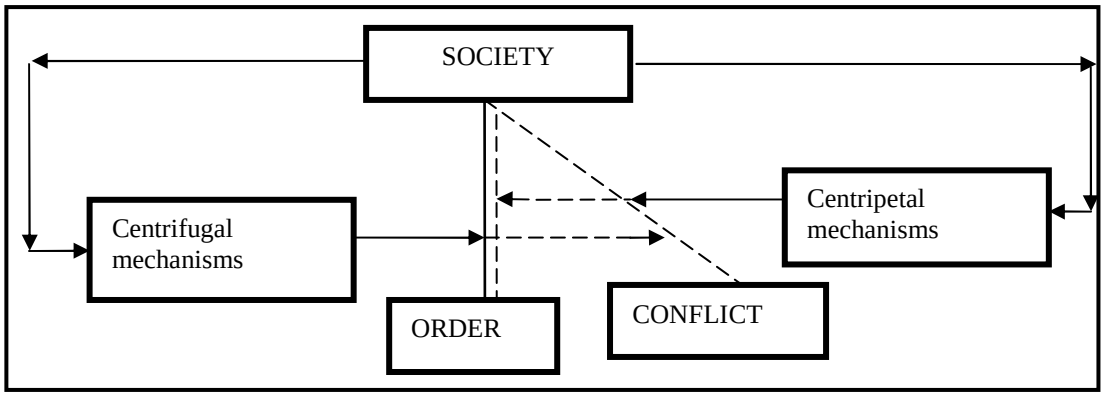

Figure 20. Centrifugal and centripetal mechanisms that characterize social groups

Institutionalism, in its more common sense, is a theory that speaks for the diffusion of organizational structures and practices. More precisely, it is all about diffusion – the process of providing an overall picture of how centrifugal and centripetal mechanisms function within organizational life as well as serving for the needs of managers and administrators in running their organizations in a harmonious way. Combined with the interactionist view, systems theory, contingency theory, organizational learning, and the like, the institutional theory attempts to capture the phenomenon as a whole in explaining how structures and practices diffuse through organizations.

5.1.6. Consolidation of the Theoretical Frame and Analytical Generalizations

The analysis of the findings based on the diffusion process representing the institutionalization of the structures brought along with the 1980 reform and its subsequent practices present a complete parallelism with the theoretical frame drawn on the institutional theory and its parameters.

From the metaphorical point of view (Morgan, 1986), as both extracted from the remarks of the informants and concluded from the analyses of the results, the CHE is observed to be a mechanical organization with its highly bureaucratic and hierarchical structure and centralized system of operation. In addition, the CHE is found to have inserted its own ideals and principles into the system by using mechanisms of mimetic pressures and inducing universities to achieve success by imitating best practices. In this respect, the model represented by METU, as one of

the pioneering universities established on Anglo-Saxon model and as the mythical image it earned through time, appears to be the main point of reference in enabling the diffusion of innovations. Also, by setting the standards to reach in public opinion and defining desirable higher education, the CHE emerges as a powerful organization having built its goals and procedures directly into higher education field as institutional rules (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Perhaps the most outstanding contribution of the CHE to higher education system in Turkey has been its initiatives taken in creating an organizational field of its own. The restoration of the order following the reform was a remarkable example for institutionalization due to the efforts made in formulating a rational form to eradicate uncertainties stemming from the existing multiple institutional forms. This view is in line with the postulation made in institutional theory:

> The impact of such rationalized institutional elements on organizations and organizing situations is enormous. These rules define new organizing situations, redefine existing ones, and specify the means for coping rationally with each (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 344).

Modernity, the long-lasting ideal to achieve, constitutes the basic drive in the reforms introduced before and after the Republican era in Turkey and is the basis of its manifestation as a nation-state. The formulation of a rationalized bureaucratic structure over a chaotic higher education system is, in fact, an indicator and an outcome of the modernization process of the Republic of Turkey. This view can also be positioned on relevant parameters of the theory for validation:

> … it becomes clear that modern societies are filled with rationalized bureaucracies for two reasons. First, as the prevailing theories have asserted, relational networks become increasingly complex as societies modernize. Second, modern societies are filled with institutional rules which function as myths depicting various formal structures as rational means to the attainment of desirable ends (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 345).

The organizational field of the CHE, as defined earlier, appears as both the outcome of the reform and the source of pressures on the Council. The strong legal status of the CHE and coercive effect of Law 2547 are thought to have prescribed a model for Turkish higher education based on its own national values and ideals, however, the existing norms and pressures at macro level push for integration with

international system. Therefore, the legitimacy of the CHE, apart from its legally legitimate status, is prone to evaluations exercised by field-based factors. The Council is inclined to replicate the structure of the state and vindicate the ways and ideals of the Republic, on the one hand, and, in a way, goes on to manifest them in other areas.

The imitative forces within the field that compel the organization urge a resemblance between organization in question and the environment it operates in – a process identified as isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, p. 66). The CHE, in this respect, is found to have been imitating the state. Furthermore, it reflects the rules and ideals institutionalized and legitimated by and within the state (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The authors further validate this view in the following remarks:

> Government recognition of key firms or organizations through the grant or contract process may give these organizations legitimacy and visibility and lead competing firms to copy aspects of their structure or operating procedures in hope of obtaining similar rewards (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, p. 72).

However, the political sector, as well as other sectors in the field, has come to interpret the existing ideals and beliefs on their own and taken initiatives to actualize them. Here, the discussion of whether the CHE should act as an extension of the state or of higher education seems to be directly linked with the legitimacy the Council is likely to have. In other words, whether the Council will mime the role of the Republican state or conform to the normative pressures imposed by the field will determine the course of legitimacy in the future.

Despite criticisms and objections, the CHE is likely to remain as the governing agency over higher education field in Turkey. The claim that the order has been restored and the Council has fulfilled its function and, therefore, it is no more needed would be groundless. For one thing, the nature of higher education in Turkey completely changed after the onset of reform-based innovations and a brand-new field has been identified. The CHE's role in this process is unquestionable and the current state of Turkish higher education, with its emphasis on professionalism and world standards, is the outcome of the era entered after the reform. A path has been identified and the CHE is an inseparable part of it.

The structures of the CHE reflect, at some point, the characteristics of the 1980 movement. However, it is evident that the current state of higher education

does not seem to allow an authoritative Council over it with its limiting and impeding function. Therefore, the structures of the Council that fulfill such functions are not retained by the field and are subject to modifications through redefinition of the existing conditions and reinterpretation of the principles underlying the Council.

A number of propositions are drawn by the researcher to further the discussions on diffusion and set a few lines to be pursued in following studies. The adoption of a model may not yield the planned results for local factors do play an important role in how the model is reinterpreted and embedded within the system. Therefore, diffusion comes to rest on and characterized by the way social norms and features are structured in an organizational setting. Consequently, the following two propositions are presented:

Proposition 1: Diffusion of structures and practices in highly institutionalized contexts depends on the way existing myths are interpreted.

Proposition 2: Structures and practices are retained based on the extent to which they comply with the norms in the environment.

The existing literature on diffusion in Turkish context points to the impact of the field-based factors on the process of diffusion (Özkara & Özcan, 2004). On the other hand, rather interestingly, Erçek (2004) has found evidence indicating that the network of actors interplay in influencing the way the adopted forms are redefined and reinterpreted before they diffuse. Likewise, departing from the peculiarities of the context in Turkey, Erçek postulates that the existing backstage factors may not enable homogeneity through isomorphic mechanisms. Thus, a similar view can be generated in the case of the CHE for the emerging field and the structures of the CHE constitute a loose coupling, resulting in diversion from standard procedures. The CHE seems to be less effective in enabling institutionalization than it used to when it was first established. As a consequence, the following propositions are suggested:

Proposition 3: In less institutionalized contexts, the degree of homogenization tends to decline due to the existence of convenient grounds for multiple forms, whereby impeding the diffusion of intended structures.

Proposition 4: In less institutionalized contexts, an efficient process of diffusion is subject to the degree of diversion within institutional forms.

Proposition 5: In less institutionalized contexts, coercive measures are subject to reinterpretations and may end up with diverse implementations, resulting in loose-coupling.

In conclusion, the suggested theoretical frame and the theory it is based on in this study is found to have meaningful implications in the context of the CHE and the process of diffusion in its organizational setting. The multitude of parameters to be considered in assessing the historical, field-based, and organizational templates upon which the organization under investigation is erected render the process of the analysis rather sophisticated, yet, the parameters can be re-conceptualized to match with the context.

5.1.7. Research Implications

The existing literature on institutional theory accounts for multiple forms of research studies. Quantitative and qualitative analyses have both been used, either in combination or separately, along with proper analytical instruments in understanding organizations and their behaviors. The methodological models observed in previous research studies or dissertations are devised to delve into a phenomenon within institutionalization process in order to come up with an explanation for it. In this respect, the unit and level of the analysis, as a distinct feature of the study, determine the scope of the study in seeking out the answers to the questions asked.

The questions that lead the way during the course of this study scan a wide range of issues with multiple dimensions in answering the question what it is that triggers the diffusion of structures and practices in an organizational setting. The particular context chosen for the study, the Council of Higher Education, represents high-level bureaucratic organizations in Turkish context, which have historical and field-based implications as well as organizational ones.

The theoretical frame drawn to implicate the roadmap to be followed in the study consists of multiple levels in the analysis of the diffusion process related with the Council. While the Council as the organization is being scrutinized for extracting clues for the answers, its historical base is investigated for an understanding of its cognitive and cultural backbone. Next, the interplay of the factors originating from the organizational field is deemed essential in comprehending what makes diffusion

attractive or unattractive. Finally, the organization, with special emphasis on how its structures are wound out, is taken under scrutiny to be able to account for what pillars it stands on and where it is heading. In the light of the findings gathered from the frame, the diffusion of structures and practices is pasted on a subsequent frame that displays the process of acquiring legitimacy.

The tripartite model for institutionalization and another one for the diffusion complement each other in understanding why and how diffusion takes place. In other words, it is suggested that the diffusion process is not a pattern-free one and that there are certain indicators to be able to predict if diffusion would be complete and legitimacy assured.

Also, though a cumbersome process, interviews with the key informants from within the system help yield the trends and views as well as deficiencies that may lead to the conceptualization of the system as a whole. The informant views and the findings from the document analysis within the same context have the study assume a documentary tone besides its scientific content. In addition, pulling information from different sources, focusing on a unique issue, confirms consistency and maintains continuity.

Rather than a compact and incident-based analysis of a particular issue, the study, with its multiple-level focus and inter-domain emphasis, promises to demonstrate a plan with a large scale. Anything closer would demand a shorter range with a smaller number of levels and a single unit with perhaps one domain. However, to resume the attempt, further analyses could involve interviews with individuals from other related cycles within the system – academicians, students, businesspeople, representatives from other offices of the state. Also, it should be noted that the replication of the same theoretical models within the same context at some other time may yield diverse results and different evaluations and insights.

This study is thought to be contributive to a fledgling trend in the field of organizational analysis – the use of the institutional theory as the conceptual frame. Although it is admitted that the previous studies in this line are noteworthy, they are rare and so many fields are still waiting for analyzing. The current study focuses on a formal organization that has had a remarkable impact on social life in Turkey, whereas there are many other organizations and organizational fields that are prone to misinterpretations stemming from misconceptions of institutionalization.

Rather than importing western norms or practices directly, without questioning their applicability in Turkish contexts, the models presented here can be extended to reach several other contexts in order to see if novel forms can indeed find convenient grounds. The model can be used to formulate appropriate solutions to problems related with institutional aspects or, at least, utilized to trigger adaptive measures to make novelties compatible. Themes like leadership, management, total quality management, or other western trends need interpretations and considerations that take local structures and conditions into account before they are directly embedded in organizational fields in Turkey.

Finally, the course of Turkish higher education has been subject to serious speculations due to the recent developments at high levels – the shift at presidency and executive board. On the other hand, the current political incentives meaning to make amendments in the Constitution and redefine the structure of the CHE and its implementations may reshuffle the dynamics within the context. However, the implications drawn through this study will surely be tested in the years to come.

REFERENCES

Akyüz, Y. (2001). *Türk eğitim tarihi: Başlangıçtan 2001'e*. İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayım Dağıtım.

Alışkan, M. (2006). *En son değişiklikleriyle yürürlükteki yükseköğretim mevzuatı (7nci Baskı)*. İstanbul: Yaylım Yayıncılık.

Aypay, A. (2001). Örgütsel analizde teorik gelişmeler: Yeni kurumsalcılık. *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Yönetimi*, *28*, 501-511.

Aypay, A. (2003). The relationship between state and higher education: The case of Mulkiye College in Turkey. *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies, 8*(2), 109-135.

Aypay, A., Işık, H. & Şahin, Ç. (2003). Structural change and institutionalization in education: Faculty members' views from a faculty of education. *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri*, *3*(2), 316-321.

Aypay, A. & Kalaycı, S. (2007). Assessing institutionalization educational reforms. *International Journal of Educational Development*, doi:10.1016/j.ijedudev.2007.12.004

Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *52*, 1-26.

Barley, S.R. Meyer, G.W., & Gash, D.C. (1988). Cultures of culture: Academics, practitioners and the pragmatics of normative control. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *33*, 24-60.

Barnard, C. (1948). *Organization and management*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bashir, S. (2007). *International trade in higher education: Implications and options for developing countries*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

Baskan, G.A. (1985). *12 Eylül 1980 öncesi dönemde yükseköğretimde sorunlar, bu tarihten sonra alınan önlemler, ilk sonuçlar*. Unpublished master's thesis. YÖK, Ankara.

Başgöz, İ. & Wilson, H.E. (1968). *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde eğitim ve Atatürk*. Ankara: Dost Yayınları.

Baydur, M. (2004). *Kemalizm ve değişen paradigma*. İstanbul: İlk Yayınları.

Benveniste, G. (1989). The micro-politics of the school: Towards a theory of school organization (Review). *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *2*, 326-328.

Birand, M.A. (1984). *12 Eylül Saat: 04.00*. Karacan Yayınları.

Bodur, M. & Kabasakal, H. (2002). Türkiye – Arap kümesinde kurumsal kültür: Globe araştırması". *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *1*(2), 5-22.

Bogdan, R.C. & Biklen, A.K. (1998). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Needham Hights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Bolman, L. G. & Deal, T.E. (1991). *Reframing organizations: artistry, choice, and leadership*. San Francisco, USA.

Boschken H.L. (1998). Institutionalism: Intergovernmental exchange, administration-centered behavior, and policy outcomes in urban agencies. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *8*(4), 585-614.

Boydak, A. (1993). *Kamu kuruluşlarında halkla ilişkiler ve YÖK*. Unpublished master's thesis. YÖK, Ankara.

Brint, S. & Karabel, J. (1989). *The diverted dream: Community colleges and the promise of educational opportunity in America, 1900-1985*. U.S.A.: Oxford University Press.

Brockner, J. (2000). Culture and procedural fairness: When the effects of what you do depend on how you do it. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *73*, 767-780.

Broom, L. & Selznick, P. (1955). *Sociology: A text with adapted readings*. New York: Row, Peterson.

Burrell G. & Morgan, G. (1988). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis: Elements of the sociology of corporate life*. New Hampshire: Heinemann.

Cahoone, L.E. (1996). *From modernism to postmodernism: An anthology*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Cameron, K.S. & Freeman, S.J. (1991). Cultural congruence, strength, and type: relationships to effectiveness. *Research in Organizational Change and Development*, *5*, 23-58.

Capra, F. (1996). *The web of life*. New York: Anchor Books

Cavazos, D. (2005). *Organizations and the state: An interactive view*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Retrieved November 12, 2006, from: etd.lib.ttu.edu/theses/available/etd-1119200561649/unrestricted/Cavazos_ David_Diss.pdf

Charle, C. & Verger, J. (2005). *Üniversitelerin tarihi* (Çev. İsmail Yerguz). Ankara: Dost İTB Baskı. (Original work Published in 1994).

Cohen, M. D, March, J.G., & Olsen, J.P. (1972). A garbage can model of organizational choice. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *17*(1), 1-25.

Covaleski, M.A. & Dirsmith, M.W. (1988). An institutional perspective on the rise, social transformation, and fall of a university budget category. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *33*, 562-587.

Covalskie, J.F. (1994). The educational system and resistance to reform: The limits of policy. *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*: *A peer-reviewed scholarly electronic journal*. *2*(4). Retrieved May 12, 2006 from EPAA@asu.edu.

Creswell, J.W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Dowling, J.M. & Fang, Y. C. (2006). Homeostasis and well being, Working Papers 09-2006, Singapore Management University, School of Economics. Retrieved May 03, 2007 from http://ideas.repec.org/p/siu/wpaper/09-2006.html

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y. (1994). *The handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dilligil, T. (1983). *27 Mayıs'tan 12 Eylül'e: Adaletten mektuplar*. Ankara: Adalet Yayınları.

DiMaggio, P.J. (1988). Interest and agency in institutional theory. In L.E. Zucker (Ed.), *Institutional patterns and organizations: Culture and environment* (pp. 4-21), Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company.

DiMaggio, P.J. (1991). Constructing an organizational field as a professional project: U.S. art museums, 1920-1940. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 267-292), U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

DiMaggio, P.J. & Powell, W.W. (Eds.). (1991a). *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*. The University of Chicago Press.

DiMaggio, P.J. & Powell, W.W. (1991b). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 63-82), U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

Doğramacı, A.İ. (2007). *Türkiye'de ve dünyada yükseköğretim yönetimi*. Retrieved February 12, 2008, from http://www.dogramaci.org

DPT (2000). *Sekizinci beş yıllık kalkınma planı yükseköğretim özel ihtisas komisyonu raporu*. Ankara: DPT Yayınları.

DPT (2000). *Uzun vadeli strateji ve sekizinci beş yıllık kalkınma planı 2001 – 2005.* Ankara: DPT Yayınları.

DPT (2007). *Dokuzuncu kalkınma planı (2007-2013) 2007 yılı programı*., Ankara: DPT Yayınları.

Drori, G.S., Jang, Y.S., & Meyer, J.W. (2004). Sources of rationalized governance: Cross-national longitudinal analyses, 1985-2002. Working Paper. Retrieved November 4, 2006 from http://cddrl.stanford.edu.

Dugger, W.M. (1990), The new institutionalism: New but not institutionalist. *Journal of Economic Issues*, *24*, 423-431.

Duran, L. (2003). Türkiye'de bağımsız idari otoriteler. In B. Aykaç, Ş. Durgun & H. Yayman (Eds.) *Türkiye'de kamu yönetimi*, (pp. 487-495), Ankara: Yargı Yayınevi.

Eckel, P.D., & King, J.E. (2006). National perspectives: United States. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.) *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 1035-1055), Netherlands: Springer.

Eliasoph, N. & Lichterman, P. (2003). Culture in interaction. *American Journal of Sociology*, *108*(4), 735-794.

Enders, J. (2006). The academic profession. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.) *International handbook of higher education*, (pp. 5-21), Netherlands: Springer.

Erbaba, İ. (1999). *İnönü dönemi öğrenci olayları (1938-1950)*. Unpublished master's thesis. YÖK, Ankara.

Erçek, M. (2004). Çeviri, aktör ağları ve eksik/öncül kurumsallaşma: Türkiye'deki mesleki personel/insan kaynakları söyleminin yeniden kurgulanması, 1960-1999. *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *4*(2), 129-195.

Erdem, A. R. (2003). Üniversite kültüründe önemli bir unsur: Değerler. *Değerler Eğitimi Dergisi*, *1*(4), 55-72.

Erden, Z. (2006). *Histories, institutional regimes and educational organizations: The case of Turkish higher education*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Sabancı University, İstanbul.

Eryılmaz, M.(2004). Stratejik seçim ve kurumsalcı bakış açılarının birlikteliği üzerine eğitim sektöründe bir araştırma. *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *4*(1), 25-48.

Fish, S. (1989). *Doing what comes naturally*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Fisher, R. (1964). Fractionating conflict. In R. Fisher (Ed.), *International conflict and behavioral science*, New York: The Craigville Papers.

Fişek, K. (1976). *Toplumsal yapıyla ilişkileri açısından Türkiye'de mülki idare amirliği*. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası A.Ş.

Fişek, K. (2003). Türkiye'de mülki idare amirliği. In B. Aykaç, Ş. Durgun & H. Yayman (Eds.) *Türkiye'de kamu yönetimi*, (pp. 145-150), Ankara: Yargı Yayınevi.

Fraenkel, J.R., & Wallen, N.E. (2003). *How to design and evaluate research in education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Frankenberger, S. (2006). *Managing regulatory involvement on corporate strategy and structure*. Unpublished Dissertation. Retreived November 24, 2006, from http://www.unisg.ch/www/edis.nsf/wwwDisplayIdentifier/3157/$FILE/dis3157.pdf

Friedland, R. & Alford, R.R. (1991). Bringing society back in: Symbol, practices, and institutional contradictions. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The New institutionalism in organizational analysis*, (pp. 232-263). U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

Funder, D.C. (2001). Personality. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52*(1), 197-221.

Galaskiewicz, J. (1991). Making corporate actors accountable: Institution-building in Minneapolis-St. Paul. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 93-310), U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

Galaskiewicz, J. (2004). Institutional isomorphism and public sector organizations. Retreived May 12, 2005 from http://www.highbeam.com/library/doc1.asp

Gates, G.S. (1997). Isomorphism, homogeneity, and rationalism in university retrenchment. *The Review of Higher Education, 20*(3), 253-275.

Gelfand, M.J., Triandis, H.C., & Chan, D.K.-S. (1996). Individualism versus collectivism or versus authoritarianism. *European Journal of Psychology, 26,* 397-410.

Georgiadis, N.M. (2005). Trends in state education policy in Greece: 1976 to the 1997 reform, *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *13*(9). Retrieved June 02, 2006 from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v13n9/.

Geyer, R. (2000). *Exploring European social policy,* U.K.: Cambridge.

Gillman, H. (2004). Martin Shapiro and the movement from "old" to "new" institutionalist studies in public law scholarship. *Annual Review of Political Science. 7*, 363–382.

Gioia, D.A., Thomas, J.B., & Clark, S.M. et al. (1994). Symbolism and strategic change in academia: The dynamics of sensemaking and influence. *Organization Science, 5*(3), 363-383.

Gire, J. & Carment, D.W. (1993). Dealing with disputes: The influence of individualism – collectivism. *Journal of Social Psychology, 133*(1), 81-96.

Gooderham, P. N., Nordhaug, O. & Ringdal, K. (1999). Institutional and rational determinants of organizational practices: Human resource management in European firms. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 44*(4), 507–531.

Goodman, R. & Jinks, D. (2003). Toward an institutional theory of sovereignty. *Stanford Law Review, 55,* 1749-1788.

Gopalan, S. (2003). Do organizational cultures replicate national cultures? Isomorphism, rejection and reciprocal opposition in the corporate values of three countries. *Organization Studies*. Retrieved March 24, 2006 from http://www.highbeam.com/library/doc1.asp

Gorges, M.J. (2001). The new institutionalism and the study of the European Union: The case of the social dialogue. *West European Politics, 24*(4), 152-168.

Gökçe, F. (2005) *Değişme sürecinde devlet ve eğitim*. Ankara: Tekağaç Kitap Basım, Yayım ve Dağıtım, Ltd.

Greenwood, R. & Hinings, C.R. (1996). Understanding radical organizational change: Bringing together the old and new institutionalism. *The Academy of Management Review*, *21*(4), 1022-1054.

Güçlü, A. (2004, October 6). Rektör Bakan'ı Sezer'e şikayet etti. *Milliyet*, 18.

Güler, A. (2004). *Türk eğitim politikalarının tarihsel süreci*. Ankara: Yeryüzü Yayınevi.

Gürüz, K. (2001). *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de yükseköğretim: Tarihçe ve bugünkü sevk ve idare sistemleri*. ÖSYM: Cem Ofset.

Gürüz, K. & Pak, N.K. (2002). Globalization, knowledge economy and higher education and national innovation systems: The Turkish case. Speech prepared for presentation at Education; Lifelong Learning and the Knowledge Economy, Stuttgart, October 9-10.

Hall, P.A., & Taylor, C.R. (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, *44*(4), 342-356.

Harman, G. (2006). Research and scholarship. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.), *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 309-329). Netherlands: Springer.

Harman, K. M. (1989). Culture and conflict in academic organization: Symbolic aspects of university worlds. *Journal of Educational Administration*, *27*(3), 31-55.

Hayes, M.T. (2001). *The limits of policy change: Incrementalism, worldview and the rule of law*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Heper, M. (2003). Osmanlı – Türk Devleti'nde bürokrasinin siyasal rolü: Kamu yönetimi açısından. In Aykaç, Ş. Durgun & H. Yayman (Eds.) *Türkiye'de Kamu Yönetimi* (pp. 109-120), Ankara: Yargı Yayınevi.

Hofstede, G. (2005). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind (Third Millennium Edition).* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Hoy, W. K., & Miskel, C. G. (2005). *Educational administration: Theory, research, and practice* (*7th ed*.) New York: McGraw-Hill.

Huisman, J. (2006). An ecology of higher education: Changing climates, changing organizations? Keynote address to the annual conference on higher education, Oslo, Norway, January 17.

İnal, K. (2004). *Eğitim ve iktidar - Türkiye'de ders kitaplarında demokratik ve milliyetçi değerler*. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi.

Jehn, K.A. (1995). A multimethod examination of benefits and detriments of intragroup conflict. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 40*(2), 256-283.

Jepperson, R.L. (1991). Institutions, institutional effects, and institutionalism. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 143-163). U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

Jepperson, R.L., & Meyer, J.W. (1991) The public order and the construction of formal organizations. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 204-231), U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

Jost, J. (2005). Formal aspects of the emergence of the organizations. Retrieved March 11, 2007, from http://www.mis.mpg.de/jjost/interests/inst-slov05-03-20.pdf

Kalaycıoğlu, E. & Sarıbay, A.Y. (1986). *Türk siyasal hayatının gelişimi*. İstanbul: Beta Yayım Dağıtım.

Katz, D. & Kahn, R. (1966). *The social psychology of organizations*, New York: Wiley.

Kaynar, M. & Parlak, İ. (2005). *Her 'il'e bir üniversite: Türkiye'de yükseköğretim sisteminin çöküşü*. Ankara: Paragraf Yayınevi.

Kehn, B. (2006). National perspectives: Germany. In Forest, J.J.F., & P.G. Altbach (Eds.), *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 729-747), Netherlands: Springer.

Kılınç, R. (2006). International norms and domestic institutional change: The impact of the European Union on changes in Church-State relations. Retrieved April 8, 2006 from http://www.princeton.edu/~gradconf/index_files/ piirsgradconfwebsite_files/papers/R_Kilinc.pdf

Kim, K.S. (2005). Globalization, statist political economy, and unsuccessful education reform in South Korea, 1993-2003. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*. Retrieved April 23, 2005 from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v13n12

Kimberly, J.R. (1975). Environmental constraints and organizational structure: A comparative analysis of rehabilitation organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *20*, 1-9.

Knight, J. (2006). Internationalization: Concepts, complexities and challenges. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.), *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 207-229), Netherlands: Springer.

Kongar, E. (2003). Toplumsal yapı – örgütsel yapı ilişkileri üzerine bir deneme. In B. Aykaç, Ş. Durgun & H. Yayman (Eds.) *Türkiye'de kamu yönetimi* (pp. 97-108), Ankara: Yargı Yayınevi.

Kongar, E. (2006). *21. Yüzyılda Türkiye: 2000'li yıllarda Türkiye'nin toplumsal yapısı*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.

Köni, H. (2001). *Genel sistem kuramı ve uluslararası siyasetteki yeri*. Ankara: Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi Yayınevi.

Lawrence, P.R., & Lorsch, J.W. (1976). *Organization and environment*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

Leblebici, H., Salancik, G.R., Copay, A. & King, T. (1991). Institutional change and the transformation of interorganizational fields: An organizational history of the U.S. radio broadcasting industry. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 36,* 333-363.

Levy, D.C. (2006). The private fit in the higher education landscape. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.) *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 281-293), Netherlands: Springer.

Levy, D.C. (2006). The private fit to higher education tendencies. PROPHE Working Paper Series. Retrieved October 24, 2007 from http://www.albany.edu/dept/eaps/prophe

Lewis, B. (2002). *The emergence of modern Turkey (3rd ed.)*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Lindblom, C.E. (1959). The science of muddling through. *Public Administrative Review*, *19*, 79-99.

Littrell, J. & Foster, W. (1994). The myth of a knowledge base in educational administration. In R. Donmoyer, J. Scheurich & M. Imber (Eds.), *The knowledge base in educational administration: Multiple perspectives* (pp. 32-47). New York: The State University of New York Press.

Luckman, T. & Berger, P. (1967). *The social construction of reality*. New York: Anchor Press Doubleday.

Lunenburg, F.C., & Ornstein, A.C. (1996). *Educational administration: Concepts and practices*. California: Wordsworth Publishing Company.

Luque, S. (2000). The impact of culture on feedback-seeking behavior: An integrated model and propositions. *Academy of Management Review*. Retrieved February 12, 2001from http://www.findarticles.com/

Mango, A. (2006). Türkiye'nin terörle savaşı (Çev. Orhan Azzizoğlu). İstanbul: Doğan Kitap Yayınevi. (Original work published in 2005).

March, J.G., & Olsen, J.P. (1976). *Ambiguity and choice in organizations*. Bergen, Norway: Universitetsfortlaget.

March, J.G., & Olsen, J.P. (1984). The new institutionalism: organizational factors in political life. *American Political Science Review*, *78*, 734-749.

March, J.G., & Olsen, J.P. (2005). Elaborating the new institutionalism. Working Paper. Retrieved May 23, 2006 from http://www.arena.uio.no

Mardin, Ş. (2005). *Türk modernleşmesi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G.B. (1999). *Designing qualitative research (3rd ed.)*, United Kingdom: Sage Publications.

Mavi, B. (2008). İMKB'de eğitim 25 endeksi olur mu? *Turkishtime, 69,* 66-71.

McNeely, C.L., & Cha, Y-K. (1994). Worldwide educational convergence: Through international organizations: Avenues for research. *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*: A peer-reviewed scholarly electronic journal. *2*(14). Retrieved May 12, 2006 from EPAA@asu.edu.

Meyer, J.W. (1977). The effects of education as an institution. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*, 53-77.

Meyer, J.W. (1986). Social environments and organizational accounting. *Accounting Organizations and Society*, *11*(4), 345-356.

Meyer, J.W., & Rowan, B. (1978). The structure of educational organizations. In M.W. Meyer (Ed.). *Organizations and Environments* (pp. 78-109). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Meyer, J.W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutional organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*, 340-363.

Meyer, J.W., Scott, W.R., Strang, D. & Creighton, A.L. (1988). Bureaucratization without centralization: Changes in the organizational system of U.S. public education, 1940-80. In L.E. Zucker, (Ed.), *Institutional patterns and organizations: Culture and environment,* (pp. 139-167). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company.

Meyer, J.W., Ramirez, F., Frank, D.J., & Schofer, E. (2006). Higher education as an institution. Retrieved May 12, 2006 from http://cddrl.stanford.edu.

Mızıkacı, F. (2006). *Higher education in Turkey*. Bucharest: UNESCO.

Mitchell, D. E. (1996). Institutional theory and the social structure of education. In R. Crowson, W.L. Boyd & H.B. Mawhinney (Eds.). *The politics of education and the new institutionalism: Reinventing the American school* (pp. 167-189). Washington D.C.: The Falmer Press.

Mitchell, T.R. (1997). Border crossing: Organizational boundaries and challenges to the American professoriate. *Daedalus, 126*(4), 265-291.

Molm, L. (1994). Is punishment effective? Coercive strategies in social exchange. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 57*(2), 75-94.

Moorman, R.H., & Blakely, G.L. (1995). Individualism – collectivism as an individual difference predictor of organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 16*, 127-142.

Morgan, G. (1986). Images of organization. California: Sage Publications.

Morphew, C.C., & Huisman, J. (2002). Using institutional theory to reframe research on academic drift. *Higher Education in Europe*, *17*(4), 492-506.

Musselin, C. (2006). European academic labour markets in transition. *Higher Education, 49*, 185-213.

North, D. (1986). The new institutional economics. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics, 142*, 230-237.

Oakes, L.S., Townley, B. & Cooper, D.J. (1998). Business planning as pedagogy: Language and control in a changing institutional field. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 43*, 257-292.

OECD (2006). *Higher education: Quality, equity and efficiency. Background report form Meeting of OECD Education Ministers*, 27-28 June 2006, Athens.

Osborn, R.N., & Hagedoorn, J. (1997). The institutionalization and evolutionary dynamics of interorganizational alliances and networks. *Academy of Management Journal*, *40*(2), 261-278.

Özbudun, S. (1997). *Ayinden törene: Siyaysal iktidarın kurulma ve kurumsallaşma sürecinde törenlerin işlevleri*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi.

Özbudun, S. & Demirer, T. (2006). *Eğitim, üniversite, YÖK ve aydınlar*. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınları.

Özen, Ş. (2004). Örgütsel analizde Türkiye kaynaklı kurumsal kuram çalışmaları. *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *4*(2), 89-100.

Özkara, B. & Kurt, M. (2004). Bir kurumsal değişim önerisi olarak kamu yönetimi reformlarına yönetim bilgisinin nüfuzu: Kamu yönetimi temel kanun tasarısı örneği. *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *4*(1), 49-77.

Özkara, B. & Özcan, K. (2004). Bir kurumsal alanın doğuşu ve evrimi: Türkiye'de muhasebenin meslekleşme süreci. *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *4*(2), 197-230.

Pajak, E. & Green, A. (2003). Loosely coupled organizations and social reproduction. *Institutional journal of leadership in education*, *6*(4), 393-413.

Parlar, S. (2005). *Silahlı bürokrasinin ekonomi politikası*. İstanbul: Can Matbaacılık.

Patton, M.Q. (2001). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods (3rd ed.)*, U.S.A.: Sage Publications.

Peirano, M.G.S. (2000). *The anthropological analysis of rituals*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University Brasilia, Brazil.

Pepitone, A. (2000). A social psychology perspective on the study of culture. *Cross-Cultural Research*, *34*(3), 233-250.

Pepitone, A. & L'Armand, K. (1997). Justice in cultural context: A social-psychological perspective. *Cross-Cultural Research*, *31*(2), 83-101.

Peukert, H. (2001). On the origins of modern evolutionary economics. *Journal of Economic Issue, 35*, 543-555.

Reed, M.I. (1992). *The sociology of organizations: Themes, perspectives and prospects*. Great Britain: Biddles Ltd.

Robbins, S.P. (1989). *Organizational behavior (4th ed.): Concepts, controversies, and applications*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Rowan, B. (1982). Organizational structure and the institutional environment: The case of public schools. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *27*, 259-279.

Rowan, B. (1991). School organizations by design. In S.B. Bacharach & B. Mundell, (Eds.). *Images of schools: Structures and roles in organizational behavior (pp. 11-43)*. California: Corwin Press Inc..

Rubinstein, A. (1998). *Modeling bounded rationality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Saitis, C.A. (1988). The relationship between the state and the university in Greece. *European Journal of Education, 23*(3), 249-260.

Schermerhorn, J., Hunt, J.G., & Osborn, R.N. (1997). *Organizational behavior (6th ed.)*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Schofer, E. & Meyer, J.W. (2005). World-wide expansion of higher education. Retrieved November 6, 2005 from http://cddrl.stanford.edu.

Scott, P.(2006). Regional perspectives: Higher education in Central and Eastern Europe. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.), *International handbook of higher education*, (pp. 423-443). Netherlands: Springer.

Scott, W.R. (1987). Adolescence of institutional theory. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *32*, 493-511.

Scott, W.R., & Meyer, J.W. (1991). The organization of societal sectors. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 109-140). U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

Scott, W.R. (2004). Institutional theory: Contributing to a theoretical research program. In K.G. Smith & M.A. Hitt (Eds.), *Great minds in management: The process of theory development*, UK: Oxford University Press.

Selznick, P. (1949). *TVA and the grass roots*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Selznick, P. (1957). *Leadership in administration*. Evanston, III.: Row, Peterson.

Selznick, P. (1996). Institutionalism 'old' and 'new'. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 41*(2), 270-277.

Sewell, W.H. (1992). Theory of structure; duality, agency, and transformation. *American Journal of Sociology, 98*(1), 1-29.

Shattock, M. (2006). National perspectives: United Kingdom. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.), *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 1019-1035). Netherlands: Springer.

Siegel, P.H., Blank, M. & Rigsby, J. (1998). Organizational and professional socialization: Institutional isomorphism in an accounting context. *The Mid-Atlantic Journal of Business, 33*(1), 49-68.

Simmard C. & Rice, R.E. (2001). *The practice gap: Barriers to the diffusion of best practices*. Retrieved February 20, 2005, from http://www.odl.rutgers.edu/resources/pdf/diffusion.pdf

Simon, H. (1945). *Administrative behavior*. New York: Free Press.

Singh, J.V., Tucker, D.J., & House, R.J. (1986). Organizational legitimacy and the liability of newness. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 31*, 171-193.

Somuncuoğlu, Y. (2003). *An analysis of change in pre-service teacher education in Turkey by using chaos theory*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

So, A.Y. (1990). *Social change and development: Modernization, dependency, and world-system theories*. U.S.A.: Sage Publications.

Stein, J. (1997). How institutions learn. *Journal of Economic Issues, 31*(3), 729-740.

Stensaker, B. & Harvey, L. (2006) Old wine in new bottle? A comparison of public and private accreditation schemes in higher education. *Higher Education Policy, 19*(1), 65-85.

Steinmo, S. (2001). The new institutionalism. In B. Clark & J. Foweraker (Eds.). *The encyclopedia of democratic thought* (pp. 323-341). London: Routlege.

Stinchcombe, A. (1965). Social structure and organizations. In J.G. March (Ed.), *Handbook of organizations* (pp. 142-193). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Stinchcombe, A. (1997). On the virtues of the old institutionalism. *Annual Review of Sociology, 23*, 1-18.

Stull, D.D., Maynard-Moody, S. & Mitchell, J. (1988). The ritual of reorganization in a public bureaucracy. *Qualitative Sociology, 11*(3), 215-233.

Szabo, M. & Sobon, S.A. (2003). A case study of institutional reform based on innovation diffusion theory through instructional technology. *Canadian Journal of Learning and Technology*. *29*(2) Spring. Retrieved February 12, 2006 from http://www.cjlt.ca/content/vol29.2/cjlt29-2_art-3.html.

Şimşek, H. (1992). *Organizational change as a paradigm shift analysis of organizational change process in a large public university by using a paradigm-based change model*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Minnesota, U.S.A..

Şimşek, H. (1997). *21. yüzyılın eşiğinde paradigmalar savaşı: Kaostaki Türkiye*. İstanbul: Sistem Yayıncılık.

Şimşek, H. (2006). National perspectives: Turkey. In J.J.F. Forest & P.G. Altbach (Eds.), *International handbook of higher education* (pp. 1003-1019), Netherlands: Springer.

Şimşek, Ş. (2006). *Kırmızı çizgi YÖK*. Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım.

Şimşek, H. & Yıldırım, A. (2001). The reform of pre-service teacher education in Turkey. In R.G. Sultana (Ed.) *Challenge and change in the Euro-Mediterranean region: Case studies in educational innovation*. New York: Peter Lang Inc.

Teichler, U. (2006). Changing structures of the higher education systems: The increasing complexity of underlying forces. *Higher Education Policy, 19,* 447-461.

Terzioğlu, T. (2003). Sunuş. In O.N. Babüroğlu (Ed.) *Eğitimin geleceği: Üniversitelerin ve eğitimin değişen paradigması* (pp. 1-10), İstanbul: Pelin Ofset.

Tetlock, P.E. (2000). Cognitive biases and organizational correctives: Do both disease and cure depend on the politics of the beholder? *Administrative Science Quarterly, 45*(2), 293-327.

Tolbert, P.S. (1985). Institutional environments and resource dependence: Sources of administrative structure in institutions of higher education. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 30,* 1-13.

Tolbert, P.S., & Zucker, L.G. (1983). Institutional sources of change in the formal structure of organizations: The diffusion of civil service reform, 1880-1935. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 28,* 22-39.

Tosun, G. E. (2001). *Demokratikleşme perspektifinden devlet – sivil toplum ilişkisi*. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları.

Triandis, H.C. (1993). Collectivism and individualism as cultural syndromes. *Cross-Cultural Research, 27*(3), 155-181.

Trondal, J. (2002). The Europeanisation of research and higher educational policies – some reflections. *European Integration Online Papers, 6*(12). Retrieved April 16, 2006 from http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2002-012a.htm

Tunç, R. (2001). *Türkiye`de yükseköğretim - Bilgi ekonomisi perspektifinden*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, YÖK, Ankara.

TÜSİAD (1994). *Türkiye'de ve dünyada yükseköğretim, bilim ve teknoloji*. İstanbul: TÜSİAD Yayınları.

TÜSİAD (2000). *Yükseköğretimin finansmanı: Yasal düzenlemeler için öneriler*. İstanbul: TÜSİAD Yayınları.

Umstot, D. (1984). *Understanding organizational behavior*. U.S.A.: West Publishing Company.

Ültanır, G. (2000). *Karşılaştırmalı eğitim bilimi: Kuram ve teknikler*. Ankara: Eylül Kitap Yayın.

Üniversite Reformu. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Yayını, Ankara, 1999.

Üsdiken, B. & Erden, Z. (2002). 1960'lı yıllarda Türkiye'de yönetim alanı: Disiplinin yapısı ve yaklaşımlar. *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *1*(2), 91-112.

Vazquez-Salceda, J. (2003). *The role of norms and electronic institutions in multi-agent systems applied to complex domains: The HARMONIA framework.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Spain.

Wallace, J.E. (1995). Organizational and professional commitment in professional and nonprofessional organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *40*(2), 228-256.

Weick, K.E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *21*, 1-19.

Werle, R. (2001). Institutional aspects of standardization – jurisdictional conflicts and the choice of standardization organizations. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *8*(3), 392-410.

Yıldırım, A. & Şimşek, H. (2004). *Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma yöntemleri*. Ankara: Seçkin Yayınevi.

Yıldırım, E. (2002). Cogito ergo sum'dan vigo ergo sum' a örgütsel analiz. *Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *2*(2), 155-185.

Yonezawa, A. (2006). Japanese flagship universities at a crossroads. In N. Furushiro (Ed.) *Final report of developing evaluation criteria to assess the internationalization of universities*, Osaka University, Japan.

YÖK (1988). *Kasım 1981 – Kasım 1988 döneminde yükseköğretimdeki gelişmeler*. Ankara: YÖK Yayınları.

YÖK (2001). *Türk yükseköğretiminin bugünkü durumu*. Ankara: YÖK Yayınları.

YÖK (2005). *Türk yükseköğretiminin bugünkü durumu*. Ankara: YÖK Yayınları.

YÖK (2005) *Türk yükseköğretiminde on Yıl*: 1981 – 1991 1981 reformu ve sonuçları. Ankara: YÖK Yayınları.

YÖK (2007). *Türkiye'nin yükseköğretim stratejisi*. Ankara: YÖK Yayınları.

Zucker, L.G. (1977). The role of institutionalization in cultural persistence. In P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis* (pp. 83-106). U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press.

APPENDIX A

YÖK üyelerine sorulan sorular

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için şimdiden teşekkür ederim. Eğer sormak istediğiniz herhangi bir soru var ise sorularınızı yanıtlamaya hazırım.

Sizin de çok iyi bildiğiniz gibi 1981 yılında Yüksek Öğretim Kanunu'nun çıkmasıyla Türkiye'deki yüksek öğrenim yeni bir döneme girmiştir. Her ne kadar daha önce de benzer yapılanmalar gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılmış ise de hiç biri 2547 sayılı yasa ve adından gelen düzenlemeler kadar etkili olmamıştır. Bu değişikliğin arkasında yatan asıl sebep yüksek öğretimle ilgili var olan bir takım problemlerin önüne geçmek ve Türkiye'de yüksek öğretimin yasalarla belirtilen insan modeline uygun bir gençlik yetiştirmek amaçlanmaktaydı.
Yüksek Öğretim Kanunu'nun ortaya çıkmasıyla Türkiye'de kısaca yüksek öğretim merkezi bir yönetim ve denetime bağlanmıştır; oluşturulan Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu (YÖK) ve buna bağlı diğer kurum ve oluşumlar yüksek öğretimin çağdaş ve medeni, gelişimlere açık, pozitivist düşünen ve Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarına bağlı insanlar yetiştirilmesini sağlayan ve bunu teminat altına alan kuruluşlar olarak karşımıza çıkmıştır; ve yüksek öğretimle ilgili her türlü idari, mali ve hukuki yetki merkezde toplanmıştır.

GİRİŞ SORULARI

S.1. Sayın ……., kaç yıldır bu makamda bulunmaktasınız? Nasıl YÖK üyeliğine seçildiğinizden bahsedebilir misiniz?

S.2. Daha önce buna benzer başka bir tecrübeniz oldu mu?

TARİHSEL PERSPEKTİF

S.3. 1981'de YÖK kanunu yürürlüğe girdiğinde hangi konumda olduğunuzdan biraz bahsedebilir misiniz? Tarihsel bir perspektifte YÖK'ün ortaya çıkışını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

S.4. YÖK ile ilgili olduğunuz süre içerisinde YÖK'ün ortaya çıkışı, YÖK kararları, YÖK mevzuatı ya da bu konuyla ilgili yaşadığınız ve benimle paylaşmak istediğiniz herhangi bir olay var mı?

S.5. YÖK'nun ortaya çıkışı sizce nasıl bir süreçtir?
Prompt: Kurumun otaya çıkışındaki ekonomik, sosyal ya da siyasi boyutları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

S.6. YÖK'ün resmi bir kuruluş olarak ortaya çıkmasında ne gibi dahili (üniversiteler, fakülteler, bireyler olabilir) ya da harici (yerel politikalar, içişleri, dış etkiler ya da uluslar arası trendler) etkenler rol oynamıştır?

S.7. YÖK'ün ortaya çıkmasıyla gerçekleşeceği düşünülen değişim üniversitelere ve yüksek öğretim camiasına nasıl kabul ettirilmiştir? Ne gibi önlemler alınmış ve ne gibi yazışmalar yapılmıştır?

S.8. Sizce YÖK'ün kurulması ile ne gibi bir değişim gerçekleşmiştir ve bu değişim nasıl planlanmıştır?

Prompt: Sizce hala yapılmamış olan ve yapılması gerektiğini düşündüğünüz bir şey var mı?

ÖRGÜTSEL ALAN SEVİYESİ

S.9. Yüksek Öğretimde kalitenin sağlanması, iyileştirme ya da eşgüdüm oluşturma en ideal nasıl gerçekleştirilebilir?

Prompt: Bu konudaki görüşlerinize temel teşkil eden mantığı neye dayandırıyorsunuz?

S.10. YÖK kurulurken örnek alınan herhangi bir model var mıdır?

Prompt: Bütün işleviyle ve özellikleriyle sizce YÖK Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki başka hangi kuruluşa benzemektedir?

S.11. YÖK'ün ilişki ve etkileşim içerisinde olduğu kuruluş ya da alanlar nelerdir? Bu ilişkilerin içeriği nedir?

Prompt: Sizce YÖK-devlet, YÖK-toplum ve YÖK-üniversite ilişkileri nasıl tanımlanabilir?

S.12. Kurulduğundan bu yana YÖK'ün yapısında herhangi bir değişim meydana gelmiş midir? Eğer gelmiş ise bu değişimi tetikleyen faktörler nelerdir?

ÖRGÜTSEL SEVİYE

S.14. YÖK'ü bir mecaz veya benzetme ile tanımlamanızı istesem, YÖK'ü ne tür bir mecazla veya neye benzeterek açıklarsınız (bir eşya, hayvan, varlık, olgu, hikaye-masal kahramanı, vb)? Sizce YÖK'ü nasıl bir metafor en iyi tanımlar (mekanik, sistematik, kültürel bir örgütlenme, vb.)?

Prompt: Niçin bu benzetme veya tanımlamayı kullandınız?

S.15. YÖK'ün kuruluşu sizce nasıl tanımlanabilir? Kuruluşu içerisindeki yapılanma sizce nasıl bir yapılanmadır?

Prompt: Merkeziyetçi/ademi merkeziyetçi, bürokratiklik, hiyerarşik ya da özerklik açısından YÖK hakkında neler söylenebilir?

S.16. YÖK'ün sahip olduğu yetkiye temel teşkil eden unsurlar nelerdir?

S.17. YÖK tarafından alınan kararlar üzerinde herhangi bir kısıtlama ya da sakınca tespit edilmesi işi hangi organ tarafından icra edilmekte ve söz konusu yaptırımlar kimin tarafından uygulanmaktadır?

S.18. YÖK içerisinde farklı bir çok organ bulunmaktadır; bu organlar arasındaki
- ilişkileri,
- iletişimi ve özellikle eşgüdümü nasıl tanımlayabilirsiniz?

S.19. YÖK üyesi olmak için sahip olunması gereken değerler ve özellikler nelerdir?

S.20. Toplantılarda, alınan kararlarda ve kararların uygulamaya dönüştürülmesinde nasıl bir süreç takip edilmektedir, biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?

S.21. Ne gibi etik değerler, normlar, inançlar ve kurallar YÖK'ün işleyişinde referans teşkil etmektedir?

S.22. Karşılaşılan sorunların çözümünde nasıl bir model uygulanmakta ve karar vermede ne gibi süreçlerden geçilmektedir?

S.23. Sizce YÖK var olmaya devam edecek mi? Ya da devam etmeli mi veya değişim geçirmeli mi?

APPENDIX B

Rektörlere sorulan sorular

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için şimdiden teşekkür ederim. Eğer sormak istediğiniz herhangi bir soru var ise sorularınızı yanıtlamaya hazırım.

Sizin de çok iyi bildiğiniz gibi 1981 yılında Yüksek Öğretim Kanunu'nun çıkmasıyla Türkiye'deki yüksek öğrenim yeni bir döneme girmiştir. Her ne kadar daha önce de benzer yapılanmalar gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılmış ise de hiç biri 2547 sayılı yasa ve adından gelen düzenlemeler kadar etkili olmamıştır. Bu değişikliğin arkasında yatan asıl sebep yüksek öğretimle ilgili var olan bir takım problemlerin önüne geçmek ve Türkiye'de yüksek öğretimin yasalarla belirtilen insan modeline uygun bir gençlik yetiştirmek amaçlanmaktaydı.
Yüksek Öğretim Kanunu'nun ortaya çıkmasıyla Türkiye'de kısaca yüksek öğretim merkezi bir yönetim ve denetime bağlanmıştır; oluşturulan Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu (YÖK) ve buna bağlı diğer kurum ve oluşumlar yüksek öğretimin çağdaş ve medeni, gelişimlere açık, pozitivist düşünen ve Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarına bağlı insanlar yetiştirilmesini sağlayan ve bunu teminat altına alan kuruluşlar olarak karşımıza çıkmıştır; ve yüksek öğretimle ilgili her türlü idari, mali ve hukuki yetki merkezde toplanmıştır.

GİRİŞ SORULARI

S.1. Sayın ……., kaç yıldır bu makamda bulunmaktasınız? Kariyerinizi hangi alanda tamamladınız?

S.2. Daha önce buna benzer başka bir (üst düzey) tecrübeniz oldu mu?

S.3. 1981'de YÖK kanunu yürürlüğe girdiğinde hangi konumda olduğunuzdan biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?

TARİHSEL PERSPEKTİF

S.4. YÖK ile ilgili olduğunuz süre içerisinde YÖK'ün ortaya çıkışı, YÖK kararları, YÖK mevzuatı ya da bu konuyla ilgili yaşadığınız ve benimle paylaşmak istediğiniz ilginç – daha doğrusu hafızanızda yer etmiş - herhangi bir olay var mı?

- Tarihsel perspektifte YÖK'ün ortaya çıkmasını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? YÖK'ün ortaya çıkışının nedenlerini nasıl yorumluyorsunuz? YÖK'ün ortaya çıkmasını gerektiren koşullar sizce nelerdi?

- YÖK'ün ortaya çıkmasından önce rektörlük kurumu nasıldı simdi nasıl?

S.5. Sizce ideal bir yüksek öğretim ortamı nasıl olmalıdır? Bu ortamın oluşturulmasında sizce nasıl bir yönetim ve denetim mekanizması düşünülebilir?

- Sizce YÖK'ün kurulması kontrol mekanizmasını sağlamlaştırmak maksadıyla mı yoksa doğal bir değişim gereksinimi sonucu mu ortaya çıkmıştır?

- Sizce YÖK'ün kurulmasında asıl amaç tek bir yapının oluşturulması mıydı yoksa üniversitelerin daha etkin ve verimli olması için çeşitlilik sağlanması mıydı?

- YÖK'ün resmi bir kuruluş olarak ortaya çıkmasında ne gibi dahili (üniversiteler, fakülteler, bireyler olabilir) ya da harici (yerel politikalar, içişleri, dış etkiler ya da uluslar arası trendler) etkenler rol oynamıştır?

- YÖK'ün ortaya çıkmasıyla gerçekleşeceği düşünülen değişim üniversitelere ve yüksek öğretim camiasına nasıl kabul ettirilmiştir? Ne gibi önlemler alınmış ve ne gibi yazışmalar yapılmıştır?

- Sizce YÖK'ün kurulması ile ne gibi bir değişim gerçekleşmiştir ve bu değişim nasıl planlanmıştır?

- YÖK kurulduğunda amaçlanan değişim süreçleri gerçekleşmiş midir?

- Sizce hala yapılmamış olan ve yapılması gerektiğini düşündüğünüz bir şey var mı?

ÖRGÜTSEL ALAN SEVİYESİ

S.6. Üniversiteniz ve YÖK arasındaki ilişkiyi

- kaynak sağlanması açısından

- beklentileriniz açısından (beklentilerinizi dile getirirken)

- arz ve taleplerinizi dile getirirken

- kararlar alırken ya da sorunları çözerken (buna çatışmalar da dahil olabilir)

-uygulamalarınızdaki usullerin uygunluğunu tespit ederken nasıl değerlendirmektesiniz?

- Ne kadar sıklıkla YÖK ile irtibat kurmaktasınız? Kurduğunuz irtibatlar en çok hangi konularda olmaktadır?

- Bütün bu alanlarda ne tür sorunlarla karşılaşıyorsunuz?

- Ortaya çıkan sorunları nasıl çözüyorsunuz?

ÖRGÜTSEL SEVİYE

S.7. Örgütsel açıdan bakıldığında YÖK'ü nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- Merkeziyetçi/ademi merkeziyetçi, bürokratik, özerk ya da hiyerarşik

-YÖK'ü bir mecaz veya benzetme ile tanımlamanızı istesem, YÖK'ü ne tür bir mecazla veya neye benzeterek açıklarsınız (bir eşya, hayvan, varlık, olgu, hikaye-masal kahramanı, vb) Sizce YÖK'ü nasıl bir metafor en iyi tanımlar (mekanik, sistematik, kültürel bir örgütlenme, vb.)?

Prompt: Niçin bu benzetme veya tanımlamayı kullandınız?

- Sizce YÖK'ün hareket sahasını belirleyen ve bu konuda onu meşru kılan ve yetki ile donatan güç nedir ve bu gücün dayandığı temel değerler ve inançlar nelerdir?

- YÖK içerisinde ve yüksek öğretim ile konularda kararlar nasıl alınmaktadır? Problemleri çözerken ne gibi yaklaşımlarda bulunulmaktadır? Kısacası YÖK yapmakla sorumlu olduğu işleri yaparken nasıl bir yol izlemektedir?

S.8. Sizce YÖK başlangıçta amaçlanan işleri yapabilmiş midir? Tarihsel süreç içerisinde yapısında, değerlerinde, ilkelerinde ya da ideallerinde herhangi bir değişim göstermiş midir?

- Varsa, bu değişimleri gerçekleştirirken nasıl bir politika izlemiştir, bu politika nasıl nüfuz etmiştir ve kendisi bu politikayı nasıl nüfuz ettirmiştir? Mümkünse örnek verebilir misiniz?

S.9. Siz YÖK olsanız ne yapardınız?

- Tam olarak bir rektörün asil görevi nedir?

S.10. Sizce YÖK var olmaya devam etmeli midir ya da değişim geçirmeli midir?

Prompt: Bu düşüncenizi neye dayandırmaktasınız?

APPENDIX C

LIST OF CODES

Historical Factors (1)

- Cognitive Mechanisms (1.1)
  - Beliefs (1.1.1)
  - Norms (1.1.2)
  - Myths (1.1.3)
  - Rituals (1.1.4)
  - Cultural Accumulation (1.1.5)
  - Events (1.1.6)
  - Ideologies (1.1.7)
  - Policies (1.1.8)

Organizational Field (2)

- Initiating Factors (2.1)
  - Economic/Socio-cultural (2.1.1)
    - Actors (2.1.1.1)
      - Policy makers (2.1.1.1.1)
      - Beneficiaries (2.1.1.1.2)
      - Public (2.1.1.1.3)
    - Agencies (2.1.1.2)
      - Instituions (2.1.1.2.1)
      - Groups (2.1.1.2.2)
      - Sectors (2.1.1.2.3)
      - NGOs (2.1.1.2.4)
      - Relations (2.1.1.2.5)
        - Local (2.1.1.2.5.1)
        - Nonlocal (2.1.1.2.5.2)
        - Veritical (2.1.1.2.5.3)
        - Horizontal (2.1.1.2.5.4)
- Mechanisms (2.2)
  - Regulative (2.2.1)
  - Coercive (2.2.2)
  - Normative (2.2.3)

Diffusion Mechanisms (2.3)
- Imposition (2.3.1)
- Inducement (2.3.2)
- Authorization (2.3.3)
- Acquisition (2.3.4)
- Incorporation (2.3.5)
- Retention (2.3.6)
- Interest relations (2.3.7)
- Taken-for-granted (2.3.8)

Organizational Frame (3)

Structures/Practices (3.1)
- Economic (cost-efficiency) (3.1.1)
- Socio-cultural (reducing uncertainty)/Adaptive (3.1.2)
  - Conformity (3.1.2.1)
  - Mimetic (3.1.2.2)
  - Legitimacy (3.1.2.3)

APPENDIX D

Sample Indexing Page

R: Böyle bir program açmak için şu an YÖK'e başvursak şartları sağlayamıyoruz. Bir sürü şartı var. Saymakla bitmez. Son iki-üç yıldır başvurmadık ama belki birkaç tane bölümümüz başvursa doktora yaptırma yetkisi alabilir. YÖK'ün üniversiteler arası iş birliğini gündeme getirip yaygınlaştırması gerekir. Ankara'da 10 üniversite var; bunlar arasındaki diyaloğun artırılması, bilimsel-akademik iş birliği, hoca alışverişi iş birliğini yapması lazım. Bunları ben eksik olarak görüyorum. Yani YÖK bu konulara hiç karışmıyor. Böyle bir girişimi de yok. Varsa da benim haberim yok. Ancak bir üniversitenin başka bir üniversite ile akademik iş birliği yapmak isterse bu keyfe keder kalmış bir konu. YÖK'ün zorlaması lazım. Herkes Avrupa Birliği 6.-7. çerçeve programı dahilinde Avrupalılarla çalışıyım diye sırıkla yüksek atlama yapmaya çalışayım derken yanındaki üniversitelerde ne olup bittiğinden haberi yok. Hem bilimsel açıdan haberi yok hem de eğitim açısından. Ve hepsinin de değişik alanlarda hocaya ihtiyacı var. Sürekli olarak dışarıdaki üniversiteler bizden hoca isteniyor; biz de dışarıdaki üniversitelerden hoca istiyoruz. Bunlar da hep karşılıklı yazışmayla oluyor ama YÖK'ün bu konuda teşvik edici olması lazım. Mesela bazı üniversiteler, hoca ihtiyacımız var dediğimizde astronomik paralar istiyorlar. Bizden istedikleri zaman biz üniversite olarak para istemiyoruz. Sadece hocamıza karşı üniversite ders saati ücreti ne ise onu veriyor.	*2.3* *2.3.2* *2.1.1.2.5.1* *2.1.1.2.5.4* *3.1* *2.3.7* *2.1.1.2.5.2* *3.1.2.1* *Quote* *2.3.7* *Quote* *2.3.2*

APPENDIX E

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: SERT, Semih
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: December 3, 1965 Karabük
Marital Status: Married
Phone : 0312 286 6299
Mobile: 0505 572 6780 -- 0532 522 7559
email: ssert1965@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	Selçuk University, International Relations	2006
MA	Gazi University, English Language Teaching	2001
BS	METU, English Language Teaching	1988
High School	Kuleli Military High School, İstanbul	1984

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2007- Present	War Colleges, İstanbul	Director of Translation and Publication Section
1997-2007	Turkish Military Academy, Ankara	Academic Staff

1988-1997	Kuleli Military High School, İstanbul	Teaching Staff

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, intermediate French

PUBLICATIONS

Sert, S. (2006) *Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliğine Uyum Sürecinde Eğitim Perspektifi*. Tezsiz Yüksek Lisans Projesi. Selçuk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Uluslar Arası İlişkiler Bölümü, Konya.

Sert, S. (2004). "Using CALL as a Catalyst for Second Language Acquisition: Computer Assisted Language Acquisition". *Kara Harp Okulu Bilim Dergisi*, Cilt 14, sayı 2.

Sert, S. (2002). "A New Trend in Education: Total Quality Management". *Kara Harp Okulu Bilim Dergisi*. Cilt 11, Sayı 2

Sert, S. (2001). *The Application of Total Quality Management (TQM) in English Language Teaching (ELT)*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. İskender SARIGÖZ).

HOBBIES

Tennis, Swimming, Scuba, Gourmet, Computer Technologies, Movies, Reading (documentaries, social sciences, history,etc.),

TURKISH SUMMARY

Örgütsel ve kurumsal ortamlarda yapıların ve uygulamaların yayılmasının, diğer bir deyişle kurumsallaşmasının anlaşılmasında, özellikle son yüzyıllık süreçte, gözle görülür gelişmeler kaydedilmiştir. Bu gelişmeler, bilimsel alanlardaki epistemolojik ve ontolojik açılımlara paralel olarak her yönde genişleyen ve hızla çok-boyutluluğa doğru kayan bir nitelik kazanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, örgütsel analiz çalışmaları, örgütleri birbirinden ayırt eden özellikleri ve bu ayırımlara sebep olan nedenleri incelerken örgüt ortamına ve şartlara vurgu yapmaktadır. Araştırma dünyasında kabul gören bu yaklaşım, bilhassa son elli yıl içerisinde hızlı bir ivme kazanmıştır.

Yirminci yüzyılın başlarında ortaya çıkan klasik örgüt kuramı ve onu takip eden neo-klasik kuram, örgütleri analiz ederken pozitivizmin getirisi olan nedenselliği araştırma çatısının merkezine oturtmuşlardır. Her iki kuramda da bilimsel analizler ve uygulanan yöntemler, örgütleri ve örgütlerin ortaya koyduğu çıktıları daha iyiye götürme usullerini vurgulamaktadır. Bu bağlamda da, yapılan araştırmalar ve bu araştırmalar neticesinde ortaya çıkan sonuçlar, olguların nasıl olduğundan çok nasıl olmaları gerektiği üzerinde durmaktadırlar.

1940'larda ortaya atılan kurumsal kuramı diğer kuramlardan ayırt eden en belirgin özellik, örgüt ortamında cereyan eden kolektif eylemlerin zaman içerisinde ortak çıkarlar üzerine kilitlenen yerel kimliklere büründüğü görüşüdür. Burada vurgulanan en önemli fark, örgütlerin analiz edilmesinde tek başlarına mercek altına alınmalarının değil, içinde var oldukları yerel ortamın özelliklerinden etkilendikleri düşüncesinin ortaya çıkmasıdır. Bu düşünce, hemen hemen kendisi ile aynı döneme rastlayan sistem ve açık sistem kuramları ve olumsallık (contingency) kuramı ile paralellik göstermektedir. Yapısal olarak, gayri resmi bağların ve çıkar bütünleşmesinin vurgulandığı kurumsal kuram çerçevesinde, örgüt içersindeki

bireylerin benimsedikleri örgüt kimliği ve roller, dayandıkları değer, norm ve teamüller doğrultusunda incelenmektedir.

1970'lerde ortaya atılan ve daha sonraları da kuvvetle savunulan yeni kurumsalcılık kuramı ise bir yandan örgütsel yapı ve uygulamaların yayılmasını daha geniş bağlamlara dayalı olarak incelerken, bir yandan da Weber'in bürokratikleşme ve eylem kuramlarına atıfta bulunmaktadır. Örgüt ortamında eylemlerin kabullenilerek kurumsal hale gelmesini açıklarken, yeni kurumsalcılık kuramı, çıkarların belirleyiciliğinden bahsetmekte ve sadece merkezdeki dinamiklerin değil, aynı zamanda çevresel dinamiklerin de etkili olduklarını vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca, eski kurumsal kuram örgütlerin çevrelerindeki gelişmelere uyum çerçevesinde değişime tabi olduklarını savunurken, yeni kurumsalcılık kuramı, örgütlerin sürekli yapı ve eylemlerini meşrulaştırarak varlıklarını sürdürme mücadelesi içerisinde olduklarını ve değişimden ziyade mevcut yapılarını sürdürme eğiliminde olduklarını savunmaktadır. Yeni kurama göre, örgütler köklü bir değişim yerine, şartların gerektirdiği uyum sağlayıcı düzenlemeleri benimsemektedirler.

Yeni kurumsalcılık kuramının önde gelen savunucuları olan John W. Meyer ve Brian Rowan (1978) örgütlerin kurumsallaşmasında var olagelmiş inanç ve uygulamaların resmi yapının özünü oluşturduklarını ve tüm eylemlerin kabullenilmiş modellere uyum içerisinde gerçekleştirildiğini iddia etmektedirler. Buna paralel olarak, aynı kuramı farklı bir açıdan dile getiren Paul J. DiMaggio ve Walter W. Powell (1991), örgütlerin yapılarını oluştururken ve eylemlerini gerçekleştirirken etkileşim içerisinde oldukları geniş bir alana tabi olduklarını ve bu bağlamda da öngörüye aykırı da hareket edebildiklerini ileri sürmektedirler. Yeni kurumsalcılık kuramını ekonomik nedensellikler içerisinde değerlendiren Douglas North (1981) ise kurumsallaşan örgütlerin tamamen iktisadi tercihlere uyum içerisinde ve giderlerin en aza indirgenmesi doğrultusunda meydana geldiklerini savunmaktadır.

İşlevselci paradigma, resmi örgütlenmelerin etkinlik ve yeterliliği artırma rekabetinin doğal bir sonucu olduğunu değerlendirirken, yeni kurumsalcılık kuramı bu süreci açıklarken daha geniş bir çevreyi içine alan ve iç içe geçmiş olan bir yapılar ve eylemler zincirin işaret etmektedirler. Jepperson ve Meyer (1991) resmi örgütlenme ve ussal çözümler üreten toplumdan bahsederken ulus-devlet kavramı içersinde olan ve daha geniş anlamda da dünya sisteminin bir uzantısı olan modern siyasaların etkilerinin göz ardı edilemez olduğunu söylemektedirler. Bu doğrultuda

da, ussal yapıların ve eylemlerin güçlerini, anlam ifade eden her türlü inanç ve değer olgularını ve kendilerini meşru kılan özelliklerini bağlı oldukları toplumun modern olgularından aldıkları ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kısacası, örgütler ve içersinde bulundukları ortam ve çevreler oldukça birbiri içine geçmiş olarak ortaya çıkmaktadırlar.

Yeni kurumsalcılık kuramının kurumsallaşma sürecini incelerken en çok sorguladığı kavramlardan biri eşbiçimlilik (isomorphism), yani örgütlerin yapılarını oluştururken veya eylemlerini gerçekleştirirken başka örgütleri taklit etmeleri anlamına gelen benzeşme sürecidir. Örgütler, kendi etkileşim alanları içerisindeki meşruiyet kazanmış diğer örgütlerin yapı ve eylemlerini taklit ederek mevcudiyetlerini sürdürme ve kabul görme eğilimi içerisinde hareket ederler (Meyer ve Rowan, 1978; Scott, 1987; DiMaggio ve Powell, 1991; Aypay, 2003). Örgütlerin bu davranışlarının örgütsel alan içerisindeki zorlayıcı (coercive) ve düzenleyici (regulative) dinamikler vasıtasıyla da kurumsal hale dönüştükleri ifade edilmektedir (Aypay, 2003).

Kurumsal kuram ile ilgili yazında, herhangi bir kurumsal yapının ya da eylemin kurumsallaşma süreci, yayılma veya yaygın hale gelme süreci olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, aktörler ya da etkin gruplar tarafından gerçekleştirilen bir eylem veya oluşturulan bir yapı benimsenmeye ve daha fazla örgüt tarafından uygulanmaya başladıkça, artık sabit bir özellik halini almakta ve örgütsel alan içersinde nüfuz etmiş bir kabullenme niteliğini elde etmektedir. Yine aynı yazın içerisinde, kurumsal yapı ve eylemleri kabul gören ve yaygınlaşmış unsurlar olmalarında etkili ve örgütün faaliyet gösterdiği alanın özellikleri ve şartlarına bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan dinamikler üzerinde durulmuştur (Scott, 1987). Bu dinamiklerin, özendirme, yetkilendirme, veya kabul ettirme mekanizmalarının kullanılması vasıtasıyla yapı ve eylemleri örgütsel ortam içersinde yaygın hale dönüştürdüklerinden bahsedilmektedir. Ayrıca, örgütlerin bazı durumlarda sadece zaman içerisine bir takım yapı ve eylemleri ürettikleri ve bu yapı ve eylemlerin kurumsal bir özellik kazandığı da iddia edilmektedir (Stinchcombe, 1965; Kimberly, 1975) . Bazen de kurumsal yapı ve eylemlerin ussal bir değerlendirme sonucu ortaya çıkmadığı, tamamen ussal olmayan bir şekilde ve hatta rastgele olarak nitelendirilebilecek bir biçimde ortaya çıktığı da örgütsel alan dinamiklerinin etkinliği hakkında söylenenler arasındadır (March ve Olsen, 1984).

Meyer ve Rowan (1978) örgütlerin üzerine oturtulmuş oldukları mevcut kuralları, eylemleri ve yapıları örgütsel yapılar olarak değil kurumsal bir biçimde tanımlanmış inançlar olarak nitelendirmektedirler. Bunun yanında, Scott (1987) örgütler içersinde inanç ve değerlerin yaygınlaşması ve nüfuz etmesinin var olan çıkar ilişkilerine dayalı olduğunu söylemektedirler. Bu görüş, siyasi yapı ve bu yapının hangi unsurların zorlayıcı hangi unsurların düzenleyici veya normatif mekanizmalar vasıtasıyla kabul ettirileceğine ilişkin erki tanımlayan bir düşüncenin ürünüdür (Scott, 1987).

Sewell (1992) örgütsel yapılardan bahsederken, örgütleri oluşturan kurallar ve kaynaklara işaret etmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak da yapıların toplumların davranış biçimlerini etkilediğini, hatta şekillendirdiğini ifade ederken, aynı zamanda bu davranışların sonucu tekrar üretildiğini de söylemektedir. Bu yapılar doğal ya da insan tarafından imal edilmiş nesneler veya bilgi ve beceri gibi özelliklerden oluşmuş olabilir. Kısacası, yapılar, bu tanımlamaya göre insani ya da gayri-insani olarak nitelendirilebilirler.

Scott ve Meyer (1991) toplumlar içerisindeki birçok örgütsel alana işaret ederek örgütsel yapıların ve eylemlerin hem yatay hem de dikey olmak üzere bir takım örgütler-arası ilişki ağına tabi olduklarını söylemektedirler. Yazarların yatay ve dikey tanımlamalarına bağlı olarak, hem örgütsel alan içerisindeki oluşmuş tutumlar ve buna ilave olarak da çevresel beklentiler, örgüt yapılarının ve eylemlerinin yayılmasında etkin rol oynamakta oldukları gerçeği ortaya çıkmaktadır. Dolayısıyla mevcut örgütsel yapılar ve eylemler, incelenen bağlamın tarihsel tekâmülü, örgütsel alan özellikleri ve örgütün kendisiyle ilgili tespitlerin bir bileşeni olarak ifade edilmektedir.

Bütün bunlara dayalı olarak oluşturulan ve çalışmanın dayandığı kuramsal çerçeveyi meydana getiren düşünce, temel olarak, kurumların, içinden geldikleri tarihsel bağlamın etkisi ve etkileşim içerisinde oldukları örgütsel alanın baskıları altında şekillendikleri doğrultusundadır. Ayrıca, kurumların içerisinde hangi yapıların ve bu yapılara dayalı cereyan eden hangi eylemlerin örgütsel alan tarafından kabul gördüğü ve yaygınlaştığı ve bu yaygınlaşmanın derecesi kurumsallaşma göstergeleri olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Oluşturulan kuramsal çerçeveye göre, kurumun dayandığı ve tarihsel bağlamın temellerini oluşturan bilişsel özellikler (cognitive aspects), inançları,

değerleri, ilkeleri veya buna benzer kabullenilmiş diğer olguları temsil eder. Resmi kurumlar, toplum içerisindeki çoklu kurumsal yapıların ussallaştırılarak bir araya getirmek ve böylece hem belirsizlikten kurtulmak ve hem de toplumsal işleyişi kolaylaştırmak maksadıyla ortaya çıkmaktadır (DiMaggio ve Powell, 1991a). Tabi bu ortaya çıkışta toplum içerisindeki mevcut bilişsel özellikler kurumun şekillenmesi ve kullandığı yöntemin belirlenmesi açısından önem arz etmektedir (Meyer ve Rowan, 1977).

Kurum, resmi kimliği, dayalı olduğu yasal mevzuat ve kanunların kendisine verdiği yetki doğrultusunda içinde bulunduğu alanın işlerini bir yandan düzenlerken bir yandan da getirdiği düzenlemeler sonucu oluşturduğu örgütsel alanda etkileşim içerisinde olduğu diğer örgütler, sektörler ve toplumsal kesimler, tarafından şekillendirilir (DiMaggio ve Powell, 1991b). Bu şekillendirmede kuruma yön veren ise özendirici veya yetkilendirici mekanizmalar olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır (Scott, 1987).

Kurumsal kuramla ilgili yazında, eşbiçimlilik (isomorphism) kurumların birbirleri arasında veya içinde bulundukları örgütsel alanın zorlayıcı (coercive), düzenleyici (regulative) veya normlara uydurucu (normative) baskıları doğrultusunda mevcut yapıları ya da uygulamaları taklit etmek durumunda olmalarını vurgulamaktadır (DiMaggio ve Powell, 1991b; Aypay, 2003). Kısacası, kurumların benzer diğer kurumları taklit etmeleri ya da alan tarafından önerilen yapı veya uygulamaları kendilerine uyarlamaları meşruiyetlerini idame ettirme ve hayatta kalmalarını mümkün kılmaktadır.

Klasik ve neo-klasik kuramları temel alan yazında ele alınan analizler kurum seviyesinde sınırlandırılırken, yeni kurumsalcılık, benzer analizleri kurumun içinde bulunduğu ve etkileşim kurduğu alanla birlikte gerçekleştirmektedir. Dolayısıyla, kurumsal teori çerçevesinde yürütülen araştırmalar, çok boyutluluk itibariyle daha doğrusal olmayan yöntemler uygulamaktadırlar. Meyer ve Rowan (1977) örgütlerin hayatta kalmalarını alan içerisinde etkin olan mitoslar ve törensel olgulara uyum göstererek etkin olmalarına bağlamaktadırlar. Buna karşılık DiMaggio ve Powell (1991a) da örgütlerin aldıkları kararlarda ussallıktan öte bir yönlendirilmenin ya da maruz kalmanın etkin olduğunu dolayısıyla örgütlerin bazen hiç de beklendiği gibi davranmadıklarını öne sürmektedirler. Bu görüşe destek veren örnekler ilgili yazında görülmektedir (Hall, 1996; Gillman, 2004).

Rowan (1982) kurumsallaşmanın lobicilik faaliyetleri ve diğer etkin sektörlerin ortaya çıkan bir yapı ya da uygulamayı benimsemeleri ve onu tekrar etme sürecine girmelerine ve bu uygulamanın da zaman içerisinde diğer tarafından benimsenerek uygulanmaya başlamasına bağlamaktadır. Rowan'a göre, benimsenerek tekrarlanan uygulamalar zamanla istikrar kazanıp kurumsallaşma göstermektedir. Singh ve arkadaşları (1986) da dıştan gelen baskıların içten yapılanan eşgüdüm faaliyetlerinden daha etkin bir meşruiyet belirleyicisi olduğunu iddia etmektedirler. Aynı şekilde, Leblebici ve arkadaşları (1991) çevre içerisinde etkin olan kültürel unsurların örgütteki değişimler üzerinde daha fazla söz sahibi olduğu yolunda bulgularla ortaya çıkmaktadırlar.

Belli bir takım alışkanlıkların ya da toplumsal eylemlerin kurumsal hale gelmesi ve artık kabullenilmiş birer olguya dönüşmesi Robinson (2004)'a göre alan içerisindeki etkin sektörlerin gayretleri neticesinde yerleştiğini örnek vererek göstermektedir. Verdiği örnekte, metalaştırmanın kültür içerisine nasıl yerleştirildiğini ve dolayısıyla da tüketimin bir toplum içerisinde nasıl bir mitos haline dönüştürüldüğünü açıklamaktadır.

Yerel yazında da kurumsal kuram ile ilgili olarak örnekler verilmiştir. Aypay (2003) devlet içerisinde oluşan bir Mülkiye kurumsallaşmasına işaret ederek işlevselci yaklaşımların göz ardı ettiği bir noktaya temas ederek ve devletle Mülkiye arasındaki güçlü bağı ortaya koymaktadır. Özen (2000) Türkiye'de toplam kalite yönetiminin nasıl yayıldığını anlatırken işadamlarının ve profesyonel yöneticilerin oynadıkları etkin role dikkat çekmektedir. Toplam kalite yönetimi, Özen'e göre, bu aktörler tarafından yeniden tanımlanmış ve bu tanımlama esnasında da ülkenin kendine özgü şartları ve aktörlerin özellikleri büyük rol oynamıştır.

Özkara ve Kurt (2004) ise bilimsel yönetim bilgisinin kamu idaresi reformu içerisinde nasıl yaygınlaştığını incelemişler ve Yeni Kamu Yönetimi Kanunu oluşturulurken Weber tipi bürokratik yapılanmadan ziyade performans ve yeterliliği baz alan bir yönetim anlayışının nasıl etkin olduğu üzerinde durmaktadırlar.

Türkiye'de gerçekleştirilen incelemeler tarihi mirasın ve ortak unsurların örgütlerdeki yapılanma ve uygulamalar üzerinde baskı oluşturan örgütsel alana nasıl etki ettiklerini ve dolayısıyla da örgütleri nasıl şekillendirdiklerini anlatmaktadır. Ayrıca, aktör ya da aktör gruplarının da örgütsel yapı ve eylemleri nasıl şekillendirdikleri ortaya konmaktadır. Son olarak da bölgesel ilişkilerin ve sektöre

dayalı baskıların alan içerisinde yapıların tanımlanması, yeniden üretilmesi ve yayılması üzerinde nasıl etkin olduğu konusu tartışılmaktadır.

Yeni kurumsalcılık kuramı çerçevesinde yürütülen bu çalışmada, yapıların ve bu yapılara dayanan eylemlerin örgütsel bir ortamda nasıl yayıldıkları incelenmektedir. İncelemede Yükseköğretim Kurulu (YÖK) çalışmanın yürütüldüğü bağlam olarak ele alınmıştır. YÖK 1981 yılında kurulana ve 1982 Anayasası ile yasal statüsü pekiştirilene kadar Türk yükseköğretiminin yönetimi uzun süren bir kurumsallaşma süreci geçirmiştir.

Tanzimat dönemiyle beraber IInci Mahmut tarafından gerçekleştirilen reformlar ve müteakip safhalarda açılan ve batı modeline göre tasavvur edilen yükseköğretim kurumları Avrupa'ya kendisini uydurmaya çalışan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun modern devlet yapısına kavuşmasını sağlayacak insan modelini yetiştirmek amacını gütmekte idiler. Fransa'yı örnek alarak oluşturulmaya çalışılan devlet yapısı ve akılcılığı ön plana alan eğitim modeli bir yandan aranan burjuvaziyi yaratmaya çalışırken bir yandan da gelenekselci ve gerici kesimin direnişine maruz kalmaktaydı.

Fen Bilimlerinin Evi anlamına gelen Darülfünun ise neredeyse kuruluşundan itibaren modernleşmeye karşı sergilenen direnişin odak noktası haline gelmiştir. Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra da bu tip karmaşıklıklara ev sahipliği yapan Darülfünun, 1933 yılında Atatürk'ün direktifleriyle kapatılmış ve yerine İstanbul Üniversitesi kurulmuştur. Gerçekleştirilen reformda Almanya'da cereyan eden aşırı milliyetçi hareketten kaçan bilim adamlarından olan Prof. Albert Malche'in hazırladığı rapor yol gösterici rol oynamıştır. 1933 reformunu takip eden yıllarda çeşitli üniversiteler açılmış ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti çeşitli alanlarda yüksek öğretim görmüş insan gücünü yaratma yoluna girmiştir. Bu dönemde yükseköğretim tamamen Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın sorumluluğu altında yürütülmüştür.

Çok partili döneme geçilen 1946 yılından sonra iktidara gelen Demokrat Parti'nin öncülüğünde gerçekleştirilen Amerikan yanlısı politikalar doğrultusunda, 1950li yılların ortalarında Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ), Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, Atatürk Üniversitesi ve Ege Üniversitesi kurulmuştur. Bunların içerisinde ODTÜ, mütevelli heyeti tarafından yönetilen bir üniversite olarak ortaya çıkmasıyla klasik Kara Avrupası modeline göre yönetilen diğer üniversitelerin yanı sıra Anglo-Sakson modelini Türk yükseköğretim alanına sokmuştur.

1960'da gerçekleştirilen askeri darbe ve bunu takip eden 1961 Anayasası Türk yükseköğretimine önemli özerklikler kazandırmıştır. 1960'lı yıllarda yükselen ve 1970'lere kadar uzanan öğrenci olayları ülkede yükseköğretim ile ilgili en önemli problemlerden biri haline gelmiştir. Bunun yanında, değişik yükseköğretim modellerinin ortaya çıkması ve üniversitelerde oluşturulan kürsü başkanlıklarının profesyonel eğitim anlayışından uzaklaşmaları, siyasetin üniversitelere nüfuz etmesi ve üniversitelerin gözle görülür bir şekilde kontrolden çıkması döneme damgasını varan özellikler arasındadır.

1973 yılında çıkarılan 1750 sayılı yasa uyarınca üniversiteleri kontrol altına almak amacıyla Yükseköğretim Kurulu'nun oluşturulması ise üniversite camiası tarafından akademik anlayışa ve üniversitenin özerkliğine uymadığı iddiasıyla sonuca ulaşmamıştır. Buna rağmen, üniversitelere alınacak öğrencilerin tek merkezden icra edilen bir sınav vasıtasıyla seçilmeleri ise Öğrenci Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi'nin oluşturulmasıyla gerçekliğe kavuşmuştur.

Anarşi ve terör olaylarının yurt sathında yaygın hale gelmesi, siyasi istikrarsızlık ve ülkenin bütünlüğünün tehlikeye girmesi sebebiyle Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri 12 Eylül 1980 tarihinde yönetime el koymuştur. Genelkurmay Başkanı, Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Başkanı ve Devlet Başkanı sıfatlarını üzerinde taşıyan Orgeneral Kenan Evren çeşitli zamanlarda ülkenin içinde bulunduğu huzursuzluğun en önemli sebeplerinden biri olarak üniversitelerdeki siyasi kutuplaşmalar ve disiplinin olduğunu dile getirmiştir. 6 Kasım 1981 tarihinde, Prof. Dr. Ali İhsan Doğramacı ve ekibi tarafından hazırlanan yükseköğretimin merkezi bir kurum tarafından yönetilmesine yönelik proje kabul edilmiş ve YÖK ikinci kez kurulmuştur. 1982 yılında oluşturulan Anayasa'nın 130, 131 ve 132nci maddeleri uyarınca da Kurul, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Anayasal bir teşkilatı halini almıştır.

YÖK reformu ile hayata geçirilen yeni düzen, Türk yükseköğretiminin bilime dayalı, milli değerlere bağlı, Atatürk ilke ve inkılapları doğrultusunda yürüyen, uluslararası normları kabul etmiş bir alan haline getirmeyi amaçlamaktaydı. Ayrıca, yeni düzenle beraber, yükseköğretim artık Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın sorumluluğundan alınıp üyeleri Cumhurbaşkanı, Bakanlar Kurulu ve Üniversiteler Arası Kurul tarafından seçilen ve Cumhurbaşkanı'nın onayıyla atanan YÖK tarafından yönetilmeye başlamıştır. Buna ek olarak da, üniversite rektörlerinin seçilmek yerine yine Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından atanması YÖK döneminin en

belirgin uygulamalarından biri halini almıştır. Lakin bu uygulama 1992 yılında Prof. Dr. İhsan Doğramacı'nın YÖK Başkanlığı görevini bırakmasıyla sona erecek şekilde tekrar rektörlerin seçimle başa getirilmelerine dönüşmüştür.

YÖK mevzuatı ve mevzuatın dayandığı 2547 sayılı yasa oldukça kapsamlı ve her alanda yükseköğretimi ilgilendiren konuları düzenlemeye yönelik bir şekilde tezahür etmektedir. Yasa çerçevesinde yapılandırılan YÖK ve yükseköğretim alanındaki uygulamalar, reformu etkin kılmak ve önceki istikrarsızlık ve belirsizlik ortamına dönmeyi engellemek açısından şekillendirildiği için gözle görülür bir merkeziyetçilik, hiyerarşik yapılanma ve bürokratik usuller dikkati çekmektedir.

Tez çalışmasına konu olan YÖK sathında yapıların ve uygulamaların yayılması ya da kurumsallaşması incelenirken takip edilen metot nitel araştırmadır. Nitel araştırmalar, araştırmacının araştırma sürecinde araştırılan konuyla bütünleşmesi ve sürecin adeta bir parçası olarak yer almasından ötürü güvenilirlik ve geçerlilik açısından çeşitli tartışmalara konu olmuştur. Temel olarak, nicel araştırmaların sorgulanan olguyu ölçülebilir ve gözlemlenebilir parçalara indirgediği iddia edilirken, nitel araştırma, toplumsal bir bağlam içerisinde gerçek bir sorunu incelemeye yönelik bir desen olarak nitelendirilmektedir (Yıldırım ve Şimşek, 2000).

Çalışmanın asıl odaklandığı sorunsalın kurumsallaşma süreci içerisinde yapıların ve uygulamaların nasıl yaygın hale dönüştükleri incelendiği ve bu sürecin de mevcut kilit noktadaki yetkililer ve ilgili mevzuatın incelenmesi sonucu yorumlanması amaçlandığından nitel araştırma yönteminin kullanılmasının en uygun yol olduğu değerlendirilmektedir. Ayrıca, araştırmacı tarafından incelenen olgu ile ilgili toplumsal gerçeğin verilere dayalı olarak kurgulanması istemi de yöntem olarak nitel araştırmanın kullanılmasını doğrulamaktadır.

Araştırmaya yön veren problem örgütsel bir ortamda yapıların ve uygulamaların nasıl yayıldığı üzerine kurgulanmıştır ve incelemenin dayandırıldığı kuramsal çerçeve de yeni kurumsalcılık kuramıdır. Problemi anlamaya ve çözmeye yönelik olarak araştırmacı tarafından beş temel soru tespit edilmiştir. Bunlar kısaca; örgütün ortaya çıkmasındaki başlıca etmenler ve kurumun altyapısını teşkil eden asıl değerler ve inançlar, bu değer ve inançların nasıl hayata geçiriliş süreçleri, akabinde ortaya çıkan örgütsel alan, alan içerisinde yer aldığı gözlemlenen beklentiler ve meşruiyet ölçütleri ve örgütün elde ettiği meşruiyet gereği hayatta kalma olasılığı

olarak adlandırılmıştır. Ayrıca, sorulara açıklık kazandırıcı sondalarla da kullanılmak suretiyle konu derinlemesine bir araştırmaya tabi tutulmuştur.

Araştırmada görüşme ve doküman analizi yöntemleri desenin temel dayanak noktaları olmuştur. Görüşmelerde problemin incelenmesinde bağlam teşkil eden YÖK söz konusu olduğu için Ankara bölgesindeki eski ve mevcut YÖK üyeleri ve üniversite rektörleri araştırmanın örneklemini oluşturmaktadır. Bu kapsamda toplam on beş kişi ile görüşülmüştür. Araştırmacı görüşmeler esnasında kayıt cihazı kullanarak ve daha sonra da görüşme kayıtlarını deşifre ederek verilerini toplamıştır. Bunun dışında yapılan doküman incelemesinde esas olarak YÖK mevzuatı, konuyla ilgili kitap, gazete ya da dergiler yanında YÖK tarafından yayınlanan yazılı metinleri de oluşturulan kuramsal çerçeve ve kodlama doğrultusunda analiz edilmiştir.

Araştırma sürecinde kullanılan görüşme soruları ve doküman incelemesine ışık tutan kodlama yöntemleri tamtamıyla araştırmacı tarafından kurgulanmış ve gerek duyulduğunda geliştirilerek sunulmuştur. Görüşmelerde sorulan sorular yarı-yapılandırılmış olarak meydana getirilmiştir. Sorular gruplandırıldığında ilk soru tarihsel süreç, iki ve dördüncü sorular örgütsel alana yönelik ve üç ve beşinci sorular da örgüte yönelik sorular olarak nitelendirilebilir.

Araştırmada kullanılan kuramsal çerçevenin dayandığı başlıca kuramları ve düşünceleri içeren yazın taramasının oluşturulması hemen hemen araştırma süresince devam eden bir faaliyet olmuştur. Pilot çalışmanın yapılması ve görüşme programının hazırlanması 2006 yılının sonuna kadar tamamlanmıştır. Verilerin toplanması 2006'nın Haziran ve Kasım ayları arasındaki altı aylık süreci kapsarken verilerin yazıya dökülmesi ve kodlanması takip eden altı aylık bir süreci kapsamıştır. Bulguların yazılması ve yorumlanması süreci ise Ekim 2007 ve Nisan 2008 arasındaki yaklaşık yedi aylık süreci kapsamıştır.

Araştırmada öne sürülen temel faraziye Patton (2001) tarafından ifade edildiği gibi incelenen toplumsal eksenin belirgin bir örüntü içerdiği ve bu örüntünün ise bilinebilir ve açıklanabilir olduğudur. Bu bağlamda, YÖK ve YÖK'ün içinden geldiği tarihsel sürecin de içerisinde gözlemlenebilir ve tespit edilebilir bir örüntünün mevcut olduğu düşüncesi araştırmaya yön vermektedir. Nicel araştırmalardaki genellemeci faraziyenin yerine nitel araştırmalarda gerçek araştırmacının gördüğü ve yorumladığı şekilde algılanmakta ve sunulmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, araştırmacının

oluşturduğu temel kuramsal çerçeve ve dayandırdığı kuramsal olgular araştırmanın kabul edilirliği konusunda asıl nirengi noktalarını teşkil etmektedir.

Araştırmayı sınırlandıran özellikler incelenen olgunun sadece analizi yapılan görüşme notları ve doküman ile sınırlı olmasıdır. Ayrıca, bilhassa görüşmeler esnasında elde edilen veriler Ankara'da yaşayan kişilerle sınırlı kalmıştır. Ayrıca, konu araştırılırken örgüt olarak YÖK vurgulanmıştır. Ancak, YÖK'ün yapı ve eylemlerinin ilişkide olduğu makro ve mikro örgütsel alanla ilgili unsurlar göz ardı edilemeyeceği için bu unsurlarla ilgili verilere de yer verilmiştir.

Geçerlilik ve güvenilirlik konusunda araştırmacı tarafından bir takım önlemler alınmıştır. Öncelikle, geçerlilik kapsamında hazırlanan sorular kuramsal çerçeve ve kodlama doğrultusunda konu hakkında uzmanlık sahibi üç akademisyen tarafından gözden geçirilmiş ve onay alınmıştır. Ayrıca, bulguların tespiti ve sunumu esnasında da danışman tarafından gerekli düzeltmeler yapılmış ve gerektiğinde yeniden kurgulanmalar ortaya konmuştur. Güvenilirlik konusunda da araştırma süreci içerisinde araştırmacı tarafından uygulanan her faaliyet ayrıntılı olarak anlatılmış, görüşme yapılan kişiler ya da incelenen doküman hakkında ayrıntılı bilgi verilmeye özen gösterilmiştir. En önemli unsur olarak da araştırmacı tarafından görüşme verileri ile doküman analizinden elde edilen verilerin karşılaştırılarak bir çeşitlemeye gidilmesidir.

Verilerin analiz edilerek bulguların elde edilmesi araştırmacı tarafından kurgulanan araştırma soruları çerçevesinde gerçekleşmiştir. Bulguların yazıya dökülmesi ise yine araştırma sorularının sıralamasına göre olmuştur.

YÖK'ün ortaya çıkmasının altında yatan en önemli iki neden olarak yükseköğretimde gözlenen çoklu kurumsal yapıların yarattığı belirsizlik ortamı ve istikrarlı bir akademik yaşamı engelleyen ve ülke bütünlüğünü tehdit eden öğrenci olaylarıdır. Bu konuda elde edilen bulgular bütün bu problem sahalarını çözüme ulaştırmak için kurumsal bir model oluşturacak bir reform hareketinin gerçekleşmesidir. Bunu gerçekleştirmek maksadıyla YÖK oluşturulmuştur. Oluşturulan YÖK modelinin vurgulamaya çalıştığı yükseköğretim sistemi ise Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarına bağlı, kalite anlayışına sahip, profesyonelliğe önem veren, yükseköğretimi yaygınlaştıran, siyaseti uzak tutan ve hesap verebilirliği getiren bir sistemdir. Bu sistemin geçekleşmesi ise YÖK'ün oluşmasında önemli rol oynayan aktörlerce Anglo-Sakson modelinin tam anlamıyla ihraç edilmesine

dayandırılmıştır. Bu anlamda, reformun arkasındaki aktörler askeri, siyasi ve akademik kesimlerin önde gelenleri olarak sınıflandırılmıştır. YÖK'ün ortaya çıkması esnasında askeri ve siyasi aktörlerin kurtuluş olarak tanımladıkları ekonomik model ve bu modele uygun olarak kurgulanan yükseköğretimin yönetici unsuru ilk bakışta bir uyumu ima ediyor gibi görünmektedirler. Reformun sisteme entegre edilmesi ve YÖK'ün yapılandırılması yasal yollarla gerçekleştirilmiş ve kapsama alanı içerisindeki tüm unsurlar bu konuda yasal zorunluluğa tabi tutulmuşlardır. Ayrıca, düzenlemeler esnasında yeni oluşturulan ortama tehdit teşkil edeceği düşünülenler hakkında ise kovuşturmalar, uzaklaştırmalar hatta tutuklamalar dahi gerçekleştirilmiştir.

YÖK ile birlikte girilen yeni dönem Türkiye'de yeni bir yükseköğretim alanının oluşması, ya da kurumsal açıdan bakıldığında, YÖK'ün de içinde bulunduğu bir örgütsel alanın doğmasına şahit olmuştur. Bu alanın oluşmasında YÖK marifetiyle hayata geçirilen yeni ilişki ağları, uluslararası düzeydeki bağlantılar ve getirilmeye çalışılan batı kaynaklı profesyonel normlar, kalite anlayışı ve bunun gibi birçok olgu YÖK'ün uygulamalarını teşkil etmekte ve mevcut yapılanmasına da yön vermektedir. Halbuki, YÖK'ün planladığı ve oluşturmaya çalıştığı alanın ortaya çıkması ve gelişimi, YÖK'ün başlangıçta hesapladığı ve tanımladığı sistemi aşmış ve bir anlamda başlangıçta tepesinde olduğu düşünülen YÖK'ü adeta bir uzantısı haline getirmiştir. Mevcut ulusal sektörler bir yandan üniversitelerle olan ilişkilerinde bazen YÖK'ü kendilerine bir engel olarak algılarken bir yandan da YÖK'e rağmen arzuları doğrultusunda ilerleme emareleri göstermektedirler. Bu sektörler, siyasi, ekonomik, akademik ve uluslararası çevreler olarak nitelendirilmektedir.

Görüşmeler sonucu elde edilen veriler bir yandan yükseköğretim üzerinde eşgüdüm sağlayıcı ve karmaşık ilişki ağlarını düzenleyici ve kolaylaştırıcı bir koordinasyon merkezinin olması gerektiğini vurgularken bir yandan da YÖK'ün mevcut merkeziyetçi, hiyerarşik ve bürokratik yapısı ile bu görevleri yerine getiremediği doğrultusundadır. YÖK öne sürdüğü modele uyumu sağlarken zorlayıcı mekanizmalar kullanarak ve uyum içerisinde olanları da teşvik ederek uygulamalarını sürdürmüştür. YÖK modeli gündeme getirildiğinde modele uygun olan ve aranan batı normlarına sahip olduğu düşünülen ODTÜ sistem içerisinde YÖK'ten fazla etkilenmeden bugüne ulaşan bir kurum olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu noktada üzerinde durulması gereken nokta daha Tanzimat'tan bu yana ulaşılmaya çalışılan modernlik ve Atatürk tarafından "muasır medeniyetler seviyesine ulaşma" olarak tanımlanan ilericilik ideallere ulaşmada öngörülen yöntemlerin etkin aktörler tarafından yapılan yorumlara dayandığı düşüncesidir. Nitekim, 1933 reformu ile oluşturulan Alman modeli ve yükseköğretimin buna göre düzenlenmesi, 1950'lerde cereyan eden Amerikan sistemine yakınlaşma ve müteakip düzenlemeler var olan bir örüntüye işaret etmektedir. Kısacası, kamusal ve siyasi reformlarla getirilen düzenlemeler akabinde yükseköğretim sistemlerini de etkilemiş ve kendilerine benzetmişlerdir.

1980 askeri harekâtı sonrasında kurulan YÖK de aslında o devre hükmeden siyasi yapının ve belirsiz de olsa ekonomik düzenin yansımalarını taşımaktadır. Burada 1980 sonrası düzenlemelerle öne çıkarılan siyasi, ekonomik ve uluslararası sektörler ve bunlara ek olarak sistemin içerisinde hep var olan akademik camia ortaya çıkan örgütsel alanın uç noktaları olarak algılanabilmektedirler. Dolayısıyla, yükseköğretim bu noktalar ile etkileşim içerisinde bulunmakta ve bunlara göre şekillenmektedir. Örgüt olarak YÖK ise yükseköğretim örgütsel alanı içerisinde ve yükseköğretime bağlı bir organ olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Ortaya çıkan yükseköğretim örgütsel alanı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, yükselen değerler ve beklentiler olarak kalite, profesyonellik, hesap verebilirlik, üniversite-sanayi ilişkileri, bilim ve teknoloji ve özerklik dikkat çekmektedir. Oluşan rekabetçi ve hızla değişen durumlar karşısında esnekliği öngören şartlar yükseköğretimi de içine almakta ve sürekli etkileşime zorlamaktadır. Toplumunun vazgeçilmez bir parçası olan üniversiteler içinde bulundukları örgütsel alana uyum sağlayarak bir anlamda varlıklarını sürdürmektedirler. Buna karşılık, YÖK geleneksel misyonunu tekrar gözden geçirmeden işlevini sürdürme eğilimindedir. Yükseköğretim alanı içerisinde yer bir örgüt olarak YÖK'ün de aynı baskılara maruz kaldığı söylenebilir. Özellikle rekabetçilik ve esneklik açısından uyum sağlayamayan YÖK de yükseköğretimdeki gelişmelere rağmen yapısını korumaya ve uygulamalarını da bu yönde gerçekleştirmeye çalışmaktadır.

Bu noktada yine örgütsel alan içerisinde faaliyet gösteren ve etkin olan aktörlerin oynadıkları roller ön plana çıkmaktadır. Kısacası, ulusal ve uluslararası sektörler beklentilerini açık etmektedirler. Buna karşılık YÖK kendi varlığını ve üzerine kurulu olduğu idealleri vurgulayarak devlet sistemi içerisindeki yerini teyit

etmeye çalışmaktadır. Son zamanlardaki YÖK tarafından verilen beyanatlar ve girilen tartışmalar YÖK'ün meşruiyetini pekiştirmek için farklı alanlarda da söylemlerde bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Bir yandan YÖK'ün bu yönü devleti ve devletin temel değerlerini koruma ve kollama refleksini ön plana çıkararak meşru bir örgüt olduğunu vurgularken bir yandan da asıl ilgilenmesi gereken yükseköğretimle ilgili meselelerden uzak kaldığını akla getirmektedir. İşte belki araştırmaya temel teşkil eden sorunsalla ilgili kurumsallaşma problemine cevap teşkil edecek ve kurumsallaşma ile ilgili bir takım ipuçlarının yakalanmasına sebep olacak çözümleme burada yatmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, Türk yükseköğretim sistemi üzerinde ve sisteme entegre olmuş biçimde, işleri kolaylaştırıcı bir koordinasyon merkezinin bulunması sistemin bir gereksinimi olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Dolayısıyla, gelişmiş ülkelerdeki örneklere bakarak bir yükseköğretim yönetim biriminin oluşturulması ilk etapta alınmış olan doğru bir karardır. Nitekim, Türk yükseköğretim sistemi, üniversite sayısındaki artış ve eğitimin yaygın hale getirilmesi, uluslararası dergilerde Türk akademisyenlerinin yazdığı makale sayısındaki gözle görülür artış, Türk üniversitelerindeki akademik normların batı standartlarına ulaşması, üniversitelerin üretim sektörüne katılım göstermeleri ve bunun gibi bir çok özellik YÖK ile gelen dönemin sonuçları olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Fakat YÖK ortaya çıkmadan önceki belirsizlik ve tehdit ortamı artık mevcut değildir ve o zamanın şartlarına göre tanımlanan YÖK modeli bugünün şartlarına göre tanımlanmayı beklemektedir.

Bulgulara göre oldukça mekanik ve yapısalcı olarak tanımlanan YÖK görüşmelerde başvurulan kişilerce "Zaloğlu Rüstem", "günah keçisi", "kırkayak" ya da "dev" gibi benzetmelere maruz kalmıştır. Bu benzetmeler aslında YÖK'ün mevcut yapısı ve uygulamaları ile asıl görevinden uzak ve bir anlamda hantal bir yapıya sahip olduğu düşüncesini akla getirmektedir. Dikkat edilecek unsur yapılan yorumlarda ve benzetmelerde YÖK'ün ortadan kalkması ya da gereksiz olduğu yönünde bir düşüncenin aksettirilmemiş olduğudur. Aksine, var olması gereken bir organın nasıl beklenen işlevinden uzaklaştığı vurgulanmaktadır.

Yapılan inceleme neticesinde, YÖK'ün Atatürk ile ortaya konan Cumhuriyetçi değerleri koruması ve Türk yükseköğretimini bu değerler etrafında yeniden tanımlamaya çalışması meşruiyetini konu alan tartışmada kurula artı puan kazandıran yön olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Fakat, başlangıçta planlanan eylemler ve

oluşturulmaya çalışılan yapılar doğrusal bir eksende hareket etmemektedirler. YÖK ile birlikte oluşturulmaya çalışılan örgütsel alan ve bu alana kazandırılmaya çalışılan nitelikler zaman içerisinde ve etkileşimlerin cereyan ettiği yönde sürekli yeni tanımlamalara maruz kalmışlardır. Dolayısıyla, yirminci yüzyılın sonlarına rastlayan YÖK dönemi de meydana gelen hızlı değişimler ve yoğun etkileşimler ağı içerisinde bir yükseköğretim alanının ortaya çıkmasına önderlik etmiştir. Bu alan içerisinde etkin hale gelen aktörler tarafından yapılan yeniden yorumlamalar ve tanımlamalar yükseköğretimi şekillendirmiş ve yükseköğretimin yönetimine de yeni beklentiler eklemiştir.

Değişen şartlara göre yeniden tanımlanmayan bir örgüt olarak YÖK ise bir anlamda zamanının gerisinde kalmış ve meşruiyeti konusunda da sorgulamalara maruz kalmıştır. YÖK asli görevi itibariyle, yani yükseköğretimi koordine etme ve ilişkileri düzenleme açısından gerekli bir kurum olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. YÖK'ten beklenen hızla gelişen ve rekabetçi bir dünyada Türk yükseköğretimine liderlik etmesidir. Buna bağlı olarak da YÖK'ün yapılarının ve bunlara dayalı olarak eylemlerinin zamanın koşularına bağlı olarak tekrardan tanımlanması gerekmektedir. Bu arada, YÖK meydana getirilirken yorumlanan koşullar içinde bulunulan zamana göre ve yükseköğretimin gelmiş olduğu seviye göz önünde bulundurularak tekrar yorumlanmalıdır.

Bu açıdan bakıldığında, örgütlerin, bilhassa YÖK benzeri üst düzey bürokratik kurumların yapılandırılması belirli bir ussallık ilkesine dayandırıldığı için öne sürülen ussal modellerin zamana göre tekrar gözden geçirilmesi bir gereksinim olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Toplumsal yapı her ne kadar bireysel beklentilerin çelişmesi nedeniyle çatışmaları içerse de toplum içerisindeki birliktelik erki zaman içerisinde tekrar düzensizlik içerisinden düzeni çıkararak uyumu sağlamaktadır. Belki de ulus olmanın temel özelliği olan bu netice toplumların özündeki merkezden uzaklaşma dürtüsü ile beraber yine gözle görülmeyen bir merkeze doğru itme dürtüsünün de olduğu düşüncesini akla getirmektedir. Toplum, kendisini oluşturan insanların matematiksel toplamından daha farklı bir varlığı temsil etmektedir. Toplum içerisindeki bir takım dinamikler "sosyal amalgam" vazifesi görmektedirler. Sanki toplum içerisindeki görünmez bir el toplumu bir arada tutmaktadır. Bireysel ve kolektif çıkar ilişkileri toplumun işleyişini şekillendirirken toplum içerisindeki bir bireyin ya da tek bir grubun çıkarları toplumun gidişatını açıklamada yetmemektedir.

Araştırmaya model teşkil eden kuramsal çerçeve ve dayanılan üçlü kurumsal desen bugüne kadar yapılmış olan kurumsallaşma araştırmalarının bir derlemesi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu modelle kurumsal kuram vasıtasıyla öne sürülen birçok kavramın bir nevi test edilmesi gerçekleşmiştir. Yeni kurumsalcılık kuramına göre ortaya atılan örgütlerin mevcut etken mitoslar ve ritüeller üzerine kurulu olduğu ve bu olguların örgütlerin yapı ve eylemlerini şekillendirdiği söylemi incelenen YÖK örneğinde tutarlı izlenimlere maruz kalmıştır. Ayrıca, yeni kurumsalcılık kuramının diğer ayağını oluşturan örgütsel alana dayalı baskıların örgütlerin yapı ve eylemlerine yön verdiği iddiası da doğrulanmıştır. Bunun yanında, örgütlerin dikey ve yatay biçimde değişik etkileşimler içerisinde olduğu ve bu etkileşimler neticesinde de yerel ve yerel olmayan diğer örgütlerle eşbiçimlilik gösterdikleri yönünde bulgular elde edilmiştir.

Yöntemsel açıdan bu çalışma mevcut yazına kullanılan kuramsal çerçeve olarak geliştirilen üçlü deseni katmış olduğu düşünülmektedir. Analizler neticesinde değerlendirilen yapı ve eylemlerin ne derece yayıldığını gösteren akış şeması da kurumsallaşma sorgulamasında etkin bir araç olarak kullanılabileceği düşünülmektedir. Buna rağmen, yapılan araştırmada yapılan değerlendirmeler araştırmacının gözlemlemelerine dayanmaktadır. Bir başka araştırmacı aynı modeli kullanarak farklı sonuçlar elde edebilir ya da aynı veya benzer sonuçlar elde etse de bunları farklı yorumlayabilir. Dolayısıyla, çalışmanın geçerlilik ve güvenilirliği tartışılırken bu konuların göz önünde bulundurulması gerektiği düşünülmektedir.

Araştırmacı tarafından ileriki araştırmalara ışık tutması açısından bazı önermeler öne sürülmüştür. Bunlardan birincisi yapıların veya uygulamaların yoğun kurumsallaşma içeren bağlamlarda mevcut inanç ve değerlerin tanımlanmalarına göre yayılmalarıdır. İkinci olarak, yapıların ve uygulamaların çevrede etkin olan normlara uydukları ölçüde tutunabildikleridir. Bu önermeleri doğrulayan ve bu araştırmayla benzer çerçevelerden yola çıkılarak yürütülmüş olan bazı yerel ve yabancı bulgular da mevcuttur. Bu bulguların vurguladığı temel unsur örgütün yapı ve eylemlerini anlamak için çevre ve bu çevre içerisindeki etkin aktörlerin tanımlanması gerektiğidir.

Bir başka önerme seti olarak da araştırmacı tarafından yine örgütsel alan tanımlamasına sadık kalarak alandaki kurumsallaşmanın derecesine göre benzeşmenin de tanımlanabileceği öne sürülmüştür. Buna göre ilk olarak, daha az

kurumsallaşma içeren örgütsel çevrelerde benzeşmenin daha az ortaya çıktığı ve dolayısıyla da arzu edilen yapıların kurumsallaşmasının engellendiğidir. İkinci olarak da yine az kurumsallaşmış ortamlarda yayılmanın farklılaşma derecesine bağlı olduğu önerilmektedir. Son olarak da az kurumsallaşmış ortamlarda zorlayıcı mekanizmaların yeniden tanımlamaya maruz olduğu ve bu durumun da yapılar ve eylemler arasında bir gevşek bağın mevcut olduğu vurgulanmaktadır.

YÖK bağlamında incelenen yapı ve uygulamaların yayılma sürecinde kullanılan kuramsal çerçeve yeni kurumsalcılık kuramına göre betimlenerek anlamalı sonuçlar ortaya koymuştur. Bu çalışma kurumsal kuramla ilgili olarak pek çok parametrenin göz önünde bulundurulması gerektiği sonucunu tespit etmiştir. Bu parametreler kurumsal kuram çerçevesinde yapılan incelemelerde bağlama dayalı olarak yeniden yorumlanıp kurgulandığında başka örgüt analizlerinde de anlamalı sonuçlar elde edilmesini sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.