

DYNAMICS OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION: THE CASE OF SOCIAL
RESEARCH INDUSTRY IN TURKEY

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DYNAMICS OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION: THE CASE OF SOCIAL
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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

DYNAMICS OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION: THE CASE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH INDUSTRY IN TURKEY

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Knowledge production dynamics around the world have subjected to a transformation effecting all knowledge production actors and all disciplines. The crucial part of this transformation is entrance of the non-academic actors in the field of knowledge production and the ways producing information. This study aims to interrogate how this global trend affects the dynamics of knowledge production in Turkey through non-academic actors in the field of applied social research, and provide empirical data regarding newly emerging social research industry. Based on the literature analyses transformation of knowledge production and informatization, this study also tries to show parallelism between universities and research industry within the conditions of capitalism. In order to understand changing dynamics of knowledge production in Turkey, a fieldwork with the actors of social research industry was conducted. Findings of this study and the literature show that dynamics of the social research industry is determined in line with the needs and standards of clients which mainly international non-governmental organizations and banks. The results indicate that in Turkey social research industry in parallel with trends in global knowledge production cannot be regarded as an actor of knowledge

production when knowledge is defined through theory and context. In consequence, this thesis suggests locating newly emerging non-academic actors as not the producers of knowledge but information.

Keywords: Knowledge Production, Research Industry, Consulting Firms, Social Research

ÖZ

BİLGİ ÜRETİM DİNAMİKLERİ: TÜRKİYE’DE SOSYAL ARAŞTIRMA SEKTÖRÜ

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Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Dünyada bilgi üretimi dinamikleri, tüm bilgi üretimi aktörlerini ve tüm disiplinleri etkileyen bir dönüşüm içerisinde. Bu dönüşümün önemli bir göstergesi de akademik olmayan aktörlerin bilgi üretimi alanına girişidir. Bu çalışma, bu küresel eğilimin uygulamalı sosyal araştırma alanındaki akademik olmayan aktörler aracılığıyla Türkiye'deki bilgi üretim dinamiklerini nasıl etkilediğini sorgulamayı ve yeni ortaya çıkan sosyal araştırma endüstrisi ile ilgili ampirik veriler sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Literatüre dayalı olarak bilgi üretimi ve enformasyonun dönüşümünü analiz eden bu çalışma aynı zamanda kapitalizm koşullarında üniversitelerin ve araştırma endüstrisinin arasındaki paralelliği sergilemeye çalışmaktadır. Türkiye'de bilgi üretiminin değişen dinamiklerini anlamak için sosyal araştırma endüstrisinin aktörleriyle saha çalışması yürütülmüştür. Bu çalışmanın bulguları, sosyal araştırma sektörü dinamiklerinin, temel olarak uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ve bankaların ihtiyaçları ve standartları doğrultusunda belirlendiğini göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, bilgi, teori ve bağlamla tanımlandığında Türkiye'de sosyal araştırma endüstrisinin, küresel bilgi üretimindeki eğilimlere paralel olarak, bilgi üretiminin aktörü olarak kabul

edilemeyeceğini göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, bu tez, akademik olmayan aktörleri bilgi değil malumat üreticisi olarak konumlandırmayı önermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bilgi Üretimi, Araştırma Piyasası, Danışmanlık Firmaları, Sosyal Araştırmalar

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CoHE	Council of Higher Education
CV	Curriculum Vitae
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ESIA	Environmental and Social Impact Assessment
EU	European Union
GAP	Southeast Anatolia Project
GIZ	The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
IFC	International Finance Corporation
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SIA	Social Impact Assessment
SPO	State Planning Organization
SPPS	Strong Program in Professional Sociology
TDHS	Turkey Demographic and Health Survey
TODAIE	Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü
ToR	Terms of Reference
TurkStat	Turkish Statistical Institute
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
US	United States
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Story of this thesis begin with a quite personal question: what am I doing? Just after getting my bachelor's degree, I had started a full-time work on a data science consultancy firm. In parallel with graduate courses, I had also a chance to observe and experience the conditions of knowledge production in research market through two-and-a-half years of working experience. Before this job, I involve some other researches and meet some companies in research sector before graduation. This newly emerging sector provides job opportunities for social science graduates. The one I have worked for is also a company established not so long ago before my date of employment. The main works of this company is to conduct researches through statistical and social scientific methods. Based on demands of national and international organizations this company collects quantitative and qualitative data and present a report including analysis of the data from the fieldwork.

At the beginning, I collected quantitative and qualitative data and assisting in different phases of research projects like literature review, assisting in preparing data collection tools and so on. As time goes on, I have started to take some other responsibilities like participating in bidding process of the projects, preparing proposals, field organization etc. During all those times, I have started to inquiry about knowledge production processes in this field (can be called mainly as applied social research) and my position in the sector. I have observed many things regarding the sector, motivation of the clients, research process and fieldwork. Research in the sector as quite distinct from what I have learnt in the school does have a specific character, and it dated back not so long ago in Turkey. Even though my experiences are limited with nationwide researches, I had also chance to work with international funder organizations. Even if the question of “what am I doing”

seems like a personal matter, it turns an epistemological question for this specific case.

1.1. Rationale

Through last decades, changing definition, nature and possibility of knowledge in our age has been questioned in almost all branches of science from medicine to sociology. It is crucial to make an in-depth analysis on historical transformation of scientific knowledge to understand today's conditions of knowledge production in the world: Modern universities and today's corporations which is based upon research in different fields. Unlike historical formation of universities, transformation of knowledge, especially in Europe and America, has become very similar due to the demand of global market. Today, what is expected from universities is the commercialization of higher education and of knowledge which also corresponds mass production of "useful" information. As a result of the historical conditions, social sciences, alike other disciplines, are also part of knowledge industry where basic research is no longer funded or promoted. In the age of information, it is expected that science and knowledge regardless of its field should be for the sake of benefit and direct needs of society.

It is essential to understand the rapidly developing and transforming research industry to better understand the position of social sciences in today's knowledge economy. In this sense, this study will analyze social research industry in Turkey in the context of transformation of knowledge production.

Within this market condition, the dynamics of production process and its position in national and global context must be questioned especially in Turkey where such kind of developments are relatively new. In this thesis, Turkey's experience of this global trend will be discussed through non-academic knowledge production actors which their primary goal is to make qualitative and quantitative analysis of data from the research field. Accordingly, the main problem of this thesis is knowledge production in the applied field in the aspect of sociology: How does Turkey

experience global knowledge production trends in social research industry? Through this line of questioning, the sub-questions will be;

- (1) Why do funder or client needs information in a certain field?
- (2) How the outputs of social researches are used?
- (3) What is the role of funders on research projects?
- (4) What are the quality standards of research results or reports?

The main objective of the proposed research is to understand the position of the social researches conducted in Turkey with regard to production of information. In this discussion, theories of transformation of knowledge production will be at the center. Conceptually, Daniel Bell's (1999) conceptualizations of knowledge and information is crucial to understand the argument of this study which knowledge is not possible and what the research industry produce is information. Difference between knowledge and information, and the transformation knowledge production into information production could be conceptualized as informatization. It actually refers an age defining transformation of societies to information-based organizations. However, in this context it refers converting something into data and information without being related to a context or a theory. In parallel with this, Burawoy's (2005) concept 'end of pure science' and Delanty's (1998) concept 'end of knowledge' will be referred in order to better understand of the position of social research industry. Theoretical references in this study is based on the question what it is meant by global trend. Works of Bell (1999) and Gibbons et al. (1994/2010) on historical transformation of knowledge production dynamics will make clear the discussion of transformation of knowledge and the new non-academic actors in the field. This transformation affects Turkey's dynamics of knowledge production by introducing the new actors and rising the production of information.

To make this discussion clear it is also crucial to understand all the processes of knowledge production with an inquiry from the perspective of different actors involved. Within today's condition of the knowledge production and social sciences, it would be better to observe possible effects of applied social research for understanding of 'value of science' in 'information age'. I will try to elaborate this

discussion by questioning practical needs of capitalist market and governmental agencies. Then, at the end of the discussion, I will try to situate social research industry in global context of knowledge production.

In Turkey, there is little or no study on this issue mostly because it is a newly emerging sector. One of the examples similar with this study is “The Ethnography of Market Research Companies in Turkey: The Re-production of Knowledge” (Gunes, 2017) which focusing on market research and anthropological methodologies. While Gunes’s study is based on market research and anthropological methodologies, this study is limited with social research excluding market research, public opinion and election research. However, these two studies could be seen as complementary in terms of their concern knowledge production in the market through social sciences methodologies from different areas of the industry. In this sense, this study aims to interrogate how global trend affects the dynamics of knowledge production in Turkey through non-academic actors in the field of applied social research, and provide empirical data regarding newly emerging social research industry.

1.2. Outline of the Thesis

Taking full account of the fact that complex nature of knowledge and knowledge production are not easy notions to handle in a master’s thesis. Even though a case study on applied field gives a kind of solid foundation, knowledge production could not be dissociated with its historical background, institutions and actors in the field. On the other hand, it is also difficult to narrow down knowledge the discussion with social science or social research field. In this thesis, while applied social research at the center of the discussion, current debate on knowledge and science is presented without going into detail. Hereby, outline of this study is presented respectively.

In introduction chapter, techniques used in this study is explained with its details and justifications. My position in this research is discussed as both active observation and insider position which is partly related notions in the literature. As

a qualitative research method, semi-structured interview is presented with its structure and profile of respondents.

Second chapter could be regarded as a theoretical background chapter based on the current conditions of knowledge and its production by different actors and organizations. Definition of knowledge and information, position of the universities towards market forces is tried to be discussed with their basics. In order to bridge between this theoretical background and the case study of the thesis, universities in neoliberal context is handled in relation with applied research. Applied field in the field of global knowledge production is the key for understanding knowledge economy and research companies in specific. All topics in this and following chapters are quite interrelated fields where all notions and debates are intertwined.

In the second chapter, almost all discussions and concepts are presented through western literature where nearly all scholars, books and peer reviews are based on cases and conceptualizing of “developed” world. As it is explained at the beginning, this thesis is based on a case study in Turkey. It tries to elaborate knowledge production conditions in the market and basically its historical transformation. As a matter of fact, it would be missing if one tries to understand and explain a case by Western notions and literature directly based on experiences on developed countries. Having said that the end of the second chapter is organized as a bridge between western literature and Turkey case as a “developing” country. In this chapter, development debate would be in the center since its direct relation with transformation in knowledge production in non-hegemonic countries.

Third chapter provides historical background of social researches through both the existing literature and the narratives of the interviewees. In this section, it could also be observed the effects of international organizations and aids in emergence of social research industry.

At the core of the fourth chapter there is the question of how Turkey currently experiences the global transformation of knowledge production. Through a field research based on participant observation and semi-structured interviews with

experts working in the research sector, conditions of social researches conducted outside of the universities are tried to be understood with different dimensions: (1) bidding process of the research funded, (2) quality of data and information from applied social researches, (3) usefulness of the funded researches, (4) legitimization role of the research and data manipulation, (5) dissemination of data or results, (6) potentiality of research outputs as a source for academic knowledge production.

1.3. Method of the Study

The primary source of this thesis is my three years professional experience in a consultancy firm. My experience on the field makes me active participant observer for this study at the same time. Furthermore, in order to perceive better, the situation of social researches in the research market and in the field of applied social sciences, actors involved in this kind sociological knowledge production have been examined through field research and the literature. I conduct a qualitative field research which is based upon in-depth interview with those professionals. A semi-structured interview directory used during the interviews as a guide that its details will be given later. Voice recorder is used in all of the interviews and full transcription is made. All interviewees' oral consent was gained before voice recorder started.

For this thesis, thirteen in-depth interviews were conducted with the experts currently working in the sector. Three of the interviews were conducted with the people who are working in a firm based in İstanbul. All other interviewees were conducted in Ankara with the people working in firms or NGOs. In this respect, the geographical scope of the research is quite narrow. In other regions of Turkey, there are institutions that conduct applied social research and clients. These researches are mostly conducted by local funds (municipalities, development agencies, etc.) and local companies.

Sampling is not generalizable to applied social researches conducted by non-academic agencies of knowledge production i.e. research companies and NGOs conducting social researches throughout Turkey. It is also worth noting that personal motivation is very decisive even within the organization, so it is impossible to generalize even certain institutional structures. However, because of the limited

population working in the sector, the number interviews conducted is sufficient in terms of exhibiting a pattern about the status and progress of social research in Turkey. The fact that Ankara could be thought as the center of large-scale and internationally funded social researches in Turkey strengthens this idea.

1.3.1. Structure of the Interview Directory

Interview directory is not in a form of structured questions directed all the respondents in the same way. Directory starts with introductory questions to understand the position of the interviewee in the sector. According to the profile of the respondents, I modified the directory by going into detail with specific issues and omitting some parts in directory. After the introductory part, I questioned historical background of the sector based on social research. As the sector has a relatively short history in Turkey, almost all respondents have an idea on this issue with their own experiences in the sector. So, these introductory questions do not only aim to get to know the interviewee but also to get instances about sector development.

Following this, the questions regarding the current situation in the sector includes source of funding for the projects, distribution of national and international funds, the reasons of increasing demand for social research and profile of experts and their autonomy in the process. In the other two parts of the directory, the process of knowledge production is examined from the very beginning to the end. At the beginning, motivation behind funded researches is questioned. As part of the bidding process, I inquire about the actors in determination of the scale and methodology of the research. Through this part, I tried to understand how much the experts or consultants has an initiative on the research, quality determinants of the research results and involvement of the clients on research projects.

Even though the questions are mainly focused on the dynamics of applied research in the market; collaboration with university staff, comparison between academic studies and researches in the market was always one of the central discussions in the interviews because of the very nature of the issue.

Lastly, the directory involves the questions on the process after submitting the research results. In this part; dissemination of knowledge, whether the results are applied in any action is questioned.

1.3.2. Profile of the Respondents

All respondents were found through personal connections or snowball sampling. Except three of the respondents from the funder side (two of them are from international organizations and one of them is from a national state foundation), most of the respondents are from consultancy firms or some unique examples of non-profit organizations founded for the purpose of conducting social research.

At the beginning, more respondents were supposed to include this research from the side of “supplier” or “funder”. However, it was not easy to reach that side of the sector albeit a strong social and professional network in the field. No one among the participants were able to refer a person from that side. The other explanation of this limitation is the political atmosphere in Turkey. Some of the potential respondents from government agencies refused the interview due to worries about his position as a civil servant.

Table 1
Profile of Respondents

Gender	Graduation	Sector	Years in the sector	Educational background
F	2007	Consultancy - SIA	10	Social Sciences
F	2008	Consultancy - SIA	9	Social Sciences
F	2003	Consultancy	16	Social Sciences
F	2000	Consultancy	7	Social Sciences
M	1989	Non-profit	17	Engineering
F	1980	Regional program	27	Archeology
F	2006	Int. donor organization	10	Social Sciences
M	2002	Int. donor organization	2	Social Sciences
M	2002	Consultancy	17	Social Sciences
F	2004	Non-profit	7	Social Sciences
M	1999	Consultancy	10	Social Sciences
M	1998	Non-profit	21	Engineering
M	1992	Consultancy	26	Statistics

The other point which should be underlined in this part is transitive professional identities of participants. By the concept of transitive professional identities, different career paths in a lifetime of a social researcher could be experienced in Turkey is referred. One might be academician at the beginning, and she might continue her professional life as an expert in the market, or one might start his career as a social researcher in a consultancy firm, then he might switch to another path with international non-profit organizations as an expert. It is quite possible to expose such examples in Turkey especially in recent years. The group of participants in this study also roughly represent these different paths for social science graduates.

As it is stated in the previous part, all interviews began with introductory questions regarding academic and professional careers of the respondents. Many of the respondents has a social science bachelor's degree. Almost half of the participants have also master's degree in different fields of social sciences. Thereby, through this field study, it was also observed a general tendency in the market and academia for graduates of social sciences.

It was a good chance to have a few interviewees have doctoral degree on social sciences and define themselves primarily as academicians. Those are the professionals who have started to work in the sector after pausing or leaving their academic career with different motivations which will be stated under the title "engagement in the sector" in Turkey. Thus, during the interviews, it became easier to make a comparative analysis between academic and sectoral knowledge production trends in Turkey and across the world. These experts who have gained experience in the production of academic knowledge and then gained sector experience are naturally more inclined to see and understand the different and similar dynamics of knowledge production of academia and the sector in response to the demands of the market. As it will be discussed in next chapters, academy and market have numerous similarities in terms of knowledge production trends and their relations with globalized market economy.

1.4. Active Participant Observation and Autoethnography

As it is stated at the beginning, the idea of a study based upon social research consultancy experiences is originated from my own professional experience in the field. However, my experience is not only the source of idea but also it provides me with all the perspectives through experiencing and observation. For this reason, it can be regarded as the primary data source of this study is my professional experience and observation. Such clarification on the position of the researcher in the field is crucial to understand the relationship between the researcher and the data. This relationship has a decisive role throughout all the research and writing process. This position provides opportunities to researcher in all levels of the study but especially at the beginning for defining the research question, constructing interview directories and critical points to be inquired in the field.

“Active participation implies that the researcher is joined with people—their thoughts, feelings, and activities—and, thereby, connected to their lives. The participant observer typically performs some socially available role or roles, even if only nominally, in the study setting” (Jorgensen, 2015, P. 2). For this study, observational field is not a daily setting but professional setting where people behave accordingly. That’s why observational inquiry is not possible through passive observation or as an external observer in such a professional setting.

Being a participant observer, especially in the fields of information production and social research, stands at a critical point. Through being the observational unit at the same time, it is possible to obtain a lot of data that an external observer cannot provide by any other means. To put it more clearly, participants may avoid explaining the problems and ethical deficiencies in the sector during the in-depth interviews recorded. Even if there is a trust between the interviewer and the interviewee, it is the responsibility of representing an institution in the participants.

In early examples of participant observation, it is employed primarily for understanding non-Western cultures and particular aspects of them, such as language, family, and kinship or religion (Jorgensen, 2015). As it is understood from

the early examples of participant observation as a research method, the researcher using this method is not a part of the community observed. But for this study, participant observation as an outsider is not case. It could be more suitable to define observation method used in this study as autoethnography. In autoethnography, researchers' position can be described as both active participant observer and insider. Analytic autoethnography, similarly, is characterized with its five key features include "(1) complete member researcher status, (2) analytic reflexivity, (3) narrative visibility of the researcher's self, (4) dialogue with informants beyond the self, and (5) commitment to theoretical analysis" (Anderson, 2006, p. 378). Different from a group member or participant observer auto-ethnographer has the ability to participate in a social setting with a self-conscious inquiry. Like this study, there are other examples in the literature based on personal experiences in the work field which could be regarded as autoethnography (p. 375). However, even though this method is mostly used in ethnographic field "it remains unclear as to whether or not autoethnography is a distinctive method of research, as some claim, or a special form and extension of the cultivation of the insider membership roles that some participant observers explicitly embraced some 40 years ago. ... many earlier participant observers depended on personal experiences and made critical use of them in describing and interpreting human realities" (Jorgensen, 2015, p. 12). Participant observation or auto-ethnography methods are directly related with "insiderism" notion which is elaborated in the next part.

1.4.1. Insider/Outsider

It should be noted that we are all the observer of this particular area of subject by being a part of the society where science and knowledge are formed and shaped. In the same way, we are all the outsiders of the infinite world of knowledge or information. Thus, there is no definite lines between insiders and outsiders of a certain social group, and similarly there is no such a position could embrace a subject matter in any way. In parallel with this, the total insiderism are only possible for "highly fragmented small aggregates sharing the same status sets" (Merton, 1972, p.24) which could not be the case in this study.

Throughout all the steps of the research and writing process I have tried to keep in mind the possible traps of being an insider in my subject like the risk of intellectual perspective and perception which can be quite subjective based upon my own unique experiences in the sector. My position as a researcher in the sector and a student could also lead me some biased opinions regarding both sides. In this case, it is crucial to approach the subject with different perspectives from clients, research companies and literature.

In my case, the outsider of the area of knowledge production in the research market is also able to reach the key informants and the data from the field. Particularly, my position cannot be regarded as total insider because of the structure of research which is two sided – clients and suppliers of information. However, my position as an insider gives me a solid ground for what, why and how questions at the beginning and for making a comprehensive analysis by benefiting from my own observations and experiences. Another advantage of being an insider is about the structure and flow of the interview which could mostly and immediately turn into a heart-to-heart talk. In this way, the warmup questions in the flow of interviews quickly turned into an intimate conversation and sharing of problems in the sector, working experiences, knowledge production, etc., allowed the interviews to be more productive and enjoyable.

The other point is that all scientists, researchers or experts in any field could infer more or less the same results as my specific subject matter i.e. sociological knowledge. Paradigmatic changes, mainly originated from Western science, are determined all over the world by means of international funds, market economy, colonialism and rapid propagation of academic and technological knowledge. So, all insights from literature review and the field study could also be applied for all other disciplines. The limitation of this thesis to the framework of social research should not be related to the specific structure of social research or social sciences. As will be briefly mentioned in the following sections, the change is considered universal and paradigmatic, but is closely related to all knowledge production processes in almost all disciplines.

Within this complex system of relations, being and total outsiders or insiders is not possible in terms of sectoral tendencies and different profiles of experts in the area. Such blurred position of mine and the respondents make this research more comprehensive because of the power of eliminating the risks of being outsiders or insiders:

I'm not at the academy right now, but the answers you get about the academy are acceptable from the inside. You can take it as positive or negative bias. But you might think that I consider the events related to the UN world, NGO's, research companies I work with more from the outside. You can consider my position as both insider and outsider. (Interview with Ekin¹)

It should be kept in mind that the respondents have unique academic and professional career paths even they are all in the same market as social scientists or social researchers. Besides, in the field of social researches and research companies, each and every one of the researches has unique processes and stories in terms of its subject, scope, source of funding, bureaucratic requirements, research team and so on. For this reason, making a generalization or a fully comprehensive analysis of the subject is nearly impossible within this scope

¹ Throughout this study, all the names of the interviewees will be replaced with nicknames.

CHAPTER 2

FROM THE AGE OF KNOWLEDGE TO INFORMATION AGE

In this chapter, at the beginning, there will be a limited story of the idea of knowledge and its historical roots. Due to the fact that the meaning of the term knowledge is not easy to put forward in short and clearly, I would like to question its historical transition by the works of pioneer scholars with their valuable contributions on sociology of knowledge and transformations of science and knowledge production.

Bell (1999) makes the distinction between data, information and knowledge which can be used interchangeably. Firstly, the distinction between information and data is as follows:

We can, for a start, identify data as sequences of events or statistics in an ordered fashion, such as reports of consumer prices or gross national product or the structure of DNA or the combinations in the periodic table of chemistry. Information has meaning—news, events, and data—when we can establish a context that shows relationships among these items and presents them as organized topics (p. 125).

In order to distinguish the concept of knowledge from information and data, Bell first examined the notions “knowing about” and “knowing of”: “Information is knowing about news, events, and happenings. Knowing of the significance of events comes from the knowledge verified by context or theory” (Bell, 1999, p. 128). In other words, Bell defines knowledge through its relation to theory.

Fuller tries to grasp the word information with its Latin origins: “the process by which forms were transferred (or “communicated”) from one material thing to another. Things were thus “informed” in the course of acquiring distinct identities. ... As for “knowledge,” it was the mind’s representation of this process, which was usually understood in relatively passive terms. Knowledge was the result of the

mind's receptiveness to what lies outside it. The type of discipline needed to acquire knowledge was the removal of obstacles to reception, including false ideas and prejudices" (2001, p. 16).

What Machlup understands from "knowledge production" is what it is really meant: "any activity by which someone learns of something he or she has not known before, even if others have" (1980, p. 7). On the other hand, for better understanding the conceptual framework of the study, what we understood by an act "production" is also framed by Fuller as "the search for information involves the construction of mediating instruments –so called information and communication technologies– that enable not only the current agent to achieve the current goal, but also other agents to achieve related goals" (2001, p. 18).

From these two definitions of knowledge and information, Bell's conceptualization of knowledge is more distinctive for today's conditions of knowledge production. In this study, knowledge production in applied field and commercialized academic studies will not be regarded as "knowledge production" but "information production".

2.1. Historical Transformation of Knowledge Production: Position of Knowledge in the 21st Century

In his study, one of the underlying concepts in this study is Weber's "instrumental rationality" that concerns the selection of the means rather than the ends. The term rationality is the most common concept of modernity which defined in two ways by Weber: One of them is absolute value oriented and the other one is based on fitting means to ends (1978, p. 29). He explains that one of the fundamental conditions of Western capitalism is the development of certain technical possibilities, and that the most basic condition for its realization is exact calculation (p. 338). In this context, Weber makes a distinction between early modernity where knowledge is characterized by curiosity and modern capitalist societies which are dominated by instrumental rationality. In that sense, knowledge is an important element of modernism which direct itself to efficacy. One of the main features of modern

rational capitalism is calculability. According to Weber: “For modern rational capitalism has need, not only of the technical means of production, but of a calculable legal system and of administration in terms of formal rules” (Weber, 1930/2005).

Another distinctive character of the age is defining rational actions for identifying the means (Bell, 1999, p. 274). Bell, without denying that this era can be conceptualized as a knowledge society, uses the term post-industrial instead of using definitions such as information age or knowledge society. The reason for this is that the term post-industrial corresponds to both the pre-industrial and industrial period defined by production and that information is not the only determinant.² He introduces Intellectual technology as the decisive structural feature of production and social structure (1999). “One aspect of the post-industrial society, for example, is the increasing bureaucratization of science and the increasing specialization of intellectual work into minute parts” (p. 237). For specialization of academic researches, Delanty (1998) states that knowledge has become lose its unitary and coherent feature and “has become context- specific and is frequently problem-oriented” (p. 18). Different from the perspective of Bell’s definitions of knowledge and information, Delanty does not make a conceptual differentiation between the terms knowledge and information.

Within this rational and post-industrial organization of society, science and technology is also under control through policies and programs. As an aspect of rationalization, this transformation in Western societies led to bureaucratization of science as well.

The growth of research and development funds, particularly after 1956, has multiplied the claimants of funds for science. Universities have become active political entities in the search for money. Scientists and engineers have started hundreds of profit and nonprofit companies to do research and evaluation. The number of scientific and technical associations with headquarters in Washington to represent their constituents has multiplied enormously. This is the broad base of the bureaucratization of science. (Bell, 1999, p. 1079) ... In the over-all organization of science, the creation of a centralized bureaucracy—and centralization is an invariable tendency in these instances—could mean the stifling of inquiry, the demand that scientific work be

² Bell explains the reason of using prefix post as its “sense of living in interstitial time”. *ibid.* p. 188

responsive to stipulated national or social needs and the priority of political goals over scientific work. (p. 1082)

“We define the knowledge economy as production and services based on knowledge-intensive activities that contribute to an accelerated pace of technological and scientific advance as well as equally rapid obsolescence” (Powell & Snellman, 2004, p. 199). Similarly, in Bell's concept of post-industrial society, the new and decisive feature is “the codification of theoretical knowledge and the new relation of science to technology” (Bell, 1973, p. 25). Unlike machine technology of industrial society, the main source of development in post-industrial society is information technology. Parallel with this statement, “it is characterized not by a labor theory but by a knowledge theory of value” (p. 139).

2.1.1. The New Mode of Knowledge Production

The new mode of Information production and consumption is discussed with different perspectives and conceptualizations in the literature. One of them is Gibbons' concept of mode 2. As Gibbons put forward, this new mode can also be defined by the expansion of these areas and the exponential increase in the human resources employed in this field (1994/2010). Consequently, the intensification of the use of technology and the mass production of information are the beginnings of today's conditions twenty years ago.

Times science was conducted for the sake of science or for the sake of human wills have ended; now, it is a world in which science is conducted in accordance with the demands of the market. This process also necessitated the producers of knowledge and academicians to leave their posts as “scientists” and turn into “experts”. As a result, the approach of the scientist to knowledge “as an end in itself” approximated the professional understanding of knowledge “as a means toward market-driven ends” (Fuller, 2001, p. 20). Primarily, there is a point in the fact that truth claim is even far from being a subject of debate. With the advent of applied science, in parallel with this transformation, new actors in knowledge production come to the fore.

Other distinctive characteristic of mode 2 knowledge production is being transdisciplinary. As it is mentioned before, extensive social researches and projects for different needs are funded by big companies and organizations. In that sense, many of these organizations prefer outsourcing, i.e. consultancy firms, for such assignments. Those research projects are implemented by using methods of social sciences and other disciplines by consulting firms that specialize in it. Mostly, those researches have conducted with quantitative techniques. However, in recent years, qualitative methods and techniques of other disciplines have started to be implemented for the sake of accuracy of the data. Within a limited time frame determined by the client, those social researches are conducted with a large number of experts and team members. This means that each expert is responsible for his/her own part such as conducting interviews or focus groups discussions, cleaning the raw data, analyzing and writing a report by using those inputs. That's why this process could be called 'industrial process of knowledge production'.

However, it should be kept in mind that every discussion that is dominant in the literature is based on Western technology and knowledge. In addition to mode 2 production, the Western world is currently experiencing concepts such as big data and knowledge management. Although the definitions of the new mode of knowledge production, which Gibbons introduced in 1994, are similar to today's production conditions, it is evident that the decade has changed fundamental dynamics. As with almost every development, different centers of the world experience these rapid and sharp changes in different ways. Whereas the West specializes in the fields of big data and knowledge management, "other countries" who are trampled under the economic and cultural capital of the West and who are also attempting to develop in relation to it are trying to adapt to the changes in a similar manner to all these processes of production yet in a unique and a complicated structure.

2.1.2. Commodification of Knowledge

In the conditions of new age which is described as information society (Webster, 1995/2006), knowledge is reified and transformed into a commodity. In Lyotard's

(1984) study to understand the postmodern condition of knowledge, he presents the impacts of societal and cultural transformations on knowledge.

The relationship of the suppliers and users of knowledge to the knowledge they supply and use is now tending, and will increasingly tend, to assume the form already taken by the relationship of commodity producers and consumers to the commodities they produce and consume—that is, the form of value. Knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold, it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production: in both cases, the goal is exchange. Knowledge ceases to be an end in itself, it loses its "use-value". (Lyotard, 1984, p. 4)

Today, it would be inadequate to discuss commercialization and commodification of knowledge production only within the context of products in the market. It has become the case for academic field. In his work, Kauppinen examines the commodification of knowledge with regard to higher educational product and academic research itself, and he tries to answer the questions like ‘what is commodity’ and ‘can knowledge be treated as commodity’ in different forms (2013, p. 3). Basically, unlike academic knowledge that academics are able to commodify, outputs of the research are sold as “packaged commodities” (p. 8) in research market. The commodification of knowledge refers reification of knowledge produced, presented and consumed within the mechanisms of competition and profit with its instrumental value (Vatansever, Gezici-Yalçın, p. 42).

Financial, technical and human resources are used extensively for the completion of comprehensive research in a short time in research market. In such an environment, there is no one who has mastered the process of knowledge production and the knowledge produced. No expert can claim the subject-matter alone; there are experts from various fields in each phase of the research, who deal with only one output. The outputs are articulated later by one person or a team to achieve unity. However, academic knowledge, even if it is managed by more than person or source, is under the control of the academician, and the end-result is a product of the labour of everyone involved. Another significant point in terms of the commodification of knowledge production is the dissolution of the human beings’ positions as subjects and, in relation, the change in the meaning of knowledge.

Since the “raw data” collected out of society through installed automatons (database systems that enable an automatic data stream) is gathered in the brain of the market

consisting of a computer and since the decision-making capacities of a CEO are bypassed in the process due to knowledge mining technologies, this mechanism that now produces plans of action (zweckrational) in an infallible certainty, changing the meaning of knowledge, turns it into a commodity that is not necessary for humans to know (because, on the face of it, the life or experience-world of a human is not important anymore)... Human being who loses the truth of a subject-ground and the privilege to determine the facts constituting it against the abundance of data provided by the market that transcended the position of human, also loses the power to see the data in its entirety to turn it into knowledge and to relate different data to each other to reach meaningful results, and, as a result, necessarily sees the fragmented bombardment of data coming to him/her as a shallow and meaningless mass of information. (Yıldırım, 2016, p.332) (translation is mine)

The fact that the data and information is completely owned by the customer is another determining factor. In almost every research conducted on the market, the confidentiality agreement ensures that researchers do not use or even talk about the collected data. In such studies, the researcher works as information worker only during the stages of data collection and analysis. He or she has no control or authority over the entire process. This situation may be considered as an estrangement on knowledge workers; however, it is also very complicated because of the unique position of knowledge. Even though the knowledge can be reified in the market, the knowledge worker will still have the knowledge after it is sold as codified. (Kauppinen, 2014, p. 11; Bell, 1999, p. 184).

“A hazardous undertow is the aforementioned commercialization of knowledge, influencing the teaching, research, and public service missions (Scott, 2006, P. 30)” Due to its very nature of theoretical knowledge which does not have any direct use for the market, its “value” is incalculable. With Bell’s question: “How much money should be spent for basic research; what allocations should be made for education” (1999, p. 185). The fact that knowledge becomes something that can be calculated also changes the definition of knowledge or destroys the possibilities of knowledge and opens up a field for “information production”. Reification and commodification of knowledge gives the opportunity to estimate the price of information derived from a research in the market.

The commodification of knowledge also means that the ones who produce it turn into workers. Bell states that, in the post-industrial period where knowledge is at the

center of production and the political order, the social structure and the social classes accordingly metamorphose.

... I have proposed a distinction between knowledge workers (in terms of their functions) as "professional estates" (scientific, applied technological, administrative, and cultural) and their "situses," or employment locations (business firms, governments, universities, and social services) where they are distributed (see coda, section one). A scientist may be employed in a business firm or a university, and his or her sense of what his "interests" are may vary. A knowledge worker's interests may be determined by his or her "professional" identification or by his or her "situses." There are no fixed rules of determination. (Bell, 1999, p.135)

Within the scope of applied social research, Merton (1949, p. 170) defines them as research workers who is responsible for detect a "practical problem", defines achievable goals accordingly and persuade policy makers for effective means to reach defined goals through social researches.

2.1.3. End of Pure Science

Unlike applied sciences which based mostly on client demands, basic sciences or basic research are dealing with developing theories. Basically, the main inquiry of basic research is truth and knowledge that the only source of inquiry is reason (Derrida et al., 1983). Applied research, oriented research which is directly organized for a specific end has been gradually took the place of fundamental research, pure science or basic science.

We speak of "oriented" research where, not so long ago, we spoke- as Peirce did- of "application." For it is growing more and more obvious that, without being immediately applied or applicable, research may "payoff," be usable, "end-oriented," in more or less deferred ways. And what is at stake is not merely what sometimes used to be called the techno-economic, medical, or military "by-products" of pure research. The detours, delays and relays of "orientation," its random aspects as well, are more disconcerting than ever. Hence the attempt, by every possible means, to take them into account, to integrate them to the rational calculus of programmed research. A term like "orient" is preferred to "apply", in addition, because the word is less "utilitarian" it leaves open the possibility that noble aims may be written into the program. ... basic, "fundamental" research, disinterested research with aims that would not be pledged in advance to some utilitarian purpose. (Derrida et al., 1983, p.12)

On differences between applied and pure sociology, there is a standpoint as if they are totally distinct and even opposite approaches. Burawoy's work (2005) reveals these so-called opposition through terms scientific sociology, pure sociology on the

one side and activist sociology, or third-wave sociology (including policy, public and professional types of sociologies) on the other. He criticizes SPPS (Strong Program in Professional Sociology – briefly a program critics Burawoy’s conceptualization public sociology) basically due to their outdated technology and standpoints which could not positioned in 21st century.

Although the rapid rise of applied sociology is considered to be the end of the basic sciences, it is possible to see it as an important contribution to the basic sciences. In other words, pure and applied sciences are not inherently independent of each other. Even though there is no use of “generalized propositions of pure social science” (Gouldner, 1956, p. 171), applied researcher is using theoretical concepts to understand and present the phenomenon. “Third-wave sociology counterpoises reflexive to instrumental knowledge, but never to the exclusion of either. It refuses the post structuralist reduction of all knowledge to reflexive knowledge no less than pure science's reduction of all knowledge to instrumental knowledge” (Burawoy, 2005, P. 163). He advocates new approaches in sociology without bringing “different sociologies” into conflict.

Delanty (1998) explains this transformation by comparing the enlightenment idea of knowledge with the position of modern universities. For him, the late modern universities and their positions in respect to the industry and the state brought ‘the end of knowledge’ understood with enlightenment idea as ‘knowledge for itself’: “the shift in the identity and function of the university from the Enlightenment to the global era can be understood as the move from 'knowledge as an end' to 'the end of knowledge'.”

In the following pages, I will discuss how the transformation in universities provides the basis for the emergence of the research market through entrepreneurial universities and Bologna process.

2.2. Transformation of University

It is clear that the conditions of science and knowledge production change rapidly all over the world. Countries and institutions are experiencing different paths of change through this process. In order to contemplate these developments and the position of information production in the world, which are not independent of each other, it is necessary to look at the differences between the continents and countries, and also to briefly discuss how different organizations (academia, government institutions, private companies etc.) experience this process.

In this section, first of all, function and transformation of the universities will be explained historically, in a broad sense. It can be claimed that, universities, from the Ancient Greek until now, have been an institutional tool for whatever the societies and governments need in a sense. Since the history of universities, what is higher education and how it is located in society has always been a subject of discussion. In an inaugural address in 1867, Mill stressed that the purpose of universities is not to train professionals:

What professional men should carry away with them from a University, is not professional knowledge, but that which should direct the use of their professional knowledge and bring the light of general culture to illuminate the technicalities of a special pursuit. Men may be competent lawyers without general education, but it depends on general education to make them philosophic lawyers who demand, and are capable of apprehending, principles, instead of merely cramming their memory with details. And so of all other useful pursuits, mechanical included. Education makes a man a more intelligent shoemaker, if that be his occupation, but not by teaching him how to make shoes; it does so by the mental exercise it gives, and the habits it impresses. (p. 5)

In line with the ideas of Mill promoting general education instead of professional education, at the end of 19th century, the notion of ideal modern university, first represented by Humboldt University which is also the symbol of German model (Rüegg, 2004). It defends the idea that scientific knowledge must be produced and thought in free and autonomous institutions where there is no direct effect of the free market and the state. The Humboldtian University could be considered as a pioneer model which promotes not only transmission of knowledge but also the production of new knowledge through research and development of science in their discipline without any external forces and demand (Kıyak, 2013).

In the period when the universities and academic knowledge were discussed intensely, knowledge production was not under the direct control of the capital and private industry unlike our times. In that period, the academic knowledge still had the value of knowledge and it could create itself fields both inside and outside the university. After World War II, universities in Europe became seen as a means of objectives of the nation and industry (Kıyak, 2013). In those times, there were two different *écoles*: the idea of Anglo-Saxon universities aiming at educating professionals for the market, and the universities pursuing the Humboldtian ideal i.e. the German university model. In his one of the famous works, Weber explain different schools towards science and vocation especially focuses on differences between universities in Germany and The United States. In his speech “Science as a Vocation”, which is also very important for the discussion of usefulness, Weber said:

... you will certainly want to ask what can science achieve positively for our "lives" at a personal and practical level? And this brings us back to the problem of its "vocation." In the first place, of course, science gives us knowledge of the techniques whereby we can control life-both external objects and human actions-through calculation. But, you will say, that is just the situation of the American boy and the woman serving in the greengrocer's. I agree entirely. But second, and this is something the greengrocer's assistant cannot do, science provides methods of thought, the tools of the trade, and the training needed to make use of them. You will perhaps object that this is not vegetables, but equally it is no more than the means by which to procure vegetables. (1919/2004, p. 25)

Delanty (1998) interpret Weber's this speech as “the first intimations of a certain skepticism” towards the robust idea of universities as places of universal knowledge production and “knowledge as an end” (p. 9). In parallel with this, another important question in the higher education is whether the university is an institution that provides critical thinking practice or an institution that provides professional formation. American universities, which have been rising since the 1960s, have emerged with an approach that comprises the structure of today's university:

Universities as corporations, but mainly individual faculty and staff members and now students, transmit higher knowledge to the public through external service activities: applied research, off-campus courses, a wide array of consulting and analysis for rural and urban communities, and service learning (Scott, 2006, p. 24).

For Scott (2006) “service” mission of universities have always been central in history of universities. As a distinctive feature of the postmodern universities is internationalization of all missions “teaching, research, and public service in the global ‘information age’” (Scott, 2006). This critical transformation threatens to change the structure and position of universities and put it under pressure of the technologies of informatization (Derrida et al., 1983).

In this and the following part, I would like to point out the notion of educational commodification in universities in parallel with the Bologna process. Function or the mission of the universities has usually been corresponding the current needs of the nation or the world. Historical changes in the production of scientific knowledge are generally discussed through the universities. On the other hand, to think that the production of information in the market is inherently different from this field condemns it to a standard, compressed, and hence low-quality output. In this sense, the impact of the market on the university, or rather its transformation, is an important area of discussion, while the university's contribution to the knowledge produced in the market and its potential to transform it is equally valuable. The forthcoming discussion will mainly focus on the conditions of universities, which are defined as the place of production of scientific knowledge, and of private companies as institutions that commercialize information or data. Entrepreneurial universities and knowledge commercialization discussions are advancing in this direction. Specifically; one of the objectives of the international university policies that advocate the provision of education in the applied field is to establish a standard infrastructure of knowledge produced in the market.

The Bologna process is a project aimed at standardizing the higher education system in Europe on an international level with the signature of 29 European Union countries in 1999. It means that the UK and US market-oriented, often applied, understanding of higher education is now accepted in Europe. The Bologna process, which currently includes 48 EU or candidate countries, has been highly criticized by the academic community.

The Bologna process could be identified as a part of a paradigm shift towards outcome-based learning (Brancaleone, O'Brien, 2011, p. 502) in which demonstrability and measurability are important factors for quality assurance. These factors immediately bring standardization of higher education area. Within the context of educational commodification, "knowledge is valued as objectified, measurable, and transferable" (p. 506). "As education becomes subject to greater systemic, quantifiable, privatized and standardized arrangements, the teacher's labor-power, indeed his/her personality, is also reconstructed (although not necessarily determined) in such terms" (p. 508).

2.3. Applied Sociology and its Contributions

Academic debates and educational policies on applied sciences are key issues to better understand educational commodification, university-industry collaboration which bring the notion "end of pure science". Understanding sociological knowledge in market economy requires a deep knowledge on applied sociology. Even though sociological knowledge as a product which has an exchange value does not have a long history, it dated back 200 years with its use-value as applied sociology.

By definition, applied sociology is "any use (often client-centered) of the sociological perspective and/or its tools in the understanding of, intervention in, and/or enhancement of human social life" (cited in Steele & Price, 2007, p. 4). Although sociological theory and literature traditionally serve for the needs of pure science rather than for applied field (Gouldner, 1956), since early 1900s, there is a growing literature about applied sociology. Many of the academic studies on applied sociology suggest professional training in universities including writing proposals, design a research considering budget and time frame etc. Some of the universities in the US responded to this trend in academy and demand of the market by including some practical courses in their curriculum to prepare their graduates to social science research industry (Flynn, 2000).

Upon rising of applied sciences, sociologists have been started to take new titles such as researcher, evaluation expert, knowledge management expert, community expert and so on. However, applied sociologists are not only experts or researchers for various social problems, they are also involving in the areas of planning, implementation, and evaluation of the programs (Gelfand, 1975). Another important point on this issue is about interdisciplinary studies carried out through the “jobs outside academia” (p.18). Most of the research consultancies or think-tanks hire experts from different disciplines such as statisticians, economists, sociologists, ethnographers and psychologists. Within such organizations, researches and outputs are expected to be conducted interdisciplinary.

Contributions of applied studies to social science literature is another question of debate. Through the new techniques and organizational structures (interdisciplinary organizations), all outcomes of the applied sociological researches might be used in academic field as well. At the beginning of the story of think tanks in the US, dedicated groups of professional from different disciplines came together and aimed at contributing the social science theory and empirical literature (Flynn, 2000). However, applied sociology is widely criticized because it is not value-neutral, unscientific and it is not independent from demands of organizations and clients (Gelfand, 1975). However, it is crucial to consider positive dimensions of applied research in terms of its contributions to social science literature.

Applied researches might be utilized for different organizational purposes. Merton (1949, P. 169) classify these motivations into three functions: *persuasion*, *action*, *inaction*. In the following chapters of this study, these main motivations of doing social researches would be seen in different forms.

2.3.1. Useful Knowledge

As parallel with industrial organization of knowledge or commodification discussions, usefulness is one of the central characteristics of today’s knowledge production conditions. As it is elaborated under the discussion of applied sciences and transformations of the university, evaluation of research outputs is mainly based

on its usefulness. In other words, this is not peculiar to the research conducted in the market or for a specific end. However, questioning on usefulness of the information produced is not a new phenomenon. In this context, the question must be “what makes a product or a research project useful?” For usefulness of a research, typically defined by funders and clients of researches, Derrida et al. rejects categorizing research projects considering its usefulness. He advocates research projects in humanities which are not direct use but might have positive contributions for a direct use:

... when certain random consequences of research are taken into account, it is always possible to have in view some eventual benefit that may ensue from an apparently useless research project (in philosophy or the humanities, for example). ... When the margin of randomness has to be narrowed, restrictions on support affect the disciplines that are the least profitable in the short run. (1983, p. 13)

“For the accumulation of knowledge to continue, it is necessary for a part of the knowledge that is impossible to put into circulation in the market to remain in its owner as in its raw-material form or to return as surplus knowledge.” (Vatansever, Gezici-Yalçın, 2015, p. 45) (translation is mine). It would not be wrong to say that the Academy is obliged to provide the student with this raw material knowledge. However, the fact that the academicians are day by day deprived of this knowledge shows how the possibilities of theoretical knowledge are limited. This system in which the knowledge production and acquisition as raw material are minimized will cause critical and multi-dimensional thinking to eventually disappear.

“However, if there is still a tiny bit of hope for thought and university, the ideal type of old intellectual, that is, the old intellectual who is trying not to sever his bonds with totality and rational mind and, besides that, the old intellectual who, even though he has expertise in certain field, rejects pragmatism with such a critical attitude, should be somewhere” However, for such a profile for an intellectual or a scientist to be possible, one should first have a sufficient amount of capital. Fuller who defines science as a “leisured pursuit” due to its nature enforces his argument with the example of Robert Boyle, the founder of modern chemistry (Fuller, 2001, p. 21). Robert Boyle was living on inheritance money while he was conducting the studies that are now shown as the foundations of modern chemistry. According to

Fuller, if one sustains themselves adequately enough to produce knowledge and if one publishes with ease, the proportion of useless knowledge would unacceptably decrease (p. 23). Abraham Flexner also gives a similar example in his article, “Usefulness of Useless Knowledge”, claiming that, in the history of science, great discoveries had been made for the sake of curiosity without any concern of usefulness (Flexner, p. 545). In our age, the system of knowledge management aims to solve this problem, but the claim that “what is best for knowledge is best for business” is not valid in the world of knowledge management (p. 23).

In order to understand the position and production conditions of knowledge in our age, it is necessary to analyze the main institutions in this field, namely universities and research companies, in relation to their relational and historical background. Through the further pages of this study, these institutions and their positions will be examined in detail.

2.3.2. Customized Social Researches

Regarding applied research Merton raises the question: “Which occasions call applied research into being? And how do these different types of situations affect the nature of research and its utilization?” (1949, p. 168) In his paper published in 1946, he tells the story of focus group discussions called “focused interview” at that time: “The focus group interview was initially developed to meet certain problems growing out of communications research and propaganda analysis” (p. 542) after World War II. It is not intentionally used for social researches or as a social scientific method. It had been used mostly in marketing before applied as a social research method. It is known that focus group discussions are widely used today in sociology, social psychology and other related fields. In other words, focus group discussions as a research method is customized for the needs of the market before it is adopted as a social scientific method.

Using mixed methods in applied researches in the market does have a very similar story with focused interview. The request of proposals or terms of reference documents present expectations of the clients regarding project team members,

research methods and some other details. Most of the evaluation researches are expected to use mixed method research technique. It cannot be a coincidence that the literature on mixed method research techniques in the world coincides with the expansion of the literature and the worldwide expansion of evaluation studies. All these types of research studies around the world, have been conducting for decades and huge amount of social data collected. All kinds of methods of data collecting and analyzing have been implementing through those studies.

Program or policy evaluations have a great potential for applying different types of methods and analysis in social sciences. Even though the birth of evaluation studies dates back to beginning of 19th century for mainly educational and military purposes, “many evaluation approaches have emerged since the 1930’s and range from checklists of suggestions to comprehensive prescriptions” (Hogan, 2017, p. 6). Similarly, program evaluation researches many of the social projects might include *needs analysis, situation analysis, program monitoring and social impact analysis* studies to better understand the situation. These types of applied fields determined by its functions in the market correspond the classified problems of social researches according to practical purposes by Merton:

Diagnostic problems of researches could be regarded as main motivation of needs analysis. Needs analysis is merely done for determining whether is the planned action is needed. *Prognostic* problems aim forecasting on certain social groups or problems, and situation analysis might be included in this category. *Differential prognosis* for determining policies among different choices. *Evaluative* research problems directly correspond current function of evaluation studies of social programs or policies. Another function of customized research defined by Merton is *general background data* which serve general and broad purposes. Population censuses can be given as an example. Sixth research problem is “*educative*” research which aims informing people with pertinent data for misconceptions (1949, p.174).

Evaluation studies require continuous data collection at regular intervals. Data is collected about the target group or situation either by the same or by different

methods and tools. From this point of view, it would not be wrong to argue that panel research methodology is mainly used in applied field rather than academic field. In order to be comparable, especially demographic data is expected to be accurate and reliable. In this sense, it can be claimed that the basic data obtained from the social studies conducted in the market can be used in other fields. It is quite possible to monitor the change in the local area through panel data especially in large scale and long-term projects. For example, in a dam or mine project, full census or representative surveys are carried out periodically in the villages affected by these projects. Publication of such research or making some of the data anonymized for other purposes could be an important source of information for rural sociology studies.

2.4. Research Consultancy Firms as a Part of Knowledge Economy

Beginning in the 21st century is considered as the end of the monopoly of universities and think-tanks in the research sector (Flynn, 2000). Within the industrial organization of knowledge production, universities and firms have a kind of institutional division of labour (Antonelli, 1999). Within this division, role of the universities is to research and publish (the more qualified researcher and the longer the publication list the better for the sake of achieving funds for research projects) while firms is turning academic knowledge into “new products of effective use and actual academic value” (p. 249). In this division of labour, as a global trend, the position of the state as funder of the knowledge has diminished (Delanty, 1998), and new actors appear as funders and clients. Delanty compiles those competing actors as “think-tanks, consultancy agencies, non-governmental organizations, professional societies, governmental and corporate R&D laboratories” (p. 17). Customers in need of data in a specific area are directed to consultancy firms who can provide these demands specifically for the purpose. “Outsourcing of knowledge intensive business services to firms specializing in the production and dissemination of localized knowledge is increasingly practiced, especially in metropolitan regions” (p. 253).

Research companies, as defined by Flynn (2000), have a crucial role on research projects with large capital investments by public and private institutions. They are “responsible for an entire research effort, from conceptualization to data collection, analysis, and the creation of the end product” (p. 1558). Almost all of the governmental and non-governmental organizations in all over the world locate research companies as the outsourcing for data collection and processing. In this tendency, which can be explained by the rationalization concept that Weber puts forth, 'science as a vocation' (Weber, 1968/2004) no longer begins to reveal itself not only in universities but also in the industry. All market researches and social researches conducted in order to produce policies are carried out by ‘experts’ who have been educated in social sciences.

For defining the position of research consultancies generally use social scientific methods for collecting data demanded by the client, roles and purposes of them must be questioned as a beginning (Druckman, 2000, p. 1635). Those applied researches conducted by consultancy companies are aiming at immediate results on a certain field. “A consulting project occurs when there is a match between the needs of clients (or sponsors) and the knowledge or skills that a consultant (or consulting team) brings to the project” (p. 1636). Druckman defines the functions of those consultancy firms that basically collect and analyze social data demanded by the clients through seven roles:

Consultants may take *advisory* role for the strategic issues within the scope determined by the clients. Needs assessments or evaluation studies might be included in this role. Most of the reports on project researches include a chapter for suggestions. *Technician* role corresponds to expertise on research, data collection, project management, statistical and qualitative analysis, reporting and so on in the applied field. Such kind of expertise is mainly based on professional experience rather than the skills of basic research. *Applied theoretician* role is not about methodological or organizational part of the research projects, it is more refer to academic skills based on theorization of research outputs. Applied theoreticians are expected to have a deep understanding of the specific subject matter. *Study director* role is more related to organizational skills of the consultants like lead the field

teams and experts on the project. *Bridge builder* role of these consultancy firms means a kind of communication role between different agencies, beneficiaries or partners of the related project. Similar with bridge builder role of the consultancies, *facilitator* role defines problems and propose possible solutions by communications. *Trainer* role, lastly, refers transferring or developing job-related skills by trainings (ibid.).

2.4.1. ‘Social Science Research Industry’

Even though research sector is predominantly debated in the literature, works on specialized fields of research industry – especially in the field of social science could not easily found. The main reason of this scarcity in the literature is that institutionalization of social science research in the market does not have a long history even in the Western countries. Patrice Flynn’s study on social science research industry is one of the specific and comprehensive studies. As Flynn (2000) argued, social research facilities outside of the academia could be possible public policy institutions i.e. think-tanks since late 1940s in the United States. He states that think tanks was established as bridge institutions between government and universities. This kind of role of such an institution based social research and policy advise is crucial to understand the position of social science and applied social research outside of academia. There is an important consequence of this role which that graduates of social sciences could find opportunities to perform their professional skills outside of the academia (as Flynn’s words “no longer was research the exclusive domain of the academy” (p. 1580)).

Nevertheless, think tanks in the 70s and 80s turned into institutions where applied social researches gradually lose their objective positions and engaged in political discourse by “providing special interest consulting to government and the private sector” (p.1581). For Flynn, as of the beginning of 21st century, small research companies have become the prevalent actor in social science knowledge production.

In this study, notion of social science industry is not preferred to define current situation of applied social research in the sector. Applied social researches

conducted by consulting firms make no pretensions to be scientific. That's why, using the term "social research industry" instead of "social science research industry" would be more pertinent to present current position of non-academic actors and knowledge production dynamics.

2.5. Knowledge Production in Non-Hegemonic Countries

Pioneer works on knowledge theories are originated in western countries where cultural, economic and technological developments are structurally different from non-Western countries. For example, Lyotard (1979) presents postmodern condition of knowledge as a phenomenon of the most developed countries. Bell (1999) also underlines his theory of post-industrial society is based on western societies. For knowledge production debate, the emergence and development of paradigmatic shifts and the postmodern condition or post-industrialism itself are also western processes.

When rational knowledge is adapted to the non-western world, the research works on binaries such as civilized-uncivilized or developed-underdeveloped. Quijano asserts that disciplines like ethnology and anthropology try to explain the relationship between western and non-western cultures on the basis of the subject-object relationship present in the rational knowledge production (2007, p. 174). The theoretical or applied studies conducted in the sphere of social sciences today cannot be considered as separate from this knowledge formation. "The repression fell, above all, over the modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objectivized expression, intellectual or visual" (Quijano, 2007, p. 169).

Due to the fact that scientific knowledge is mainly exported from the western sources, it may be possible to infer how developing countries could experience the process of knowledge production and exportation of research, science and technology. "West is understood as the major clearing house of modernity and in its globalization has traveled from the West to the rest of the world meaning that non-

Western peoples must now begin to engage their traditions with modernity in different forms of hybrid modernities” (Bhabra, 2007, p. 6). Due to the fact that Turkey and most other non-Western countries are not fully industrialized, and their bureaucracies are not developed as in the West, applications of social and bureaucratic processes and researches could be characterized as hybrid modernities as Bhabra (2007) points out.

As a matter of fact, science and technology is the key determinant of global inequalities. When it comes to social sciences, literature or journals of “developed” countries is seen as the source of acceptance in social science academia. Pioneers of social theories specifically on sociology of knowledge and science are mostly focus on western universities and science. Hereby, in order to better understand the situation in Turkey, literature on non-hegemonic countries³ must be examined in detail.

Another recent publication on this issue (Krause, 2016) addresses how West served as a model for “developed” or “modern” societies:

... those societies and institutions command a large share of attention, and that the analysis of Western societies and institutions implicitly serve as a stand-in for the analysis of societies and institutions in general. The notions of ‘modernity’ and ‘development’ have been used to imply that lessons from the model system can be transferred to other cases, even if it may take some time. (p. 200)

In the case of social sciences and sociology, the traces could be found in American model universities, post-industrial applications of science and technology, its focus on applied field and attempts of standardization of social researches in the market. However, in social sciences, standardization of the methods and outputs is not working as in the other disciplines.

In sociology, the claims for generalizability of model system research are usually implicit; it is worth noting that while other disciplines that use model systems invest in an infrastructure that is thought to ensure standardization as a precondition for comparability and the control of context, sociology does not. We can distinguish

³ Hanafi and Arvanitis (2016) define non-hegemonic countries with two main characteristics: “the position of the country in the international division of scientific work”, and financial and technical incapability of “influencing the broader goals of knowledge production, unlike the United States, the European Union and a small number of Asian countries.

between the specimen, the object in front of the researcher, and model system, the kind of object researchers are trying to study. (Krause, 2016, p. 203)

Application of model system is not the case only for academic field but also the case for social research market in non-Western countries through exported methods standards defined by headquarters or international funder organizations. Development projects, in relation with model system, are one of the basic tools for application.

2.5.1. Development Debate and its Relation to Knowledge Production

Concurrently with post-war era, the decades from the mid-20th century to the early 21st century is defined in development studies literature as the age of development (Sachs, 1992, p. 1) as a part of other defining notions of the era like modernization, globalization, neoliberalism and post-colonialism. The development project has a strong position for application all these interrelated notions in global arena. Knowledge production in this sense has a central role for spreading “Western perception of reality” (Sachs, 1992, p. 5).

With the use of scientific and technical knowledge in this field, "planning" has taken a critical position in the field of development projects (Escobar, 1992). The point where knowledge production and specifically applied social sciences are involved in the discussions of development and colonialism can be seen as "planning" in this context. The knowledge of particularly disadvantaged social groups involved in the field of planning, as well as any social problems, is seen as a precondition for planning. Planning and social research in these areas are also important tools for the predictability of social groups and movements. “Planning redefines social and economic life accordance with the criteria of rationality, efficiency and morality which are consonant with the history and needs of capitalist, industrial society, but not those of the Third World” (Escobar, 1992, p. 134).

With the discussions of development and planning, the trend of applied social research has started to rise in non-hegemonic countries. However, in the countries in the third world and Turkey, this research is not based on equity in both monetary

and human resources. These studies, conducted with resources and experts from developed countries, have been tried to be conducted with Western epistemology. Hegemonic establishment and imposition of Western epistemology in social sciences and applied research is not the only instance where post-colonial studies criticize development debate. The underdeveloped regions are still seen as the production regions of hegemonic countries as resources of stock and cheap labor. Another objective in planning and development is to rapidly transform the rural population and culture into a modern (Western) society and to prepare it for industrial production. (Escobar, 1992, p. 141).

Another reason why development discussions have an important place in the field of research is that international organizations supporting development provide large amount of funds in different areas of development. These supports, which are given for the sake of global development, constitute an area of intervention on the countries get funded. As can be seen in the following sections, ‘aid’ funds are given in response to many criteria set by the funder or the bank. To better understand, this ‘helping’ would be characterized as ‘elegant power’ which is unobtrusive, hidden and unrecognizable (Gronemeyer, 1992). For instance, the World Bank has always sought a solution for underdeveloped or developing countries by providing them technical assistance, “access to information and analytical capacity and strengthen their ability to engage on the global stage” (Dethier, 2007, p. 470). The tone of funders is always pointing out the uneven knowledge and science developments of the countries by presenting “a developed model”.

In line with the development goals set by the United Nations in the field of global development, developing countries provide funding through various projects. For example, the World Bank, which is one of the most important institutions in terms of research and funding, provides research and development funds through the IBRD for developing countries. In addition to international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union, many international non-governmental organizations are funding these countries with different incentives. Whether these funds are used in line with their needs and purposes is always monitored. This can be considered as one of the pioneering situations that brought information

management understanding to countries that did not have an information management system before.

2.5.2. Aid Effectiveness and the Role of the Social Research

The outburst of development projects and involvement of socio-anthropological knowledge in the projects of developing countries began in the mid-70s in order to predict and mitigate the possible failure in the projects (Cernea, 1994). Another driving force for involvement of socio-anthropological knowledge provided by social analyst or professional sociologist is the fact that “the cost of not doing social analysis is much higher” (p. 88) due to social incompatibility of the projects planned and implemented. Under this title, the role of social research is examined through debate of aid effectiveness which constitutes a literature.

Aid effectiveness literature dated back to 40 years ago, and meta-analysis of this literature shows that there is no correlation between development aid and economic growth of the receiving countries (Doucouliagos, 2009). Due to undesired results of the studies on aid effectiveness, different models have been developed in order to get better results (ibid.). Conditional aid effectiveness suggests that development aids could be effective if certain conditions like good governance are provided. In this growing literature, many of the studies published is in the field of economics which focuses on economic growth of recipient countries on macro level. Even though there is no proven positive effect of development aids to the recipient countries, positive effects of the aids in specific social groups are possible. Societal effects of the social projects funded through these aids could be monitored through the reports of each of these projects.

Paris declaration on aid effectiveness (2005) is one of the important international and official resources which shows that donor countries are also learning and adapting the strategies for development and emergency aids to make them more effective. In this declaration, “defining measures and standards of performance and accountability of partner country systems” (p. 1) is one of the main targets to

maintain effectiveness. In order to achieve this aim, it suggests monitoring and evaluating the progress of the activities funded by international aids.

Following these developments, in the 21st century, numerous researches, especially in the field of assessment, have been carried out on the demands of these international organizations. Impact assessment is expected in almost every project funded for the purpose of controlling the funding and the policy implemented. Thus, monitoring and evaluation research emerges as one of the basic requirements for ensuring the continuity and efficiency of projects carried out with foreign funds. In addition, comparable data around the world are needed for development studies (Dethier, 2007). As will be discussed later, this is one of the main motivations of standardization in the field of research.

These project development and evaluation processes, which are provided and determined by international donors, can limit the possibilities of production of information locally. Recipient countries where typically do not have a strong bureaucracy for these assessments are obliged to implement standardized and imported ways of information production to make the projects accountable and transparent. One of the inaccuracies caused by imported experts and standardized information production systems is that they ignore the locality of information. The social, political and cultural dynamics of each country and local region are different. Therefore, the idea that the same methodological approach can be used in every context has the potential to adversely affect the research and research outcomes.

A foreign expert worked with us on the project. ... A mine project, for example, and social impact assessment will be carried out in the field. He opens Google map and says, "there's a lot of forest here". I said no, there is not. Again, he says, look, it says green around here. I said no, it is bush, not forest. He says no, we have to ask them if they are taking advantage of the plants. What I'm saying is that there is nothing in that bush. Local people are picking up thyme or something. You could not tell. He says there are some mushroom species. He read it from a book. But he's not in that area. Weird things. Really that geographical difference sometimes give distress. This does not work here so it is not applicable. He says, let's ask about HIV. You can't ask in the village, it's not possible. The man (local people) even conceals that he has infectious disease, swine flu, and you can't come up with something that sensitive. (Interview with Leyla)

It can be concluded that Turkey could be regarded as an example of how methods and theories of Western social sciences has been implementing in social science and

researches in non-hegemonic countries. All the dynamics of information production and the emergence of the industry in Turkey could be regarded as a learning process with its imported character. In the following chapter, reflections of this global tendency on knowledge production using social science methods will be examined.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH MARKET AND SOCIAL RESEARCH IN TURKEY

So far, how the actors of knowledge production have historically transformed and how it has been discussed in the literature have been exhibited. To understand how this global trend experienced in Turkey, before moving to the research findings, the situation of academic and non-academic actors in Turkey will be discussed historically.

3.1. Transformation of Universities and Bologna Process in Turkey

Before proceeding Turkey case of knowledge production in research sector, giving a broad historical background on universities in Turkey is necessary. The reason is that as in the world one of the critical actors determining dynamics of knowledge production is universities in Turkey. Since Ottoman times, structure and culture of the universities in Turkey are imported from the west. Referring to the history of modern universities in Turkey, Turkey is seen as influenced by western higher education debate. As in all the world, the discussions on role and functions of the universities and its potentials in terms of industry relations and political agenda is never finished in Turkey.

Above mentioned, universities have always been designed as an educational institution that meets the needs of the period. This situation is no different in universities in Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. In his book “Social Changes and Universities” (2000), Tamer Timur summarizes the first attempts for establishing universities. Mülkiye Mektebi, even some scholars do not consider it as a higher education institution or a university, established in 1859 on the purpose of educate managers and diplomats (p. 84).

In addition to all these, Turkey has experienced political uncertainty, conflict and coups which directly affects the universities and their structures. Therefore, when evaluating the deadlock of universities in Turkey, as well as problems faced by the global scientific knowledge should also keep in mind that there are many political obstacles peculiar to Turkey: “Balkan Wars, World War, The War of Independence, Lausanne, Republic... In this war of life and death, Darülfünun was not taken into consideration. In 1933, when the first university that can be considered modern was founded, the horizon got dark again, and six years later, Turkey found itself in conditions of war once again.” (p. 365).

In the years first modern type universities are emerged, Humboldtian ideal were tried to be followed in Turkey (Tekeli, n.d.). In this period, faculties in Ankara and İstanbul gathered under the structure of a university, and in the late 50s, the first doctoral degrees had been commenced (ibid., n.d.). In the following years, Middle East Technical University, Karadeniz Technical University, Ege University were established, and the Humboldt model has been gradually given up (ibid., n.d.). Universities were established on a departmental basis following the American Universities model (ibid., n.d.). Although new universities were not opened in the 60s, significant developments were experienced in the field of scientific research (ibid., n.d.). In the following years, universities have tried to deal with both student movements and increasing demands for school enrollments.

In the late 1980s and after, universities in Turkey also began to experience a transformation under the influence of globalization and neoliberalization. The autonomy of universities shelved aside by the Council of higher Education (CoHE) and, the in same years universities in Turkey was forced to struggle with the political and economic constraints. The implementation of neoliberal education policies in universities in Turkey has been through the CoHE in the 80s. During this period, the first foundation university was established and then many private universities were opened.

Turkey, officially became part of the Bologna process in 2001 but the process has started in accordance with the regulations after 2004. One of the sources of criticism

or rejection of this process are the debates on Europeanization and Americanization led by Bologna Process. Besides, related with these discussions, Bologna Process was interpreted as a tool for standardization in the higher education area (Kaya, 2015). Kaya claims that rather Europeanization and internationalization, *market-driven Americanization* is a source of standardization in Turkey education system since 1950 (p. 119). The aim of such kind of market-driven and standardized educational system is to educate professionals without critical thinking. In this context, the critical voices against standardization is mainly because the risk of and education lack of diversity and critical thinking.

There is a strong relationship between knowledge production in the market and this transformation in higher education in Turkey in terms of their Western origination. Kaya (2015) discusses this implementation with an approach named the policy transfer model: “Policy transfer was at work when Turkey’s Council of Higher Education, the supreme authority regulating higher education since 1981, decided to adopt a research-based higher education system underlining the need for elite universities, center of excellence, and project-based funding” (p. 110). This situation could be regarded as a starting point for profit seeking universities in Turkey.

There is a parallel between the research carried out in universities and the market in terms of exporting from the West and proceeding with funds. The notions of data-driven policy making, and research-based universities are both results of a complex and interrelational processes arising from global capitalism.

3.2. Emergence of Social Research Industry in Turkey

So far, global and historical transformation of knowledge, the institutions in the West and universities in Turkey are attempted to be pictured. Before proceeding to the field results section, it is crucial to underline the scope of this study. Even though the concept social research implies all kind of researches conducted by using social science methods, this study does not include election polls, public opinion surveys and market researches. It can be said that social researches in this study generally targets a specific professional group and a region. As it is explained under the

section of customized social researches, another distinctive character of social researches in this study is about being a part of policy making or program development process.

In particular, when looking at the development of Turkey and social research in Turkey also shows a similar pattern like a non-hegemonic country. The need for social research was institutionalized in 1960 with the State Planning Organization (Kıray, 1971, p. 10). Considering that development projects emerged after the Second World War, this date makes sense in global context. As mentioned above, planning and development activities followed parallel processes. It is suggested that the initiative of planning and the establishment of an institution that manages it is a compulsory prerequisite for the assistance provided by international organizations (Sezen, 1999, p. 70). Research, consultancy, plan-program preparation, coordination and monitoring tasks were assigned to the State Planning Organization as an affiliate of the Prime Ministry (p. 184). Since then, most of the social research carried out outside the university has been aimed at implementing, monitoring and assessing the impact of international loans or grants for “development”.

In parallel with the planning and development studies, it is known that applied studies are carried out in the social sciences in universities. Founded in 1960, the Department of Social Anthropology at Istanbul University has conducted numerous applied studies with its students in order to train anthropologists to conduct qualified field studies:

Department of Social Anthropology was going to give just a basic knowledge of anthropology to its student, and in the rest of the time, it was going to teach how sciences rely on facts and how social facts were to be gathered and how they were going to be arranged, organized analyzed and connected to the theories in a manner to yield meaningful results. (Saran, 1971, p. 116)

It is said that government agencies responsible for social research and policy-making, such as the State Planning Organization, the State Institute of Statistics, the Test and Research Institute, conducted more research than universities 50 years ago. The researches are criticized for being irrelevant, lacking standardized method and dispersed (Tunaya, 1971). This information is critical in terms of showing how the

data collected through social research conducted via Turkey universities, public institutions, NGOs and private companies is clutter and poor-quality is a chronic problem.

In this section, Turkey's experience of global trend on knowledge production will be discussed through the field research mainly conducted consultancy firms and some client profiles from national and international companies. To have a clear picture on applied social research in Turkey, Merton raises the questions which basically give this section a lead: "Who originally perceives the problem? Is it invariably the practical man of affairs, or, at times, the social scientist himself? And which types of "problems" are subjected to applied research and which are characteristically dealt with, without recourse to research? What are the functions of the research as conceived by the sponsor? And how does all this relate to the utilization and development of applied social science?" (1949, P. 169)

It has not been reached a record or compiled study for history of social research conducted by private companies or foundations. However, especially after the 1960s when development debates started, it is possible to talk about an initial period in which universities and private companies collected and reported data by using social research methods.

Especially, when the sphere of social sciences is considered, Mübeccel Kıray (1986, p. 188) claim that the development of the discipline of sociology as we think of it today dates back to the nineteenth century alongside industrialization after an evolution of 400 years in the European societies. Late nineteenth century is a witness to theories on the newly established societal order or efforts to collect empirical data to shed a light on that order. However, the recognition of sociology as an independent department in European universities happened only in the 1950s. According to Kıray, the reason behind the contemporary condition of social sciences is to understand and manage the societal order that is ever complicated. The exportation of the social sciences and researches, the acceptance of which took a long time even in the West, to the non-western countries is related to the nature of the process. According to Kıray, the need for reliable information about the society

in developing countries like Turkey has increased as industrialized countries make contact with these countries.

Mübeccel Kiray stated that in Turkey in the early 20th century sociology is institutionalized through universities, but the academicians had been limited to transmit the information they receive from industrialized countries. In this period, producing new and relevant information was secondary, and “the number of studies based on controlled observation and analysis was very low” (1986, P. 196). This is a good start to understand the gap between the universities and practitioners or experts we will discuss later. It seems that the lack of academic knowledge in the applied field in universities has affected the production of knowledge in the field of social science in every period.

3.3. Turning Points in The Sector

3.3.1. 60 & 70s: Introduction of International Funding and Development Debate

To better understand this process, the development and planning studies in Turkey are required to briefly mention. In 1960, the State Planning Organization and the Social Planning Department were established to support regional development within this organization. International organizations such as OECD and the UN also support the studies carried out at that time (Tekeli, 2008). Indeed, the United Nations defines the years 1960-1970 as the first decade of development. Again, public institutions such as TODAIE and Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies, which emerged in the 1960s, were trying to meet the need for development studies and social data accordingly. During this period, a comprehensive field survey was conducted by local regional planning teams, for example for the organized industrial zone planned to be established in Gaziantep (Tekeli, 2008, p. 9). The GAP Regional Development Administration, which is a robust example in the field of local development, was established in 1989 and emerged as an important practice in development planning at that time. One of the participants of this research has witnessed this period professionally.

Later on, especially in the 90s, the understanding and trend of development in the world changed. Not according to need but according to the resources and potential of the regions. I mean, the aim is to achieve local and rural development in relation with the relations of production in an area, after assessing the social, cultural values of the area—not from its central source. We may include both income inequality and social inequality present in a certain locality in this. The goal is to eliminate this inequality and to minimize the difference with other regions within the country. All this changed in the 80s with the introduction of a number of economic development approaches. (Interview with Işıl)

The life of the research carried out with national funds and state resources (eg. Academics and students) were apparently not long. Before moving on to research funded by international organizations, it is useful to briefly discuss the current position of development and planning. Today, there are still researches conducted with public funds in Turkey on a regional basis. However, these studies are also conducted by companies and non-profit organizations. It is foreseen that these research outcomes will be used in policy or action determination. Public institutions such as TODAIE, SPO and the Ministry of Development were recently closed. This is now replaced by regional development agencies, which is again a European project (Tekeli, 2008).

3.3.2. 80s: Neoliberal Practices in Turkey

With the interviews in this study, the recent history of research company in Turkey is also examined through their experiences of the interviewees. As it is understood both from the literature on social researches in Turkey and the fieldwork of this study shows that the history of social research market in Turkey date back 30 years ago. In parallel, end of the 80s could be regarded as the time for the introduction of the neoliberal practices into the area of social research.

The story of research in Turkey are shaped by the character of the market outside the academic world. The demands of the market depend to a great extent on the projects. So, you can see a few wings like this: The first is the story of the EU, the second is the international organizations - UN agencies, third, the other international organizations – EBRD, WB, GIZ, i.e. development organizations. Once evolved through such a channel, i.e. through demand. The second one is that the motivation of civil society professional organizations towards finding resources for their projects in line with their opinions. (Interview with Bahadır)

In Turkey, under free market conditions that have emerged since the 80s, research companies have been reported to show up as branches of foreign companies in Turkey.

I met with research companies in 1993. I learned that one of the teachers had a company. They were doing a lot of statistical research, not on the field, but on the analysis side. But we also knew the existence of large companies. However, at that time, they were always market research companies of foreign origin. (Interview with Yunus)

Extensive social research through national funds, government agencies or universities has increasingly been replaced by private initiatives. Another important detail in the emergence of private initiatives and consulting firms based on social research data analysis is that pioneers of these initiatives are the university teachers. This point can be interpreted as another indication that universities and research companies are going through parallel processes and changes.

There were NGO-style companies, e.g. sustainable development (SÜR-KAL). I know that. I even worked with them the second year I graduated. Then we made them a project. There were companies of this type, i.e. companies, but NGOs. They are like both NGOs and companies; these were actually the organizations established by university professors. If the university professors wanted to stay at the university as well as to provide consultancy, they would somehow conduct such researches by establishing those companies. (Interview with Yunus)

As a procedural necessity, impact assessment studies have started to be implemented in the environmental field before the social field. This is frequently mentioned by participants who have worked or are still working in this field. Correspondingly, being “experts” of university professors in the market through the private institutions by preparing an impact assessment report on the projects have started in the engineering departments of the major universities.

Building an internal team for investment is both costly and unreasonable. Therefore, investors started to look for institutions to get services from the market. First they went to universities, they went to the revolving funds of the universities, and they asked if you would do such research. There are also academicians who do this work in related departments of universities and those who approach the issue more critically. There was a tension between those who have critical approaches and those who work as consultants. Then, they started to work with the ones who approached it as a technical matter, or as “whatever will happen will happen, so let’s do our job, let the surveys flow, whatever you want us to report we’ll report that”. Later that period, some of those teachers established companies, some of them worked with those companies. 10-15 years before then, this happened in the environmental engineering departments. (Interview with Nida)

3.3.3. 90s and After: EU Harmonization Process

In the late 90s and early 2000s, such initiatives gained momentum both in engineering and in social research. In this area, the biggest driving force is seen as project funds which are started to be given within the EU harmonization process.

Proliferation of consultancy companies actually happen with introduction of EU funds in Turkey. Because before the EU funds, the size of the market was not that big. It is the case for Ankara. (Interview with Yunus)

Structures of NGO-style organizations or private companies that conduct these surveys differ in their purposes and scope. There are very few companies or organizations that specialize in direct social data collection and research reports.

When you look from this perspective, as you mentioned, there are not many companies doing social research, because the budgets are very low. In fact, let's not say that budgets are low, but the number of beneficiaries, who embrace this type of research, thinks that something can be achieved with these researches has been very few thus far. In fact, I can easily say that until 2010, this number was very small. There is minute amount of social research in Turkey, because uses of social indicators in Turkey has quite out of the question. So, what you use the social indicator for, you use it for policy making. So those who will use these social indicators are the ministries, for example, the labor ministry, the ministry of family, that is, the ministries currently dealing with social issues. Therefore, they even do not know how to monitor and evaluate their own policies. Indeed, there was no such thing as monitoring and evaluation in Turkey before 2000s. Maybe it was known in some way and started to be implemented. But after 2000, even after 2007-9 for many institutions and organizations, they established strategy units and began monitoring and evaluation through strategy units. Most of them have tried to do it largely by using their own data. ... Let's say MoNE is trying to monitor whether the attendance is increasing or not, they are trying to calculate it with their own data. So, they do not wonder about its background, its social side. It only sees the indicator, whether it increased or not. (Interview with Yunus)

As can be seen, there are two reasons for the low number of organizations working in this field. One of these reasons is that the market is very limited and, the number of institutions that demand such research is low. Another reason is that the history of research conducted through consulting firms is quite new. Studies such as needs analysis and impact assessment have developed over the last thirty years for the sake of legitimation and control of international funds. Looking at the outcomes of this research, it is possible to say that the national surveys carried out with national funds still remain in a very limited area and that this is not directly conducted by private companies.

One of the actors in the research market is NGOs. Rising research and development funds and acceleration of the establishment and activities of NGOs in Turkey can be considered parallel developments.

What's the source of this data hunger? It's all neoliberalization, like state shouldn't deal with this kind of stuff, shouldn't do this or that, so NGOs will take care of it. There appeared civil society advocate, marketeer mentalities. As far as I was able to follow, something happened to the funders somewhere between the mid-90s and the end of 90s. We are making it follow... we are showing the budget, too. But show me the results. We gave away all this money and this number of children went to school; when you start to question "otherwise, they weren't going to", then these follow-ups and evaluations and assessments appeared. I am not sure if there were any follow-ups or whatnot twenty years ago. (Interview with Ekin)

Today, all of these developments, social science research industry, as Flynn analyzed, is not an industry where distinctively professionalized and institutionalized in Turkey. However, the organizations covered by this research and their activities have mostly regarded a part of an industry as Flynn described.

3.3.4. Engagement in the Sector: Narratives of the Interviewees

The aim here is to detect patterns of employment in research market and possible career paths of a graduate of social science and related fields. There are obviously two paths after social science graduation: academic and professional. But in the early stages of graduation these paths are not separated as if there is single selection in the career path. Most of the interviewees stated that they participate in some social or market research during their senior years through referral of their professors or their professional contacts.

I worked when I was a student. I was writing reports, I had a relationship with a number of research companies. I was doing the work of researchers from abroad as I am able to speak English. It was a very active period. I wrote a master's thesis in political science. Then I did some work and then I came to Istanbul. I already had connections with some research companies. I started working with them. But working as a freelancer and working within a company is very different. I switch to another company. I worked there for a period, and I switch to another company. Then I found my own company in 2009. (Interview with Evrim)

I was about to graduating from university, years 1997-8, a professor told us "when you graduate, you should establish a consulting firm". Of course, we did not know then what is a consulting firm or something. I thought someone was coming to you for advice. At that time, we worked in a company. He's one of the sector's first connoisseur. It was a social development project of UNDP. Then we earned a very good salary. It was a company in Ankara. One of our professors found that job for us. That company was not the one established by university professors as far as I know.

Still there is not an organic relationship between the academics and the companies.
The companies just consult the academics. (Interview with Alper)

A pattern could be observed at the beginning of the professional career as a natural flow. In other words, career path of the social science graduates or experts in this field is not necessarily determined and with an informed choice. Similar with most of the occupations, area of expertise in the early years of a professional life is quite decisive for following years of the career. In parallel, this pattern – *somehow, I ended up here* – is seen in this field research from the narratives of interviewees. Following the field research experiences of the interviewees in their senior or after-graduation years, their career continue in a similar way in research sector.

In 2003, I was going to experience the fieldwork with the TDHS and I had the chance to go to the south-east where I was wondering about. I also started to work with TNSA to see the country and get to know it. I was on the field for six months. Later, it just turned into a job. While saying “I’ll do that, I’ll go there, I’ll attend whatever study”, something else happened at the same time: even before I made career planning I found myself deep inside it as an active field worker. After a while, your job evolves. First you go to the field, then you become the coordinator, then you start reporting. It’s a developing process like this. ... [Full-time working in the firm] It was the first and last to try. That three months experience was the last one, after that I have never worked in a firm. Later, my job has been completely project-based. The employer is sometimes a company, sometimes a school. ... And there are EIA companies. They are also something that has emerged in recent years. Actually quite new in Turkey. Maybe it doesn’t have a 10-year history. (Interview with Öykü)

Career ladders in the sector display a similar pattern. As field researchers in early years of their career, sectoral experts gain experience in this field, and they are promoted from data collection to information production i.e. report writing stage. This means that the experts working in this field have a robust theoretical and practical knowledge. In another similar story of a professional points out the possible positions in the sector as “freelance researcher”. Research market is a dynamic sector includes different projects requiring different expertise. That’s why working as a researcher does not necessitate working as full-time employee in the same institution or company.

I did my first fieldwork in 2010. Company X has a dam. I went to the field for the first time there, but the field work was based on taking ethnographic field notes rather than usual sociology research. ... Then I went to the field studies of small projects again. I wrote the SIA part of an EIA report. Then, I went to the field work of a firm again for a long time. Then I did a study on seasonal agricultural workers. ... Other than that, in 2013 I went to TDHS for a month. Then I stopped working as an interviewer in the field. I am a field researcher, a good researcher, collecting good data, organizing teams,

etc. Then, the field research of every project has been offered to me. Today I'm 30 years old, I said how long can I keep this. I am back from Yozgat, then go to Maraş, right after Maraş, I go to Balıkesir. I travel constantly. ... After that, I stopped the fieldwork in 2013. I thought, I have to work in the reporting phase. I had good examples in front of me. One step ahead of me. So, I thought I should work in a fixed job in the office. In 2014, I started to work as a sociologist in a company. A consultancy company in the field of environmental and energy investments. (Interview with Handan)

Another analogy in the narratives of sectoral background is interrupted academic careers. Some of the interviewees stated that they could not resume their academic career due to material conditions. As a matter of fact, it would not quite possible for someone to pursue academic career without any financial support. Besides, pursuing both academic and professional career at the same time is also not seem sustainable considering time and energy constraints.

In 2009, I entered this sector as a freelance. I worked as a freelancer in different projects for three years. I have been working in the same company since 2013. Between 2009 and 2012, I worked again in the field of SIA. In fact, I was trying to make an academic career. Then when the financial needs came out, one of my professors said that there is a project. My career started in that field work of a hydroelectric power plant project as a researcher. Then it [the projects] goes on incessantly. Because there are not many qualified people who are trained in the field. There is also a little advantage of being able to speak English. You know that our customers are mostly foreign, and this [SIA] is a research process they demand. (Interview with Deniz)

Another profile participating in the research is the experts who quit or paused their academic career and started to work as an expert in the sector. What is at stake here is academic precarity in Turkey. Academic precarity is not an issue peculiar to Turkey but is also a global problem. Thus, research market offers opportunities of employment for academically overqualified experts. Experts who could not find a legally and economically secured academic position establish a company or work as an expert in international projects.

For a while I taught at various universities. Of course, it is not something that can be sustained financially for a very long time. I said I'd go elsewhere. People said that there are jobs in UN organizations and EU projects. When I saw this job application, I didn't even know what it was monitoring and evaluation. They said you could handle it, you're familiar with data or something. Then one day I found myself there. But of course, it's a very different aquarium. The thing that interests you. As someone who still produces information there, I am still not fully adapted to a department that produces information. Because their understanding about what knowledge is, what research is, and its temporality is quite specific. They have their own expressions. I've had a hard time for six months or a year. Now I can say that I'm used to it as a standard, but I didn't fully adapt. (Interview with Ekin)

I had a worse salary when I was working at the university between 2007-2010. ... I had financial difficulties at that time. My current business partner was a creative director of a huge advertising company at the time. He asks me "there is a subject, could you do a research about this". I did the research he wrote the strategy, and his strategy won. One two three. I'm having a very difficult time financially. And for these reasons, we established this business. That's how the story started, and then we got rewards. We have been the best anthropological research company in Turkey. We have a company in Turkey, describing anthropology. We were able to explain that you can earn money through anthropology. These have been tremendous successes for me. (Interview with Özge)

Career path of non-social science graduates is not quite different from social scientists' in terms of '*learning the job on the job*'. Like social science graduates, at one point they started to work in an organization running projects and conducting research. Gradually they became sector expert by gaining experience in this field.

After graduation I entered the civil service by preparing for KPSS. I worked as an officer for 3 years. Then I resigned. I started a consulting company. It was a pharmaceutical company. I had administrative duties there. After that, I worked as a translator for publishing houses for years. ... 6-7 years ago, in 2012, I started to work at a foundation, research foundation. My whole experience is that foundation. Therefore, I do not know the other companies in the research sector very well. But during my work, perhaps, I can say that I am a bit self-taught by the effects of intense working conditions. Because it was a serious experience and knowledge. (Interview with Hazal)

As soon as I completed my master's degree in 1992, I started to work as a project manager in a rural development foundation. I worked in the field for five years. Later on, I have worked for five years as an expert in the center providing support to the field on issues such as research, planning, training and so on. After I left, I worked for an association for three years. That was a development association again that produces information, conducts research, develops programs and creates models. After that, I worked for eight years at the UN. ... And since 2011 I have been working as a manager and an expert in this organization for eight years. So, this is my thirty years story. (Interview with Bahadır)

3.3.5. Research Market in Ankara and İstanbul

Even though there are hundreds of research company in Turkey, they are mainly based on İstanbul and Ankara. The field study reveals that these two cities have very different profiles in the context of the research market. As it is briefly mentioned in method chapter, there is a pattern that profiles of funders or clients of social researches in Ankara and Istanbul is different. First of all, the economic and bureaucratic structure of these two cities determines the structure of the consultancy companies established in these cities.

Istanbul is market and private sector oriented. Ankara focuses on the public and working on an international network, including UN, EU. The embassies are also included in this network. Ankara has such structure based on this network... Research companies in Istanbul do all kind of work. They are very diverse. And they have a very strong network. They know each other very well. ... The institutions in Ankara are very dependent on the individual and do not institutionalize. Those in Istanbul have entered the institutionalization process. ... The companies in Ankara carry out the researches corresponding to the needs of these institutions. Istanbul does business on the market. They can do market research and sell it to their subscribers. They do business according to customer demand and tries to create demand. (Interview with Bahadır)

In Istanbul, where free market dynamics are highly established and institutionalized, it can be said that the research companies working in this field have a similar structure. In the interviews conducted in Istanbul, it is seen that especially the customer profile differs from the customer profile in Ankara.

It also changes according to the nature of the company I work for. For example, we have never done business with international funds in Istanbul. We've always done business with companies. But they were one of the most enjoyable researches I've ever done. For example, research on use of white appliances. Then, we investigated the use of a pos device by a shopkeeper for a bank. Free market, banking and so on seems to be very bad research areas, but those are so much fun. (Interview with Alper)

As customer profile differs, source of funding and motivation of the research differ as well. Private companies in Istanbul apply to consultancy companies to determine product development and promotion policies. Because there is no legitimization concern, research processes are also free from predetermined schemes. This difference in client profiles and research motivation makes the structure of the companies different in the Ankara-Istanbul axis. In contrast to the typical structure in Istanbul, researches are carried out in Ankara for projects with which official institutions are also stakeholders. Private companies in Istanbul apply to consultancy companies to determine product development and promotion policies. In Ankara, on the other hand, researches are carried out for projects in which official institutions are also stakeholders.

Anyway, the difference between Ankara and Istanbul is obvious here. Social research in Istanbul is almost non-existent. Maybe it came out later, in recent years. But since my graduation, social research is always carried out in Ankara. But most of them are consulting companies. These companies are named as engineering companies or projects integrators. I mean those companies who has a claim to do all kind of project tasks including research. ... Ankara market did not conduct election survey etc. If there are those who conducted, it must be very small, I have not heard. So the companies in Ankara are usually consulting companies that work with the government or the public,

as I said, everything worked through those consulting companies. (Interview with Yunus)

This does not apply only to research conducted for development or emergency funding. A similar pattern is also observed for companies engaged in environmental and social impact studies. “Of course, when the environmental impact is in question, the Turkish EIA is also involved in the process. The Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning is here. That's why so many EIA companies are here.” (Interview with Deniz)

The differentiated customer profile on the axis of Ankara and Istanbul also affects the research processes and expectations from the research. For example, the case of “research for the sake of legitimization” does not apply to research where customers are large private companies. In Istanbul consultancy companies, which mostly focus on market research, it is much more possible to observe the initiative of the consultant in methodology determination, the ability to act independently in the research process and the effective use of research outputs. In this research, the position of Ankara companies conducting large-scale research with the funds provided in the field of development and humanitarian aid is examined. In addition to this distinction between Ankara and İstanbul, there is also an increasing trend in which geographic locations of research companies does not matter. It is even possible to win the tender from another country's research projects and to organize the project activities from afar.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this section, the conditions and the processes through which applied social researches are conducted in the sector will be shown. The reason why the applied research carried out by non-academic actors in this study is defined as industry is that the researches are an important field of economic activity. What distinguishes this research from research carried out with personal or academic motives is its industrial structure. In this structure, as in all other types of industry, there are multiple actors. In social research, it is possible to define these actors simply as customers, consultants and end users/beneficiaries. Each actor has a specific role in the information production process.

The consultant acts as the producer of a good or service. They can be organized as a non-profit organization or company. The client is the organization that requests and funds such research. The end user/beneficiary can be defined as those affected by the activities carried out or planned. However, all these actors can be more complex in practice. For instance, activities are not conducted or controlled from a single center. And, in most of the big scale social projects, consulting or research companies act as a mediator between beneficiaries and implementing partners.

The research industry is mainly shaped by the activities and funds of international organizations or banks. Indeed, this pattern can be observed in Turkey. Although the background of development funds dates back to the 50s, the activities carried out in the field of research and monitoring and assessment in particular began in the 60-70s. In order to make development funds effective, both capacity building efforts were supported in the receiving countries and the trend of continuous data collection increased.

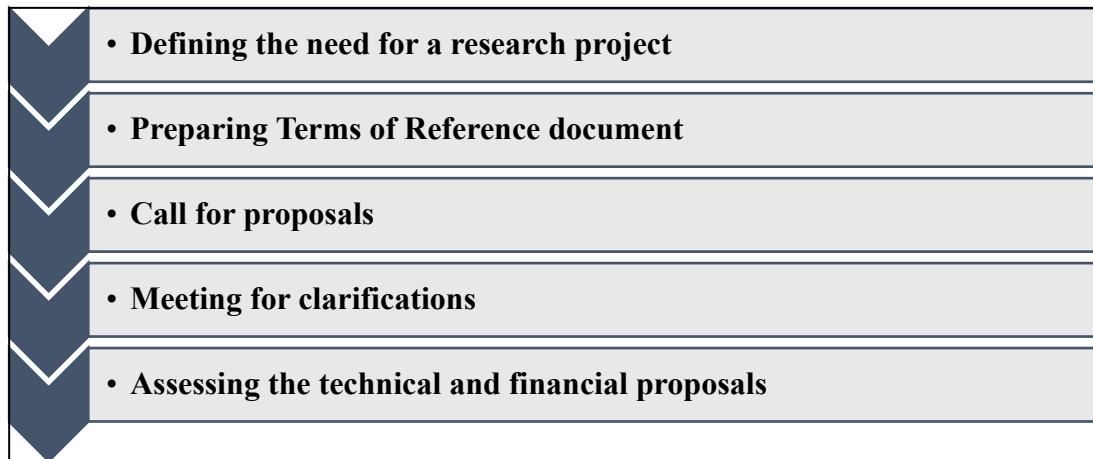


Figure 1. Bidding Process

The following figure simply illustrates the research process. However, the above steps regarding both the tender and the research process reflect the ideal process. Each research has its own dynamics and the stages in these processes work differently for each.

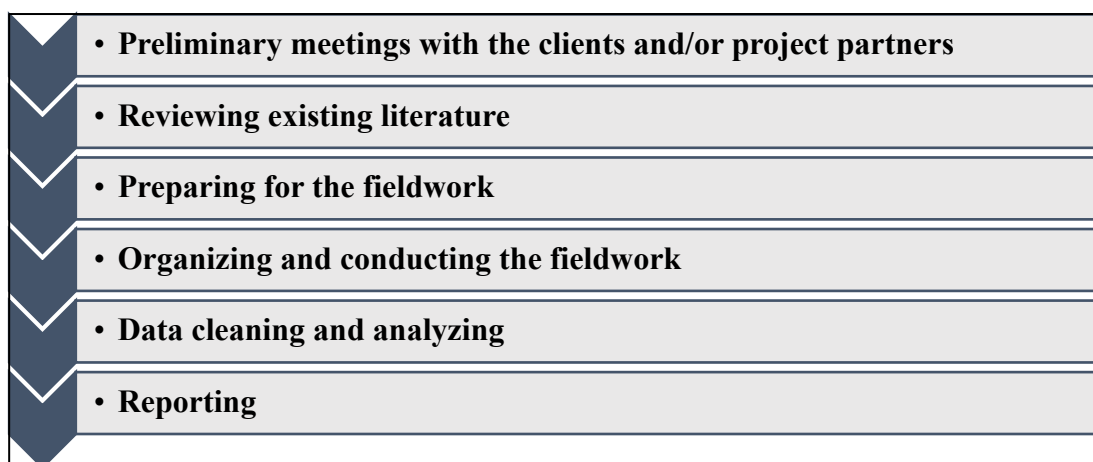


Figure 2. Research Procedure

The whole of the research process, which is discussed in different aspects in this section, also shows why information is not possible considering the distinction of knowledge and information on which this thesis is based. The findings presented in this section can be evaluated in two parts. One is bidding process, as described in detail in the following title. The tender process starts with the operationalization of a need just like the purchase of any product and ends with the announcement of the

tenderer. The second part is about the research process which is shown the patterns from this study.

4.1. Bidding Process for the Proposals

By nature, knowledge production takes place on the basis of demand and supply factors in the market. Supply process for research projects by outsourcing vary by the size of the project and bureaucratic organization of the client. Supply process or bidding process is important to understand how funded social researches are organized at the beginning, from the process of call for proposals to agreement. This part of the process helps us to better understand some other characteristics of the social researches such as organization of mass production of knowledge, commodification of knowledge.

One of the important points regarding bidding process is about human resources in charge of bidding process in both public and private funders. Even there is no accessible and reliable data on their educational background, it is not difficult to estimate that they have background on economics, business management or any related department. This point matters due to the fact that they are the ones who make the final decisions on the bidding process even there are technical team decided on the quality of the research proposals:

People who evaluate technical competence are not very competent. They do not have knowledge of method and sample volume. Some prepare such a good sample volume that they can access the main data with 100 people. Some of them keep the sample volume 50 and the prices are pulled down according to the sample size, and... But the consistency of interviewing with 50 people or 50 institutions is not known to those who evaluate it. ... So these tendering processes are very open to manipulation. If the capacity of the people to evaluate it is insufficient, they cannot make a fair assessment. (Interview with Bahadır)

The background of people in Supply is mostly business administration. They are mostly the purchasers. Therefore, they are mostly business administrators, some of them may be from economics, I am not sure... Maybe for little places, "how much does a focus group cost?". In more institutional places it is like this: you have to have at least three offers. If one of them is not picked, there is a very serious justification process. The thing is to pick the cheapest, I mean. I am talking about these researches. When the application comes, you have to justify why it is not 164 thousand but 170 thousand. I mean, it is the decision of that person who looks at excel in terms of commodification of knowledge. Even if it is not Excel, there are lots of things you need to bypass to be able to bypass the man who is looking at excel. If he is not picking the cheapest offer. There is a very serious control over money there. There is a very strict control over the processes of purchasing. (Interview with Ekin)

Both demand side and service providers are aware of how decisive the financial offer is. In addition to all the other discussions regarding research quality, it can be said that this process also determines the quality of research from the very beginning.

Research is being conducted on the scale demanded by the donor. The world bank is the same. But if the percentage of price is high in the quality-price inquiry – let's say 30-40% for price and 60-70% for quality, the bidder starts to compromise on the quality of the research. Because the bidder asserts that they could conduct the research with 700,000 budget for a research that's really going to cost 1 million. Because they want to make money, they are making concessions of some quality standards. So you spend 6 hours on a task where you should spend eight hours, even that is making concessions on quality. Therefore, precautions should be taken here. Measures should be taken in our tender law. A researcher's daily fee must be certain. For a junior researcher, let's say, is 100 lira a day, unit price. The daily price for Senior is 200 lira. If I'm bidding below this amount, the client has to call the bidder to account: "How you're going to do it under unit prices." Since this is not the case, the research results in the research sector are not of very high quality. (Interview with Yunus)

On the other side, writing proposals according to bidding documents is one of the main activities in consultancy firms because their survival depends on winning the tender. Writing proper and winner proposals is another area of professionalization in research market. Some consultancy companies prepare a template for proposals which serve efficiencies and productivity in the firm. Druckman (2000, p. 1643) states that this is the science of consulting – learned through training. Another important skill is defined as art of consulting – learned through experience – which enable companies to win tenders by understanding and defining specific demands of the client and writing proposals accordingly.

One of the problems there is the issue of preparing job descriptions. The institutions that demand research sometimes prepare the job description so that companies are forced to manipulate there. They cannot tell the truth. What we call technical scoring and financial scoring, mostly finance is 30%, technical scoring is 70%. And these are usually evaluated through the documents and CVs you provide. We have so many CVs, you give points ten out of ten. But that CV may not reflect the reality that much. In addition, those who speak good English, who know the concepts in these trends succeed technical competence. (Interview with Bahadır)

The fact that bidding processes are not carried out by social scientists can be cited as an example of the commodification of information production process and information itself in the market. The procurement process is also an answer to the question of whether businesspeople or social scientists determine the research problem Merton poses in the field of applied social science. As it is understood from

this research, the main determinant for customers is not the problem itself and the research method, but the budget of the research. Before that, however, the people who determines the research problem and are responsible for preparing the ToR document are those skilled in the art. In other words, it is the responsibility of the experts, not the businesspeople, to identify the problem and prepare the reference document, especially in large-scale projects. However, there may be larger programs or international procedures that determine the problem. In the next stage, how national and international funds determine the problem will be briefly mentioned.

4.1.1. National and International Funds

As mentioned in the title of historical background of social research market in Turkey, to be a national or international funds create many effects in this area. It is possible to examine this with two examples. The first one is that social impact surveys for large-scale projects with national funds are not obligatory in Turkish legislation, i.e. environmental impact survey is considered sufficient. Researches conducted to monitor international funds are a procedural necessity which will be discussed in detail in the following parts.

EIAs are usually something that needs to be done when international credit is used. They do the business with a ministerial decision stating there is no need for EIA as there is no international credit. However, if international credit is to be used, that is to prepare an EIA with WB, IFC, IBRD international standards, they also want a detailed social impact assessment. Then that's where we come in. This is all project-based work. (Interview with Öykü)

One of the points encountered in almost every interview is the low number of researches conducted with national funds. The budget and therefore the scope of research carried out with national funds – such as the fund of regional development agencies is also very limited. During the period when applied social research are carried out through national resources in Turkey, the critical role of universities is an important issue for this discussion as well.

Earlier there were those who did this kind of research through universities. Here too, universities were doing a lot of research, a doctoral thesis was coming out, for example. However, these also had problems such as small sample size and thus not representative. Universities were doing it, but as I said in the shift to the private side,

I still think there is uncertainty at the moment. Who will do what and how. (Interview with Yunus)

The transition from national funds to international funds has accelerated the conduct of research activities by private companies. In this sense, in this historically recent sector, it is not possible to make sharp distinctions on issues such as the distribution of funds and the scope of research. As will be mentioned later, there is no formal organization or accountability system to control social research processes and outcomes and collect data at a single center.

The most important point in the distribution of national and international funds is that the global development goals of organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank have an important role in determining the problem. As briefly mentioned in the development debate, research funds provided through development projects play a decisive role in this sector.

On the one hand, rural development models and studies on rural development, on the other hand, funds of international NGOs. In fact, public funds are also something that international organizations support. For example, the World Bank, and the programs that support rural development, etc. I mean, it's not a grant, it's a loan-like thing. Rural development projects (Çorum-Çankırı, Ordu-Giresun, Erzincan-Sivas rural development projects, for example) and similar things are also carried out with international funds such as IFAD. (Interview with Bahadır)

As mentioned in the title of the development debate, it is seen as one of the objectives of this elegant power is to make developing countries suitable production centers with these aids and supported projects. The process of harmonization with the European Union can be given as a clear example for this. In order to enhance the potential of Turkey in line with the European standards in the industrial area, many projects support is provided. Example of this was given in the interviews.

Independent of all but very connected. Support from the EU. It provides funding to member and candidate countries for agricultural production in European standards. With this fund, the European Union says “you are a candidate country, one day you can become a member. When you enter the market, that is, when you enter my market, you have to be producing according to my standards.” And it is giving you a fund through the Ministry of Agriculture to prepare for it. (Interview with Öykü)

Turkey has become a humanitarian actor, especially with the humanitarian crisis in Syria, and for reasons such as immigrant population control and access to basic

services of immigrants, it have received funding for \$ 118.4 million.⁴ With this funding, many international NGOs have been involved in the country and many national NGOs have been established during this period. One of the main factors in managing the crisis is research in this area. In the management of this fund, there is a need to conduct monitoring and impact analysis studies to justify the use of funding sources.

The humanitarian industry is the bottom of the food chain in the misery economics... At the same time, the money in circulation and the gathered data are in such great proportions that they cannot be controlled anymore. And it will probably start to decrease from next year on. What UNICEF does is more less a system integration. An integration to health/medicine and education. When it happens, the state will continue it. They don't have any need for our funding or technical team. (Interview with Ekin)

Similar to development aids, in this example, it can be said that these funds are aimed at capacity building in various areas even though monitoring and control of funds is the main motivation in the field of social research.

Funds are provided for evaluation rather than monitoring. What they really want is to see whether the activities carried out through the funds serve the purpose: Do I reach the goal, or do I have to do something else to get better? In terms of SIA, these studies are mostly in the field of evaluation. The social impact research is conducted once, but evaluation is a continuous process. Evaluation progresses periodically. (Interview with Öykü)

4.2. Quality of Social Researches in Research Market

The other issue regarding the outputs of the social researches carried out by consultancy firms is quality in terms of its methodology, sampling and the process of report writing. It is important to discuss this point for better understanding on the contributions of the social researches conducted by research companies to other social scientific studies.

As it is mentioned in the part of historical background, the times when most of the funds were provided by national-state sources the quality of those researches matter. Apparently, they were supposed to use for the sake of planning and development of

⁴ <https://www.unocha.org/syrian-arab-republic/turkey-humanitarian-fund>

the country. It is understood that interventions of the universities at those times have positive effects on quality of the researches in terms of its scope and scientificity.

Together with such departments, they were conducting researches with qualified professors who know the notion of research and terminology. It was not like "So let's go out and do research on the field, create three surveys, collect something with it". Robust social research which has preliminary research, where people from different disciplines come together and prepare a questionnaire, this is what I'm talking about. It was comprehensive as well. (Interview with Yunus)

Even in the years when the researches were conducted through public institutions and universities, it was stated that there were problems with the reliability and usage of this data. It can be said that this 50-year-old chronic problem stems from the lack of an institution or an authority that will evaluate the quality of the research and make a classification of all the research conducted throughout the country. Within the scope of this study, it is seen that there is no institution responsible for coordinating, aggregating, controlling and evaluating of all kind of social researches conducted by different institutions.

TurkStat publicized a guideline stating "ethically, if you want to know if the research is reliable, look at the guideline". Thus, it left it to the reader's interpretation. If the reader can see how the sample was made in that research, how the sample error was calculated, how much the systematic error or the random error was, that research could be published. But if that is not the case, that research cannot be regarded as a research, Turkstat said. That's what it could do at the end of the day. It is not possible for him to be involved in that system. ... With these controls, it is really meaningful that the research should be approved and passed, that is to say, a place like the Turkish standards institute. This could be any university, any organization, an organization that would be established by other universities such as TurkStat, or the Association of Sociologists. I don't know, I mean, it could be anywhere, but the research should have an organization that will mark the quality standard. Unless it doesn't, those studies may not reach their goal. So, I think the sponsor effect is high. Financiers have a very big impact, I can say, in Turkey. (Interview with Yunus)

The development of the social research sector and its procedural necessity make it difficult to supervise and the existence of an objective authority. For a country like Turkey where cannot use science and technology effectively in data management, it is not easy to manage such a data collection phenomenon. The lack of control over research processes and results gives a great initiative to the financier and the institution that collects and processes the data. In fact, since the ownership of the generated information is often in the hands of the customer, the control of the quality of the output is limited only by the customer's internal control. Although

generalizable results or theoretical analyzes are not required in these studies, it is necessary to be objective in the process of data collection and processing.

The intellectual capacity of the research does not usually come into question, but solely the organizational and interpersonal problems of “selling” the research (Merton, 1949, P. 164). As a matter of fact, no one has expectations on scientificity of the outputs and sampling. On the other hand, there are some quality standards and quantities expected by the client as it is mentioned in previous part. For example, in the tender documents of projects carried out by the UN and the EU, demanded expert profile often has a master's or doctoral degree.

In this direction, the question of scientificity may be out of context for end-oriented researches conducted by research companies. However, even there is no direct demand by the client, there is still a strong motivation towards using social scientific methods at least at the level of personal motivation.

In some projects, for example, there may be very strong people who are self-educated in the field of social sciences. But in some projects, only an environmental engineer can read the stakeholder engagement plan or social impact assessment report that I have prepared. A competent person may be interested in outputs of the research you conducted but it is not the case in every project and every time. ... I think it's about the company's human resources policy. There is also that; there are dozens of hundreds of projects in the financiers. They have to go over all of them and make comments. I think it was about the availability of human resources at that time. It may not be a monetary situation as such. (Interview with Deniz)

While the ways the transformation of knowledge production has not generally been acclaimed by academics there is also an academic orientation in the business as a stabilizing force (Fuller, 2001, p.x). The information produced by this qualified human supply in the market is produced with the academic infrastructure of those experts. Although there is no data on this subject, many people working in this sector are known to have masters and doctoral degrees. The interviewer profile in this study shows a similar pattern: “There are myriad of high-educated people. It is not possible to manage it in labor market in Turkey. Because the number of universities you want to work does not exceed ten.” (Interview with Ekin) This is not only the case for Turkey. The research industry is an important area where educated human supply can be employed.

“Truth is always useful to those who exercise power, regardless of whether they wish to share that truth with those over whom their power is exercised (Shils, 1949, cited in Gouldner, 1956)” However, the types of applied research mentioned in this study are used as a legitimation tool. This shows that social research on the market does not have truth claim, but it is also possible that unmanipulated or objective data can have negative consequences for the customer. Therefore, there may be methodological interventions at the beginning to obtain the desired results of the study. As shown in the bidding process, the client specifies the methodology and sample of the work carried out in the field of monitoring and evaluation in the tender documents. This is a factor that restricts the domain of social scientists who are experts in the research and thus affects the objectivity of the research. In case of an intervention to the sampling process of the fieldwork, one of the respondents narrates her ethical position in the process:

There is one important point here, am I sleeping with peace of mind, did I ask the right questions, did I get the accurate data. You're not just interviewing with the households. You're conducting a key informant interview. There are district and provincial health directorate interviews. I am interviewing with everyone including MoNE, gendarmerie etc. Let's say lung cases have increased. You are going to public health. Yes, there is an increase, but it has nothing to do with the mine, he says for a reason. There's another reason for it, so it's independent of the mine. There are also some people who directly accuse of the mine. Our people do it and you can see it in the field. They are manipulating too. But you have to confirm the accuracy of this data, whether it is healthy or not. In that process, I asked, did I confirm enough, did I present it in my own report? Okay, now the rest is the company's risk. I tell you this, I write warnings. (Interview with Leyla)

Now, while you're doing the research, the gendarmerie may want to accompany you. So how much will you trust the quality of information in the village where you go with the gendarmerie. (Interview with Deniz)

Social scientists working in the research sector are also aware that the researches are not scientific or not carried out in the name of science. However, experts state that they always take the methodology and representativeness of the fieldwork into consideration and benefit from academic resources.

We use scientific methods, but the product we produce is not something that will contribute to science. It may contribute, but it's not our motive. Our aim is not to contribute to a debate in Turkey through empirical data. Ours is an empirical data that will contribute to an application, but of course we also use some academic resources when working on it. (Interview with Alper)

One participant, who claims that qualified knowledge production opportunities could exist both in the market and in the academy, states that this can happen with personal motivations and academic-professional stance.

If you want to produce information, if you enjoy it, there are opportunities everywhere. When you look at it differently, it is possible to infer many things. This should be what you call science. To be doing something scientific, to make it a little more transparent, not to start with a prejudice. ... Another person should be able to look at the work you done and check if it has found a different result. Whether you do it in academia or in the market, as long as you follow this rule, your work becomes scientific. As long as you don't comply with it, no matter where you are, your work doesn't matter, it's not scientific. Science in Turkey, something measured by the label. World bank standards, it sounds like you're scientific. Or when you say that we did it under the name of METU Sociology, you become scientific. However, today, let's open half of the theses, probably they are utter nonsense. This is not just specific to Turkey. But much is happening in Turkey and the number is increasing steadily as well, this is the problem. (Interview with Evrim)

When asked about the quality of research and its potential to contribute to scientific knowledge, almost all participants put it as a benchmark in their professional life. On the other hand, the reliability of the data and the quality of the research is a fundamental element that determines whether these studies can be used in other areas. However, the sector may have a structure that allows and even forces intervention and effects the quality of the research. However, to put it briefly, it is not fair to say that all researches are unqualified in terms of scientificity and reliability. Especially baseline or need analysis studies conducted via international funding could be regarded as qualified researches in terms of its potential to contribute academic studies as secondary source. There are many reasons for determining quality of the researches in the industry, but it can be said that lack of an institution or authority for controlling the research processes and imported character of applied social research which is mostly conducted with the standardized procedures of international organizations.

4.2.1. Expectations of the Clients

One of the key determinants of research process and its quality is directly based on expectations of clients. Thus; sample size, research team, method, quality and many other aspects of a social research are determined in accordance with expectations of

clients. These things might be clarified at the beginning of the process or it might be shaped during the research process, on the field or on the process of report writing.

However, it is said that at the beginning of this trend, i.e. in the process carried out by universities and public supervision, data is produced on a more comprehensive and scientific basis:

We were very careful about scientificness of the studies. There is no such demand right now. How long has this been the case... Until 2007-2008. In fact, the GAP process was a school and an école, created a culture in terms of regional development. Yes, the quality of information was very, very important in this process. For this, universities were the main actors to keep the quality as high as possible. (Interview with Işıl)

Currently, international funding providers, especially for medium and large-scale research projects, require the provision of academic advisors in the technical bidding documents. As mentioned above, although there is no expectation that the research will be scientific, it is expected to employ an academic advisor or master/doctoral degree specialist.

Among the interviewees were experts who prepared the terms of reference document of funder organizations. She states that she is responsible for quality control many times during the research process.

Since I am in charge of the project, I have to pay attention to every step I take. No matter how flexible you try to make those terms of references, it will somehow be in your hands. You're putting seventy reviews. You will write, but I will see and check. If I don't approve, you will do it again. You have to impose such sanctions. There is no other way. (Interview with Leyla)

They are experts who, through the ToR document, determine how much initiative should be given methodologically to the research organization and experts, or how much time will be allocated to the different stages of the research. As mentioned above, control of outsourced research on the customer side is a critical issue. However, this situation can turn into a system that restricts the research organization and individuals.

There is very little written on the subject. After such a need emerges, we are borrowing the problematic info from a friend. We are writing ToR. The importance of ToR is this: if you don't write it as specific as possible... it's something we consider as a pre-contract with the research companies who will actually be the main producers of

knowledge there. Now, if you write it too strictly, if you don't leave anything open even to the extent of research questions, then there is no space left for them. Something that hasn't occurred to you maybe will occur to them. We are trying to balance it, I mean. It's more than a pre-contract, it is more like dialogue starter. You put down everything you want so that they can derive something to make budget adjustments accordingly. We are telling what we hope but it doesn't always happen like that obviously. I have never seen any exception on this matter ... (Interview with Ekin)

The standards set by international funders such as EU, UN and WB in the field of social research are important criteria for these institutions when evaluating these researches. This is linked to the previous discussion of procedural requirements. The criteria for these institutions are the conformity to the standards and the accordance with the research timeline, rather than their content quality:

Institutions like the World Bank publish a handbook on how to do this. And it checks your work for compliance with this handbook and doesn't check its content. For example, in a report written by another company for one of our clients, village names were not correct. So, I put aside the data they collected, there is no such village. But the product is in compliance with the handbook as it's on paper. If you take the quality measures according to this handbook, this would be the result. ... They expect report to be thick... As thicker the better. ... We did social impact assessments for a long time; it was very popular at that time. It gave good budget, it was fun for me, and alternative information came out. But that sector has been transformed, they're buying reports. Content doesn't matter, nobody cares. The energy sector is not a growing sector. Since they haven't grown up, they don't allocate money. They work with a mode of thought like the cheapest is the best. That's exactly how it works. (Interview with Evrim)

This is the case for most of the works. The content of that work is not very important either. Merely they skim through the content. If you wrote something that might have a negative return, they'll look at it. (Interview with Öykü)

Another issue regarding expectations of the clients is pointed by Gunes (2017). He states that the client demand only specific certain points regarding the research projects and not to exceed the limits put by the client even though there are very important points for the project.

4.2.2. Standardization of Researches and Reports

Especially international companies or organizations not only determine the research process at the beginning but also, they expect a compliance with standards which these organizations identify. Almost all of the participants stated that their professional work was quite different from the theoretical and practical training they learned at school, and that they learned it through the handbooks written by international organizations.

Actually IFC, EBRD guidelines taught me to conduct impact assessment. Obviously, I learned the job by experience. (Interview with Leyla)

You're looking at the works done before, looking at similar jobs, or the WB manuals, etc. You draw your own way, or you work with people who know the job if you are lucky. I'm telling you because this is the way to do this. Nobody's gonna teach you that at school. If you've reached the right guidelines, the right research, the methods, the guides, you're doing it the same way. So, somehow you actually produce a standard data, but it depends entirely on the qualification of the person or organization that perform the task. (Interview with Öykü)

Most of the interviewed experts stated that they were faced with a different practical field than the social science education they received at the university. This shows that the main determinant in the production processes of the information produced in the market is the standards of international organizations.

When the gap between the academy and the market is a matter of debate, standardization is one of the most prominent issues. It is expected that this reporting standard will be put forward during the quality control or evaluation of the product received. As stated above, it was emphasized that the funders of the researches pay regard to the provision of these standards rather than content. Following the standard procedures and writing reports with a pre-determined scheme demanded by the client do not only limit researcher's initiative but also reduces job satisfaction:

They told us in the brief there, only but only enter hardcore anthropology. We don't want anything else, they said. Then I opened my PhD thesis, it is so beautiful. Let me... that's very important. If only the market could relax on that... Just leave these people be for once, these are people who are thinking. Let us think, write, fight about it, let us not do something to make you happy, let us do this embracing it, let us do this in peace. If the market accepts this, then academics will work miracles. I mean, there are lots of smart, successful, dynamic (it creates a difference, too, obviously) people who want to involve in this business, who wants to exist in the research market. But it's very important for the market to accept this for the fulfillment to arise. (Interview with Özge)

You have to do your work in accordance with the framework and then keep on with your life. It may not make you happy. This is the biggest problem in the research industry, not being able to make peace with this fact... the quality of the work becomes a matter of curiosity if only the knowledge that is produced is going to change something in the life of the other party; only then it leads somewhere. But it happens very rarely. (Interview with Evrim)

The assumption that the results of the researches on model systems is valid for other cases prevents the studies in the field of social sciences to reach wide range of variety among cases (Krause, 2016). In addition, although standardization of research outcomes provides an advantage for corporate customers in the quality

control phase, this standardization can be considered as one of the most important factors that transform the researcher into a worker.

4.3. Research Limitations

As in all modes of knowledge production, there are certain limitations by nature. In Turkey and in the world in general, in order to create autonomous spaces for social sciences in which provide opportunities to product collective, comprehensive and scientific knowledge, it is useful to reveal the constraints. Besides, there are many political problems and constraints that Turkey academy of social sciences and private companies and NGOs making data collection and analysis in social field are faced with. In the previous chapter, it is said that standardization and the tendering process restricts the research and the researcher, which leads to a quality problem. This section will address other problems and limitations facing social research carried out by companies or NGOs through national and international funds.

In fact, the main constraint facing market research is, as discussed earlier, set by the customer. A participant working in an international organization says that while preparing the technical tender document, she tries to make it both detailed and to leave space for the researcher.

I'm writing a real ToR in UN. I am the funder; I'll get the service. To create a truly competitive pool of proposals, you need to write down the finest details one by one. For this, I work with a separate consultant, a relevant expert. ... But there is a need to give clear instruction. But while giving it clear, the company that will bid on this should not be confined to a limited area. I can understand because I also know the consulting side. The consultant must have an added value in the project. (Interview with Leyla)

However, this is not the case for every research type and every customer. International organizations with a specific information management system and standard determine the methodology with their own expert staff in order to make the collected data comparable. However, private companies that do not have a team of experts in the field of social research often give the tasks such as methodology determination and report format to the consultant.

My manager asks me "how many people would do this work and finish in how many days". I look at the population, I look at the content of the project. Accordingly, I report my manager that "this work would be completed by this time with this number of interviewers, the data will be entered in x days". (Interview with Handan)

A participant, who states that she is completely autonomous in determining methodology, does not go beyond their own understanding of research. She also stated that they reached an agreement with the customer on the methodology and research process through negotiation and gained trust by providing good results.

We come onto the market, we assert, this is not done in this way. Nobody could ask that what was wrong with our way of doing it. I said you're doing it wrong. Why, because I know. Maybe the issue we call power is there, but we sincerely believed what we are doing. For example, we are doing series testing or advertising testing, etc. I don't really know how it is done, but I know 90% is faulty. And I say I will give you a much better-quality result by the way I do. And, I'm giving better results. Then the market makes me unique. If I couldn't tell you what your problem is, if the other side didn't get close to understanding, then you can't stay unique. (Interview with Özge)

Both standardization and therefore predetermined methodology do not apply to market research case. A similar pattern is also valid for an NGO that has a unique position in this field.

4.3.1. Time Limitation

One of the clearest distinctions between the Academy and the production of information in the market is related to the quantity and quality of the time given to the research. Research period and working days of experts are very important in determining the budget of the project. The project budget is the most decisive criterion of being a winning proposal as described in the bidding process.

Time constraints are caused by so many different factors that you can't control much, for example. When a fund is received, it needs to be used within a certain time. For example, we will produce information about children with disabilities. The funding ends in ten months. We can do, no problem. Here are two people applying. Open the tender again, they say, with two people this will not happen. When you lose two months there, the time constraint begins. This is the internal factor. It may be external. Whether the permission is given or not. When you do something in collaboration with the ministries, let's say the general manager went abroad for two weeks. A delegate doesn't sign. (Interview with Ekin)

It is understood that one of the main reasons of the time constraint is bureaucratic processes. In most of the cases, both the client and the consultant cannot be

determined or estimate the duration of the study because of bureaucratic processes. Almost all of the researches carried out are those in which state institutions are also stakeholders. Especially in large-scale surveys, the approval of an official from public institutions is waited in every process of the research for the field research.

There are myriad of things due to procurement law. Now the state has designed the research, puts the budget, it is very difficult for the state to allocate that budget. 6-8 months are passed with the permission of this. I'm talking about tender permits. Two-thirds of the time is gone with procedures like the budget, the tender, the documents of the state, documents of the other parties, determining the price. One-third of the time could be reserved for the research. This is the main source of the problem. Otherwise, if the research organization can really plan it very well, I think most research can proceed without any problem. Time could be sufficient. But it would not be possible for these reasons I stated. I mean, not possible without a good planning (Interview with Yunus)

Deadline pressure is the case for almost every research conducted on the market. This not only determines the scope and quality of the research, but also directly affects the researcher's production process, motivation and job satisfaction.

No matter how much quantitative data I collect, I always leave an open-ended question. I'm trying to evaluate them separately. It takes a while, not very effective. I would rather go to the field research for more than only one week. But unfortunately, this is the case. ... Quantitative and qualitative studies should be conducted together. It should form a data source with verbal data from people or field photographs. But it's hard to classify them, it takes a lot of time to apply a filter to them. (Interview with Handan)

Deadline pressure mostly turns into a tool of exploitation of experts working with consulting firms. Managers who want to win the tender and bring profit to the company, apply deadline pressure on their employees. In addition, the experts working in the project exceed the working days and hours specified in the project proposal.

For example, I have been working day and night for days to write a report because I have a deadline. In order to win the tender, you say that you will do it in two weeks for the job to be done in a month. And then, you get the job for that week difference. Deadline is something like that. You claim to do something that can never be done in a short time. Then the employees suffer from it. Employees working around the clock to complete the task before deadline. Normally, you can't finish that task in a month working under humanitarian conditions. ... [The manager] makes you work overtime, and he doesn't give the overtime pay. There's something like that, so he'll pay you for ten days. But makes you work 50 days, ley's say. ... Even when the time has been allocated, one-to-one decoding and a proper reporting would not be taken place in any private company. And then its name will be in-depth interview or qualitative research. Everything works against the clock. (Interview with Öykü)

Research companies use pressure on workers as a means of profit. Therefore, no matter how experienced the experts are, they cannot find enough time to reflect their expertise to the information production process. In other words, reasons such as overproduction and time constraints render experts working in this field unqualified.

4.4. Usefulness of the Research Results

It is hard to find an extensive literature which is directly related with ‘usefulness’ of social researches conducted by consultancy companies in Turkey because it is a relatively new phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is possible to read some emphasis on knowledge production in accordance with demand of capital in Western countries. In applied field, Burawoy’s concept of policy sociology is just one of the examples related with this discussion. Policy sociology ‘focuses on solutions to specific problems defined by clients’ (2004, p. 1608). However, as it is stated in customized social research title, policy making is not one and only drive for applied social research. “Knowledge producer generate his or her knowledge for very specific purpose and he or she does not sell it but its application” (Antonelli, 1999, p. 253).

Most of the research in the market is used for monitoring the funds and evaluating the projects carried out. In this case, it is known that social research is funded as part of the social projects carried out in order to shape the future of these projects. The interviewees were also asked if they had any information about the use of the results of their research. One of the highlights of this research is that researchers do have little or no idea about what use is being made of their product after delivery. Particularly in SIA research, it is seen that there is almost no possibility of process monitoring after submitting the report.

I think, not being able to observe further processes of your work is one of the disadvantages of the sector. I wrote and submitted the report of SIA and management plan. The client is done with me. It might make an agreement with B firm for controlling. You gave the example of disconnection between different experts and phases of the research. This process is something like that. I just got an agreement to write a SIA report. They do not expect me to make an inspection. What they will do after that is unknown. ... The report is put directly on the internet in English because the bank demands it. But the fieldworker doesn't know English. They are still asking if the report is published. The report has been on the Internet in English for two years though. (Interview with Deniz)

In the field of ESIA, environmental impact assessments should be made available to the public for a certain period of time as part of the regulation. However, in Turkish EIA law social impact assessment is not mandatory. That's why, SIA reports are usually prepared and presented in English for foreign credit institution. It was also stated that the reports prepared in Turkish and opened to the public were questioned by the people of the affected region. Therefore, the reports contribute to the establishment of the policies of the funding and executing institutions.

The EIA report is a minimum of 800-900 pages. That report is being offered to the public. The people have the right to comment on whatever is in that report. ... In such a case, the public began to react. Let's say, the reactions were, for example: I draw circles of impact assessment when writing reports. In the first circle, I state that there are these provinces and villages. This circle is enlarging. The villages that were outside that center questioned themselves as to "why we're not the most affected. So, I gave up my land, why didn't anyone do anything to me?" He is right. There are also points where people are wrong, but people started questioning. These inquiries began to put pressure on firms. When companies were stuck, we started to explain the social impact, stakeholder engagement, importance of stakeholder engagement plan etc.: "Go talk to people, tell them about the project, they also have right to access to information etc." ... There are also many areas of conflict. But I think the fact that both the increasing public awareness and the existence of international companies started to make it [SIA] a necessity. (Interview with Leyla)

The main motivation of the research is an important criterion that determines the quality, usage area and dissemination patterns. The most obvious example of this is the research carried out due to a procedural necessity. These investigations are conducted for a specific use and are often used as internal documents. Therefore, such research is open to manipulation and its publication and dissemination are not promoted.

What impact assessment studies are used for, of course, they are used to guide their own projects. I do not know how much ideal... Actually, these are the processes we are trying to approach the ideal. Of course, I don't know how much attention they paid to what I warn in the report like "there are effects like this, and you need to pay attention to". For example, we are conducting a stakeholder analysis before a project is executed. The results of this stakeholder analysis are really paid attention to. For example, there is a report we have written for green peace, that report has been circulating in the hands of people for years. It was a very much satisfying thing for me. But usually, the institutions themselves use it. I don't think the academy uses it, I don't think policy makers use it. But we are actually revealing the data that policy makers can make a claim on. (Interview with Hazal)

Similar examples will be discussed both in the following title and in the dissemination of knowledge section.

4.4.1. Research as a Procedure

One of the main reasons of this social research outbreak in the market is international development agenda suggesting social researches at almost every steps of the projects. The trend of evidence-based decision-making is one of the decisive features of developing policies for international funders. A majority of the research conducted in Turkey has emerged as a result of procedural requirements. When the historical development of applied social research in Turkey is examined through the interviews, the importance of these funds is highlighted once more.

I have observed this tendency even in my own personal history. It is possible to say that this is really on the rise. Of course, we can say that the concept of impact is on the rise. Especially because the funders see it as compulsory. Especially on this issue, a very important literature has accumulated in UN and EU. And there are a number of well-established procedures that are required to implement them when the fund is given. So, if you have done any business you have to evaluate the impact and present it to the funders, this is a rising trend. (Interview with Hazal)

As it is understood, the aim of the studies in the field of social impact is not often to develop policies or eliminate the problems in the program operation. However, there are also examples that the results and recommendations of these researches learned through the procedure established by international organizations are taken into account.

So far, we've probably conducted 20 SIA, and some of which are large-scale projects. I saw the only person who used it, it was a family business. The man was in charge, and he wanted to make things smoother and more beautiful, and he is a well-meant person. He did it with the information provided. (Interview with Evrim)

Almost no applied social research, especially SIA research, which has become mandatory for large infrastructure projects, is conducted for the purpose of determining the policies of national institutions. As discussed in the development and historical development chapters, foreign investors require social research to monitor the loans granted. This makes the local investor view social research as a condition for receiving credit.

There is no obligation in our legislation to manage the social impacts of investments. There is an obligation to manage only the environmental impacts of investments. ... In Turkey, infrastructure work was done by the state with own resources. It is now done by the private sector with loans. ... The first reaction given by firms was to

employ sociologists. They started conducting SIA research with sociologists. IFC has more specific, norm-setting, procedural-setting standards. These loans are given part by part. As for the social stage, he wants to see the report first. The monthly cost of the amount, which cannot be received because there is no social impact report, is very high. But in the end, these companies take this money from banks because the bank wants to give the money, the company wants to take it. Here we also have to fulfill the procedural requirements. This is very likely to be on paper. (Interview with Nida)

“Many clients think of research projects in terms of shelf life rather than expecting practical contributions to the agency’s tasks” (Druckman, 2000, p. 1648). Although the surveys are generally conducted only as a procedure, the outcomes of these surveys are also taken into account by the funding agencies or creditors. This, in turn, can cause research to actually affect practices. During the usefulness discussion, one participant mentioned the compulsory implementation of the recommendations from the research results. However, this situation, as observed in all other stages, is a requirement of the lending institution.

But I'm sure, if the bank has put an annotation stating that you need to do this, and if that annotation is linked to the loan, these guys have no choice. (Interview with Handan)

Inquiry of the reasons why applied field of sociology could not be utilized effectively in both policy and academic fields is not a new issue in social sciences. The fact that lending banks put forward the impact and evaluation requirement as a prerequisite for the loan may lead to manipulation and interference in the research process and its results.

4.4.2. Data Manipulation

Data manipulation is one of the most critical issues of social research in the market. This affects both the credibility of the research and the prestige of the research organization or experts. The main reason for data manipulation is to legitimize the investment made through impact assessment research and to eliminate the difficulties in transferring money, which is mostly necessitates submitting the reports.

The biggest problem, I think, as a consultant, is the investor who provided us with funding to carry out these researches. We present our reports to investors. They can also crop the results of our research as they wish. Before we submit our reports to the

landers, i.e. financiers, we already offer them to the contractor. They first read, examine, tease out, cut some parts. After that, our reports go to the actual landers. The final output is actually going to the financier in a way that has been manipulated. (Interview with Deniz)

As mentioned before, the consulting firm or experts who conduct research consider it an ethical responsibility to collect and analyze the data in the most accurate way. Nevertheless, investors do not pay attention to the content of the research and the implementation recommendations that arise therefrom. What is important in these reports is to highlight the positive aspects of the projects and to manipulate the negative aspects.

This is the case for most of the works. The content of that work is not very important either. Merely they skim through the content. If you wrote something that might have a negative return, they'll look at it. (Interview with Öykü)

Data manipulation is not merely an intervention in research outcomes. The customer is in a subjective position in determining the methodology and sample at the beginning of the process.

Looking at the area of influence of the mine, it covers 7-8 villages. And it was my junior time. I said you need to go to these eight villages. They said no, you're just going to three of them. I went. The local people know nothing about the mine. They are like "someone's here, they're drilling or something." I had enlightened there, for the first time. There is an intervention here, something needs to change here. I wrote him again, I sent him an e-mail, you wrote it like this, but that's not the case. I received an answer that said, "This is not a scientific study." I know it's not scientific, but a certain methodology needs to be implemented. I've heard things like that. But like I said, they can't talk to you like that lately. (Interview with Leyla)

Since it is a procedural necessity, there is a danger that social research carried out is unqualified and subjective. This not only diminishes trust in social research but renders it worthless by seeing it as a means of legitimation. At this point, the question is why the 'client' needs social researches in a certain area which is determined by the client have a critical position for determining its quality and scope.

4.5. Policy Making or Legitimation?

What we think of sociological knowledge production have become as a matter of application because of the current trend of applied social sciences and big data. It

can be said that the main motivation of applied social research is to set an ultimate goal of developing social policies or programs. Process of policy making is commonly based on the information which is mainly compiled by research companies where data is collected and analyzed for a specific end and application. In determining and monitoring of public and social policy, Turkey is making use of its own data sources. As stated above, there is little or no social research conducted with only state funds and resources.

In fact, the main motivation is data-driven policy. That is, policies cannot be successful in the process of making and application unless supported by data. So, this is the main motivation. Even the most ignorant politician can say that very easily. Now we have to create a data-driven policy, he says, even if he doesn't know what it is. It became a slogan. But when you actually look at it, bureaucrats who know the bureaucracy well and is in charge of the operations are really aware of it. ... Ministries are also trying to collect their own data. (Interview with Yunus)

Furthermore, an important stakeholder in the field of policymaking is international funders such as UN and EU. Since these resources are considered important for the development of the country, policy recommendations of international organizations is taken into consideration in some cases. In this sense, there are some examples of the research projects carried out to reach the intended purpose. Both the support provided in the development area and the services developed through emergency funding are considered as a “learning” process in this field.

If you have a demand, a new project can be designed for that matter. Let's say the ministry of environment needs capacity building. Such a result came from the research. When you go to the ministry and say, "this is one of results of the project, let me find your fund and we shall design a project together", the ministry is open to such things. They have their own projects related to infrastructure with the municipality especially on waste management etc. ... But UN is active, for example, in the GAP region. They did a lot of good work and touched many things from agriculture to waste water there. It can use his power. It can use its experience and use it for convincing. I guess [data-driven policy making] it's going to take a little more time. I think this Syrian crisis has created areas to think about. Everyone has seen the capacity of the country. Municipalities, provinces, districts, they were all stuck. Especially in the southeast. So, after that, more capacity building projects started to be carried out. They started to say, let's set up a project implementation unit, learn to manage projects. Some things are gradually coming to Turkey. But the outcomes of this attempts will not be seen before ten years. Currently the basis is being formed. I can't say there is not, but it is paved the way for data-driven policy making. (Interview with Leyla)

Funds may be given to a specific geographical area, social group or social problem. These projects, including social research at every stage, can be considered as

effective initiatives in the related field, even if their impact area is limited. Social research is both a means to make these actions and regulations sustainable and to ensure the continuation of fund transfer.

There is this “gender equality in education” program. Like, how the sexist language can be sorted out of syllabi in Turkish schools—it’s something UN is also involved with. There are education workshops and whatnot. There is also news like this appearing in a project that moves sloppily. They made the children do gender swaps to engender empathy. Valuable and also a drop in the ocean. They made a news of it saying that it is homosexual perversity. Then the ministry said, it was program ended last year. Now, what’s the use of evaluating this, monitoring this? There is also political dimension to it, there is also the fact that you have to produce a result to satisfy your funders. But it’s like stating the obvious, there is nothing to lie either. It is an effort to try to tell what you are doing with a suitable opportunity. (Interview with Ekin)

Whatever the purpose of applied social research, all of them are within conjunctural boundaries. This makes it necessary to evaluate the research carried out and the funding institution on a certain political level. Dethier (2007) who worked in The World Bank for years states that The World Bank is a political institution in terms of its advocative position in international development area. But under any circumstances, “its views on development are evidence based: this is what gives it legitimacy” (p. 477). These studies, which are carried out on a political level, must also be politically legitimized, apart from understanding and presenting the existing situation based on a certain systematic.

There's no objectivity. That's a sham fight. There is the rule of the game and this institution should be shown such a result. Now you have to tell me how to justify it [the project]. ... Isn't that the core of your thesis? If you produce this information to the customer, customer satisfaction is important. That's the rule of capitalism. Nobody would like you to lie looking in their eyes; there is an appropriate way to lie, too. We are calling that appropriate way monitoring and evaluation, okay? (Interview with Ekin)

As it is also implied in previous titles, policy determination or program development are not always the main motivation of social research. It is mostly a mean for gaining funds or credits and make profit. However, it would be a fallacy and deficient approach to see social research as a mere justification tool and to consider it limited to a political agenda. As a procedural necessity or justification tool, social research is still an important element in determining public and institutional policy.

4.6. Dissemination of Information

Another issue that needs to be considered regarding the uses of the information produced in the market is the dissemination of information. As it is known, since the information purchased by the funding institutions (banks or international NGOs) as a report or data set is the private property of these organizations, the decisions about its publication are taken by the customer. It is possible to say that the researches are largely stored in the archives of customers without publication. About unpublished or rarely publicized research results by clients, Merton (1949, p. 165) claims that they publicize researches only when their results correspondent with the organizations' interests. Thus, problems with open data and dissemination of research results in applied field immediately bring the questions of quality and objectivity.

It depends on your deal. The customer becomes its owner. You can't publish the report if you don't have a relevant agreement. So, if you have the right to broadcast, if there isn't something in the contract indicating you can't do, I think you can publish, but you always have to ask the customer for it. (Interview with Yunus)

There are also foundations or NGOs that are not directly for-profit – such as consulting firms or research companies but conduct extensive social research in related fields. Another important finding in the study is the results of the differences in these two organizational structures.

It's usually published. There is definitely a part of the recommendations. For example, we also worked with the public institutions. In these studies, of course, the research is published, but I do not know how much it is open to public. Because it can be very technical issues. For example, a research has been made about forest villages. It was a study of the Ministry of Forestry on the categorization of villages. I think an academician who has a special interest in this subject can access those publications. But it would usually circulate within the ministry. Other than that, when we call the impact assessment studies, these are not the things published as it is very specific. They are just evaluation research of a current study. It's not exactly a research. It is not possible to make a publication from there. On the other hand, for example, research can be done to collect a reference or baseline data about the project they are running, and these studies can be published, sometimes such things can happen. (Interview with Hazal)

One of the views put forward about the dissemination of knowledge is that academic research and research conducted in the research market have different dissemination

patterns. However, this quote does not refer to all social research carried out in the market, but to research carried out by non-profit organizations.

The information produced by civil society is generally accessible and practicable. As a result, this is already the main motivation. If you are already producing information, you are producing it to disseminate it, they don't give diploma or academic degree. If an association has published, it is not doing for academic degrees or to put in the file. Therefore, by definition, life of information begins when information is publicized. Although it does not have to be this way, in the academy, its life ends when it publicized. There is a saying that a doctoral thesis read by five people that two of them are not on the jury. ... Doctoral thesis has already completed its duty when it is approved. Its task is to make that person a doctor. (Interview with Nida)

The publication or dissemination of the studies online is an important goal for NGOs conducting social research. In this sense, NGOs attach importance to publicizing the output of the research as a report in order to increase the legitimacy and visibility of the social projects carried out. In the end, however, NGOs or the consultancy company cannot make this decision because the customer is in the possession of project and research outputs.

Studies on the development of children in rural areas, a report on child labor, these are very important for us. The clients do not publish datasets and reports. For example, we conduct a baseline study before a social investment program. We could not publicize all those studies. For example, we conduct a study many years ago for X [an international non-profit organization]. They did not publicize it for a long time. We asked permission for publication of the results, they did not accept. ... Now, for instance, they know that when a study on tobacco is conducted, it will cause trouble for them. They prefer not to publicize with different motivations such as confidential business information, unpredictability of the future or the results might cause trouble. (Interview with Bahadır)

One participant, who argued that research outputs should be published, stated that the main issue rather than the publication of the collected data or research outputs is the quality problem. On the other hand, the issues like open data and dissemination of information has not been at Turkey's agenda yet.

In the story of research, knowledge and data production, these are not possible without negotiation from the beginning of the process. So, reach the desirable quality... (before dissemination phase, we collect the data) In Turkey, data generation responding the needs is also very problematic. Publication or dissemination of the data is the next step. But something you do with another's money, something in which your labor is paid for cannot be copyrighted. Therefore, the communalization of knowledge or data is a serious problem in Turkey, and besides, it is not really contemplated. (Interview with Bahadır)

In this case, it is concluded that the main actor in the dissemination of research outputs is the customer. The publication of research outputs, especially for international organizations, obliged both the client and the consulting firm to write a qualified report.

For my opinion there is a different pattern [on the issue of dissemination and uses of the research results conducted by international NGOs and state institutions]. International organizations really know what to do and why. They do and publish - they adapt it into something publishable. There is a report we are preparing for now, for example. Even if it takes six months, it will be corrected and will be published. Unless of course it is targeting for internal use. Sometimes they aim for internal use, they don't need publishing. But yes, there is no such thing in public institutions. (Interview with Yunus)

Problems with dissemination of research outputs are not peculiar with Turkey case. Similarly, in the US example (Druckman, 2000, P. 1638), reports may be circulated within the client organization, but they are not publicized for external uses. All in all, research outputs are not necessarily publicized when it is used for very specific end such as legitimization of the process or monitoring the programs. However, publishing reports or specific data should not always mean that they are easily accessible.

It can be accessed or requested from the institution's website. This may be a bit related to the dissemination performance of institutions, but I think that data and research reports are widely available to the public. (Interview with Hazal)

Publishing and making the researches visible does not mean that this research is evaluated for different purposes. Knowledge generation and accessibility are no longer considered a problem or a demand. In other words, there is no such demand for accessing data and reports of those researches in order to use in other academic or non-academic studies.

But this is also the case in our association. We have a lot of research, we collected incredible amount of data. Especially qualitative data is very valuable, it is not an ordinary thing, it is not something you would use in SPSS or something. We always say that we should use it or we should make someone or an institution use it. We offer it to people, but even there is the data, it's so hard to find the person to use it, even it's not possible. But on the other hand, the institute, for example, has incredible data. There is data collected periodically every five years. You can't reach the data. Actually, you can, but if you ask for. This shouldn't be the case. I should be able to access that data over the internet. Even if I cannot access the raw data, I must at least access a certain part, the processed data. (Interview with Öykü)

Flynn (2000), in the example of the US social science research industry, indicates that dissemination strategy is determined during the bidding phase and, it is clearly requested by the bidder in the request for proposals documents. He claims that dissemination of the research results is the type of accountability of non-profit sector.

One of the guidelines published by an INGO includes a dissemination module organized around the concept of knowledge translation (WHO, 2014). This concept refers the means of effective uses of knowledge created. In this approach, knowledge created must transformed into inputs for program implementers, policy makers, practitioners, academic studies or other audiences. In this respect, in the research project, target audiences, objectives dissemination channels must be determined at the beginning before the creation of the product. However, there is no accessible official dissemination strategy document of INGOs and the banks or other clients even if they are the advocates of open data and dissemination of knowledge.

Accordingly, the next section will discuss the potential uses of applied social research as a secondary resource in academic or other research activities.

4.6.1. Contributions of Applied Studies: Reports as Secondary Source

Academic or market-driven social researches have always been in need of secondary source for a robust study well documented through evidences from different sources. The question of whether the information produced in the market using social sciences techniques can be used in the academic field is also an important question of debate. Although it is market-oriented and addresses a very specific area, all kinds of social research have to use many variables to understand a phenomenon. Therefore, whether it is impact assessment or monitoring, these studies collect data on many different topics related to the identified social group, especially the basic demographic information. Therefore, it is possible that the use of social research conducted for market needs may come out of this limited part of the researches. However, it has been observed that the researches merely used for the predetermined aim, and do not be taken as reference for other studies probably due to the fact that

the researches address a very specific purpose, are open to customer intervention and manipulation. It has been found that examples that the produced and disseminated information is used by other institutions or experts are rare. This is again the case for non-profit organizations.

I don't think the academy utilize it. Because in the end, it is not something that published in a peer review journal. But I think the academy should benefit from it. So these research outputs are not used because probably their methodological basis is questioned. But at the same time, this process is very fast and intense. It is a labor-intensive area because of the fund concern. It is an area where mental labor is used extensively. A considerable field experience is accumulated. For example, we wrote a thesis proposal, for a study to be conducted with conservative women. And the professor's concern is that, "so this is a good subject matter, but you can't reach to that group". There is no such problem for us, for example, we are always in the field. We are always in touch with all kinds of social groups, and so much experience has accumulated that I think they cannot be thrown away. So yes, academy doesn't use it, but NGOs do. I also benefit from the work of other non-governmental organizations. (Interview with Hazal)

Though the quality problem is ignored, it is necessary for the academy to obtain the data of an unmanipulated social research in order to be able to utilize it effectively. However, there is the problem of open data. Even if the results of the researches are published, this is not with the original data set but in the form of reports.

If academicians can receive this data, it should be taken as secondary data as if referring to the newspaper headline. It should not attempt to use it as primary data. But I think that consulting companies can reach the university on the quality of information. In other words, the reports we have written are of a higher quality than all of the doctoral theses given at provincial universities. Not ninety-nine percent. And they compete with the master theses given in METU Sociology. (Interview with Alper)
If TURKSTAT or academicians or a university are involved in the process, this data may be used. But if the fate of these researches depends upon especially to the private sector, I do not trust much that data. (Interview with Bahadır)

In almost all of the studies mentioned in the title of customized social research, a comprehensive questionnaire is prepared and applied. Although the research is aimed at a very specific purpose, many social and economic variables need to be taken into account to understand the phenomena. "The research worker in applied research is not permitted the luxury of the supposition that other pertinent factors will remain equal (Merton, 1949, P. 176)" Shugan sees this feature of consulting research as "bridging function" because of the role of identifying irrelevant variables which academic techniques could not easily uncover (2004, P. 176).

Another important issue on this subject is that the researches requested (especially in the areas of needs analysis, situational analysis) are the needs arising from the lack of academic literature:

There is a lack of academic literature for practice that will lead people working on the ground or with the program, such as UN or the ministry. Now why UN wants to do what we call situation analysis. For example, the situation of children with disabilities in Turkey. How could I not read and learn it. We're not in the year 1915, we are in 2019. It is not the case that the first university opened two years ago. It's not like the design of the handle on the side of a coffee mug. We're talking about children, children with disabilities. There is no situation analysis. The fact that the UN needs something like this is a scandal, academically. (Interview with Ekin)

In order to fill such gaps in the academic field, the use of applied research in the academic field is a subject frequently discussed in the publications in this field. Academic staff is mostly unable to conduct representative or big scale researches due to financial and human resources limitations. Correspondingly, one of the main motivations of social scientist in consulting is the research Project themselves. "Rewards are found in acquiring new insights, contributing new frameworks and methodologies, struggling to solve complex theoretical and applied problems, and contributing to the field by publishing the projects' findings in academic journal" (Druckman, 2000, P. 1650). As mentioned above, most of the research projects are expected to include academicians or experts who have relevant academic experience. Considering the contribution of the research conducted in the market to the academic field, this situation can be discussed especially through the academicians providing consultancy services. As mentioned above, a confidentiality agreement is signed with the people working in the researches. Therefore, no one, including academic advisors, has the right to access the data sets of the research. However, on the other hand, the studies of academicians in this field have the potential to provide an observation, insight and experience that will contribute to their academic studies. However, in international context, it is claimed that these insights do generally not accepted by peer-reviews without supportive evidences (Shugan, 2004, P.174).

During the period when impact research was conducted by universities, the impact of resettlement or large enterprises established in rural areas was also subject to academic publications. In the recent time there are no publicized examples of

academic studies result or benefited from research projects funded in the market in Turkey. However, there are many examples abroad that results from research projects have publicized as academic studies in scholarly journals and books (Druckman, 2000, 1659).

One can think of that clients demand accurate information based on scientific methods, and that's why social research in applied field are generally based upon valid results. However, as it is seen also in "research as procedure" topic, utilizations of research results may not be depending on its validity (Gouldner, 1956, P. 176). Moreover, in some cases mentioned in previous chapters, manipulated data is the most useful one. This fact could be the reason for not using reports as secondary data.

Within this framework, I tried to emphasize that results or outputs of social researches in the market cannot generally be identified as "sociological" and "knowledge". However, these interdisciplinary and comprehensive researches in the field of applied sociology will contribute to basic social science "for the development of a theoretic system rather than discrete bodies of uncoordinated specialized theory" (Merton, 1949, P. 171). Merton sees one of the roles of applied research is to contribute basic science by testing the assumptions through empirical findings (P. 179).

4.7. Gap Between Academy and Market

As can be understood from both the literature and this research, the information production process in both fields have common features in many points. Basically, people with the same academic background collect data and draw conclusions about the same social issues or groups. Although this research focuses mainly on market-oriented and market-based research, the exchange of resources between academia and the market has become increasingly common and making the debate on the academic field inevitable.

As mentioned in the methodology section, the majority of the interviewed experts have an academic background in social sciences. Accordingly, in almost every interview, comparisons were made between academic production and market-oriented information production. Particularly, participants who left their academic career for certain reasons and continue to produce information in the market are experts who see the angle between these two axes better. One participant stated that it was very difficult to understand the dynamics and specific language of the market during the transition from the academy to the market.

To be able to fight, we need to understand. It took me a long time to understand it, I mean what the market wants, the language of the market. The market wants to listen to you simple. Because they don't have time. Because they don't really have time to think. ... For example, information is not sold in my previous world (*academia*). I get a salary, but a student can come and get as much counseling as he wants from me, and in return I do not want anything. Because there is no such thing there. But when I talked too much during the meetings and my colleague warn me about that, I understood that I had started a business to sell the information. Because I am talking so much, I am telling so much, because we are in the academy to tell, to speak. All these contradictions forced me quite much... To approach them was only possible when I got estranged from my own academic world. It was a strategy for me, I had to improve that. Therefore, my language was also bad. We are writing a sentence, a sentence of mine is one paragraph... I am exactly a person stuck in-between. I am a product metamorphosed between the academic language and the language of the market... My mind can not only work for one side anymore. I had to learn where its dose is at, how much I should tell by filtering myself and filtering. I am in a world like constant self-reflexivity. (Interview with Özge)

“The problem of language is particularly difficult when trying to describe the nature of Mode 2 in areas where natural science is involved. ... In the early phases of the scientific revolutions it was important to distinguish scientific from non-scientific forms of knowledge. A history of knowledge production since the seventeenth century could be written in terms of the efforts of the proponents of previously non-scientific forms of knowledge production to gain recognition as scientific.” (Gibbons, 1994/2010, P.2) From this point, it is important to distinguish scientific and non-scientific form of knowledge production. In the context of applied researches, the language of the reports must be simple and comprehensible by the clients who may not have social science background. “Perhaps the most striking role of conceptualization in applied social research is its transformation of practical problems by introducing concepts which refer to variables overlooked in the commonsense view of the policy maker (Merton, 1949, 178)”

It is surely beyond doubt that, the language of the scientific knowledge has always been exposed transformations through time in all societies by numerous factors. Contemporary literature on knowledge production and field outputs of this research also present the fact that the gap between “scientific” language of knowledge production of academia and the report language which is being standardized by the market and funders/clients is narrowing down. Today’s report language which is disseminating itself as the new mode of writing could be the new form of “scientific knowledge” language. The divergence of the studies from philosophical questioning, the simplicity of the sentences, the concern to answer an up-to-date question are not only valid for applied research reports anymore. Another sign of this phenomena can be seen by comparing the language of scientific articles, especially within the area of humanities, of different periods of time in 20th century and 21st century.

In order to fill this gap, academicians working in the field of applied sociology advocate the provision of training for applied studies in the academic field. The main reason for this is the potential of the results of the studies carried out in the applied field to be useful in conceptualization, planning and application to academic studies. (Freeman & Rossi, 1984).

The instrumentalization of the Academy on behalf of the market has begun to destroy the production of scientific knowledge and the basic sciences. Besides, in Turkey, as a result of this, the basic science departments are at risk to be closed on the grounds that students do not demand. Historically, universities and the production of scientific knowledge have always played an instrumental role. However, this role has not prevented the production of basic sciences in universities in the last centuries. Today, academic research and researches for the market needs still differ in areas such as quality, scope, language. Maintaining this difference is also important for the quality of information produced in both areas.

4.7.1. Market Pressure on Academia

It is possible to see that the production of knowledge in the history of universities has never been independent of historical and political conditions. Universities are a part of the market as briefly mentioned under the title of profit seeking universities. Universities and non-academic research agencies may be considered as different actors of the same industry in the twenty first century. “The university as the privileged site of knowledge is also in crisis as the university struggles to compete with new knowledge producers” (Delanty, 1998). The term academic capitalism provides a clearer picture of academy in terms of its position in market relations:

Academic capitalism refers to a wide-variety of market (e.g. patenting, and spin-off companies) and market-like (e.g. grants, university-industry partnerships, and tuition fees) activities and institutions that are used by faculty and institutions to secure external funding due to reduced public funding (Kauppinen, 2012, P. 545).

With the emergence of companies specializing in project planning and conducting, these funds were mostly transferred to research or project companies. In addition, particularly private universities receive funding for project writing and conducting. But when an academician tries to raise funds for his/her own work, he has to do so through an institution: “In the case of Turkey, for those who think that the projects are important in terms of knowledge production, “purchasing a project” is preconditioned to an established relationship with an institution. When that relationship is severed, even if you are a project executive, the project may be taken away from you.” (Güvenç-Salgırlı, 2016, p. 82) (Translation is mine)

Another concern here is how the transformation in the universities affected the knowledge produced in the market in the short or the long run and how it may. Universities or academic collaborations are receding from their determining role in the process of knowledge production. Even though they have different structures, the transformation the academic production and the commodified knowledge production underwent are parallel. This points to a more general problem of knowledge production in Turkey.

General degradation, general academic collapse exists all over the world. There is a tendency in information production to become trivial and change form, to produce data

a little faster, and to reach more data. Such dimensions of the transformation is all true. This is a common debate. There is a more rapid degeneration in Turkey. ... The country is falling down. That's why the academia could not progress. Since the academy does not go well, the staff is of poor quality. The work of those staff is also poor quality. It is not that the market corrupts the academy, but that the country corrupts the academy and other institutions. In this country, there is no relationship between making money and knowing your business. That's the problem. ... Or when you say that we did it under the name of METU Sociology, you become scientific. However, today, let's open half of the theses, probably they are utter nonsense. These are the stories I've seen often. Or it's written as a book and you laugh at them. This is not just specific to Turkey. But much is happening in Turkey and the number is increasing steadily as well, this is the problem. And when you come across something like that, no one says it was a pity. (Interview with Evrim)

Research, education and publication activities carried out in universities are evaluated according to certain international standards. As is known, all kinds of activities carried out in universities towards these standards are digitized and determine the ranking of the university. Therefore, academicians are under pressure to make academic publishing in compliance with the standards in a short time.

The world is done with social sciences. It was front opened during the ideological war in a polarized world. Was it Americans who were going to produce social scientists or was it Soviets? Was the social scientist going to be Marxist or liberal? There was this fight. When that fight ended, it turned to commodification as you say. The situation of my friends who are in the top corporation in the UK or USA are like that now—we are calling it “sausage factory”. Bang bang here is your sausage! It is processed by a device, here's your sausage. You made three publications—oh, you didn't! Then forget about “tenure”. You don't have three publications, you don't have any books, then “how dare you”, you know what I mean? The quality of knowledge decreased. You have to have given an enough number of keynote speeches, there are criteria of publication, because when the institution you are producing the knowledge assumes the position of an employer, then it's not much different from a research company. There is some damned thing in England called “research excellence framework”—it's completely an assessment of quantified university performance. They do it once in four years. Doesn't matter if it's the Oxford. If you have a low score there, they prepare your funding accordingly. Well, Karl Marx had written *Das Kapital* in 15 years. Then we are naively asking why there is no product like those in Renaissance in the university, why there are no one like eighteenth or nineteenth century thinkers. ... But now in the academia, people are working in line with the tick-tocks of the clock. (Interview with Ekin)

Universities should raise persons who are not going to abandon the ethical understanding of responsibility against science and humanity; at the same time, they should empower a certain understanding in the field of applied sociology. “I am defining the necessity for a new way of educating students that will prepare them to undertake new analyses in order to evaluate these ends and to choose, when possible, among them all” (Derrida et al., p. 16).

In this context, universities and private enterprises which try to produce knowledge under the same political and economic conditions can be evaluated on the same platform. This means that the market hierarchizes and can hierarchize them in terms of usefulness, effectiveness, calculability and comparability. Fuller states that the concept of knowledge management in its most general use may mean “lack of scientific genius” (2001, p. 22).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study aims to understand knowledge production dynamics in the field of social research industry and tries to answer how global knowledge production trends affect those dynamics. To this end, the notions knowledge and information is defined distinctively in order to better understand the current trends in information production. In parallel with this conceptualization, theoretical reference of this thesis is based on knowledge transformation theories. With reference to knowledge transformation theories, dynamics of social research industry in this study show that knowledge production is not the aim. The main purpose of the activities in the industry is to produce useful information.

As a matter of fact, knowledge is no longer limited to university since 19th century in the West. “The role of science, like that of many institutions in society, is threatened by bureaucratization or subordination to political or corporate ends.” (Bell, 1999, p. 170). As a concept the world of knowledge is over, and it is turning into a world of information or big data. In this study, as expected, the process of informatization on both research market and academia have taken place under the influence of global trend. Since the theory production and basic research in the social sciences have no use value or market value, the possibilities of working in this field are becoming impossible in the increasingly precarious universities. In this sense, knowledge, defined by Bell as in relation with theory and context, has now been replaced by the production of useful information. It is necessary to question the global transformation and neoliberal policies in universities in order to understand the development and position of applied social research carried out through funds by consultancy companies and other non-academic entities. Academicians under the conditions of precarization and academic publication pressure in universities

provide consultancy services not only in engineering but also in basic sciences. Following this, it was found that leading actors of social research market in Turkey are academics providing consultancy service at the beginning of the story.

Debates on commercialization and commodification of knowledge begin within the academic field. However, the commodification of information and the fact that it has an exchange value was made possible by its vital position in the market. Within this perspective, today it is still possible to distinguish between the information produced in the market and academic studies. Unlike the academy, each stage of the research conducted in the market is charged separately. Similarly, the fees of the sector experts or academic consultants working here and the product to be produced are predictable.

In the western world where ideal conceptualizations such as rationality, bureaucratization and post-industrialism are made, the transformation the knowledge has undergone also was made possible by the means of its own dynamics. Both social policy and policies on science and technology are products of natural processes. However, in Turkey too, based on the assumption that a similar advancement takes place in countries that are funded for the sake of development, standardized processes of knowledge production are applied. As can be understood from this study, both state organizations and private companies are executing the said processes only to account for the credits and funds paid for “development”. Knowledge is thus instrumentalized; however, the main objectives of the market are not the needs of the public or policy-making towards the needs of the public. In other words, the output of the researches is used for the sake of accountability. That should be considered as an element enforcing the possibility that the data and the output are manipulated to this end.

The necessity of these researches and the material resources of them are the international organizations. Both the strategies and the techniques and language of the research are determined by these organizations. Since bureaucratic structure and the system of knowledge management are not yet advanced enough, the researches are conducted by external interventions, and in the process, they encounter spaces

in the bureaucratic structure. Parallely, in Turkey, operations of research and development in the field of social policy are not conducted in a systematic and efficient manner. Another result that can be derived from this study is that the research operations are under the control of the customer with the funds of the private sector.

The researches conducted to evaluate effects may be wide-ranged and reliable depending on the scope of the executed projects. However, as stated above, these projects are both a means to a very specific end and mostly appraised as “internal use” mostly because they are conducted for accountability of the resources. This renders it impossible for the researches of the applied field to contribute directly to the academic field.

In both the sphere of humanities and engineering, the funds for research are directly given to private companies. As a result of this, in Turkey, the studies made in the research market are a step further than the academic studies both in terms of scope and quantity. Even though a majority of the studies are conducted as a procedural requirement, some researches funded by international organizations like UN, WB and EU or various non-governmental organizations can be considered as both scoped and academically competent. Thus, studies like this, even though in small numbers, are published and distributed by such organizations. Studies like this conducted by experts in the field of social sciences may also contribute to the academic studies as secondary sources.

Quality standards of the social researches in the sector vary with different dynamics of the researches. These dynamics might be the standards of client organization, scope and purpose of the research, experts in the project etc. However, there is not a system or organization for accountability of the researches conducted in the market in Turkey. Absence of unified and well accepted quality standards may lead deficiencies in quality. This can be regarded as another constraint to contribution of these researches to social science literature.

The absence of a space in which the academic knowledge may be put into direct use and the preferability of applied studies due to funding cause the market to determine the processes of knowledge production. With words of Flynn (2000, p. 1590) “the restructuring of the social science research industry is affecting the research craft itself”. This situation manifests itself in similar ways in both universities and consultancy firms. However, the standardization of the studies conducted in the applied field and the consecutive emergence of a new language and a new way of thinking have more potential to dominate the basic science rather than contributing to it, and it also has the potential to approximate the academic language to the language of the market.

Here, we are talking about a new ‘world’ (die Welt) where thinking without a purpose, the very contemplation is subjected to an act of forgetting, where expert-scholars, a bit willingly, acquire an exchange value, and where, more terrifyingly, everyone outside a minority who do not shelter behind ‘desperation’ is already willing to live this voluntary slavery as a result of the spread of end-oriented thinking to everywhere despite all the shortage in thinking systems, doctrines, theories and ideologies. (Nalbantoğlu, 1997, p. 189) (Translation is mine)

All in all, this thesis suggests a kind of ideal division of labor. While social research industry conducted applied researches for the sake of industry, universities and academic studies should seek the possibilities of knowledge. Of course, there needs to be further research in this topic. As for future studies, it could be recommended with a more extensive research, the issue of knowledge production can be examined by focusing on the advisory status of the academics in the sector. With such a study, it could be possible to get a better picture of how universities and academic studies affected by current trends of knowledge production in Turkey.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICAL COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARASTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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Sayı: 28620816 / 674

19 ARALIK 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu


Sayın Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Besim Can ZİRH

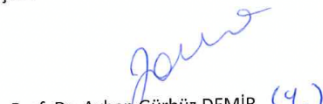
Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Gülper KIRAÇ'ın "Türkiye Araştırma Piyasasında Bilgi Üretimi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2018-SOS-200** protokol numarası ile araştırma yapması onaylanmıştır.


Saygılarımla bilgilerinize sunarım.



Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇOZ


Başkan



Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye


Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR (4.)
Üye


Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKCI
Üye


Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye


Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

B. INTERVIEW DIRECTORY/GÖRÜŞME YÖNERGESİ

Giriş

- 1.1. Hangi okul-bölümden ne zaman mezun oldunuz?
- 1.2. Mezuniyet sonrası kariyeriniz nasıl ilerledi?
- 1.3. Şu anda nerede ve hangi pozisyonda çalışıyorsunuz?

Sektörün Türkiye’deki Gelişimi

- 2.1. Türkiye’deki sosyal bilgi üretimin özel şirketlerce yürütülmesinin tarihsel altyapısına dair bir bilginiz var mı?
- 2.2. Sosyal araştırmaların ve bu araştırmaları yapan şirketlerin sayısının artmasındaki temel neden nedir?,
- 2.3. Ulusal ve uluslararası kuruluşların bu durumda etkisi var mı?

Sektörün Güncel Durumu

- 3.1. Finansal kaynağın sosyal araştırmalar için önemi nedir?
- 3.2. Piyasada yürütülen sosyal araştırmaların maddi kaynakları nelerdir?
- 3.3. Ulusal ve uluslararası fonların oransal dağılımı nedir? Bu dağılım geçmişten bugüne nasıl bir değişim gösterdi?
- 3.4. Araştırma piyasasında hangi kurum veya kuruluşlar daha çok fon sağlıyor?
- 3.5. Bu alandaki talebin artmasındaki küresel etkiyi nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
- 3.6. Bu kaynakların araştırmalarda etkili olarak kullanıldığını düşünüyor musunuz?
- 3.7. Bu maddi kaynakların nitelikli bilgi üretimi için yeterli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- 3.8. Araştırma şirketlerinin varlığını sürdürmesindeki kar kaygısı üretim süreçlerini ne şekilde etkiliyor?
- 3.9. Bu alanda çalışan uzmanların akademik ve mesleki yeterliliği konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- 3.10. Araştırma fonlayıcı kuruluşların nicel (maddi) ve nitel (metodolojik) süreçleri kim tarafından yönetiliyor?

Bilgi Üretim Süreci

- 4.1.Sosyal arařtırmaları fonlayan kuruluşların (sizin kuruluşunuzun) bu arařtırmaları talep etmesindeki temel motivasyon nedir?
- 4.2.Fon sağlayıcı kuruluşun arařtırma sürecinde belirleyici olması konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
- 4.3.Yaşadığınız deneyimlerden yola çıkarak, fon sağlayıcı kuruluşların ne oranda arařtırma sürecine müdahil olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
- 4.4.Yürütölen arařtırmanın metodolojisi kim tarafından belirleniyor?
- 4.5.Ürettiğiniz (talep ettiğiniz) bilginin bilimsel olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- 4.6.Piyasada yapılan arařtırmalar ile üniversitede yapılanlar arasında metodolojik olarak herhangi bir farklılık görüyor musunuz?
- 4.7.Bilgi üretim sürecinde arařtırmacıların akademik birikimi sizce ne kadar önemli?
- 4.8.Arařtırmanın niteliğini belirleyen en önemli unsurlar nelerdir?

Arařtırma Çıktısı

- 5.1.Arařtırma çıktılarını hangi amaçlarla kullanıyorsunuz?
- 5.2.Arařtırma çıktılarını yayınlıyor musunuz? Bu çıktıların erişime açık olmasının (veya olmamasının) nedeni nedir?
- 5.3.Gerçekleştirilen arařtırmaların sonuçlarının uygulanabilir olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- 5.4.Piyasada üretilen bilginin ne tür etkileri olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
- 5.5.Bu alanda üretilen bilginin sosyal politika üretiminde yeri nedir?

Arařtırma Şirketleri

- 6.1.Bu sektörde bulunmak istemenizin nedenleri nelerdir?
- 6.2.Şimdiye kadar yaptığınız bütün sosyal arařtırmaları düşünürseniz, bu arařtırmaların hepsi sizin ilgi alanınızın dahilinde miydi?
- 6.3.Bu sektörde yaşanan temel sıkıntılar nelerdir?
- 6.4.Arařtırma şirketlerinin yürüttüğü arařtırmaların çıktılarının paylaşımı ve yayınlanması konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

C. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tezin temel amacı bilginin ve üretiminin global olarak değişen dinamiklerinin Türkiye’de nasıl deneyimlendiğini araştırma sektörü aracılığıyla anlamaktır. Son yüzyılda bilgi üretiminin başat aktörü olan üniversiteler piyasanın ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermesi gereken kurumlar olarak görülmeye başlanmış ve bu görüşe paralel bir dönüşüm süreci içerisine girmiştir. Aynı zamanda, bilgi üretiminde akademik olmayan aktörler de ortaya çıkmıştır. Bilimin her alanında yürütülen çalışmalar, üniversite dışında da araştırma/danışmanlık şirketleri, think-tank, sivil toplum kuruluşları gibi organizasyonlar tarafından çoğunlukla müşteri talebi üzerine gerçekleştirilmeye başlanmıştır. Hem akademik alanda hem de akademi dışı alanlarla yürütülen çalışmalar kapitalist sistemin ihtiyaçlarına yönelik olarak şekillenmektedir. Buna paralel olarak bilginin tanımı, üretim süreçleri ve bilgi üretimindeki aktörlerin pozisyonu da değişmektedir.

Bilimsel bilginin piyasa ihtiyaçlarına karşılık bilgi üretimi yalnızca mühendislik alanları ile sınırlı kalmamıştır. Sosyal bilimler ve temel bilimler de akademik sınırlardan çıkıp artık müşterisi olan alanlara dönüşmüştür. Bu tezin kapsamı ise sosyal araştırmalar yürüten danışmanlık veya araştırma şirketlerinin bilgi üretim pratikleri ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Sosyal araştırma terimi genel anlamıyla sosyal bilimler metodlarını kullanarak yürütülen her türlü araştırmayı içeriyor olsa da bu çalışma seçim ve kamuoyu araştırmalarını ve doğrudan ürün geliştirme ve pazarlama amacına yönelik olarak yürütülen pazar araştırmalarını dışarıda bırakmıştır. Burada bahsedilen sosyal araştırmalar politika veya sosyal program geliştirme amacıyla yürütülen çalışmalardır.

Araştırma sektörü ulusal ve uluslararası organizasyonların fonları ile büyük çaplı araştırmalar yapabilmektedir. Bu sektördeki şirketler veya kâr amacı gütmeyen organizasyonlar sağlanan bu fonlarla bir sosyal projenin tamamını yürütebilmekte veya bir araştırma projesinin kurgulanmasından veri toplamasına, analiz

edilmesinden raporlamasına kadar her türlü faaliyeti gerçekleştirebilmektedir. Bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar farklı kapsamına ve amacına göre çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Farklı disiplinlerden tekniklerin bu disiplinlerin uzmanları tarafından yürütüldüğü disiplinler arası denebilecek bu çalışmalar farklı alanlarda oldukça geniş kapsamlı ve nitelikli olabilmektedir. Politika veya program geliştirmede her aşama farklı araştırmayı gerekli kılmaktadır. Bunlar, temel veri araştırması, ihtiyaç analizi, durum analizi, izleme ve değerlendirme, sosyal etki analizi gibi isimler almıştır.

Bu çalışmada katılımcı gözlem ve derinlemesine görüşme yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Şu anda sektörde aktif olarak çalışmalarını yürüten bir şirkette iki buçuk yıl aktif çalışma yürütülmüş ve bu süre boyunca araştırma projelerinin neredeyse her aşamasında görev alınmıştır. Bu gözlem ve deneyimler, araştırma sorusunun ve özellikle araştırma yönergesinin hazırlanmasında önemli katkılar sağlamıştır. Literatürde araştırmacının aldığı bu pozisyon içeriden veya otoetnografi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, Türkiye’de üniversite dışı uygulamalı sosyal araştırmanın aktörleri ve kısıtlı olarak da fonlayıcıları ile görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu görüşmeler yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme yönergeleri kullanılarak toplamda on üç katılımcı ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmada, görüşmelerin çoğu Ankara’da gerçekleştirilmiştir. Başlangıç olarak, görüşmecilere kişisel ve profesyonel bağlantılar ile ulaşılmış ve sonrasında kar topu tekniği ile diğer görüşmecilere ulaşılmıştır. Görüşmecilerin büyük çoğunluğu araştırma projelerinde aktif görev alan uzmanlardan oluşmaktadır. Kısıtlı sayıda görüşmeci ise bu sektörde fonlayıcı veya müşteri olarak nitelendirilebilecek kuruluşlarda çalışmaktadır. Araştırmanın en önemli kısıtlarından birisi, önemli bir aktör olarak devlet kurumları temsilcilerinin görüşmeyi çeşitli nedenlerle reddetmesidir.

Araştırmanın en temel kavramı olan “bilgi” tarihsel olarak farklı form ve tanımlarıyla ele alınmıştır. Bilgi (knowledge), malumat (information) ve veri (data) kavramlarının birbirinden ayrı tanımlanması günümüzdeki bilginin üretimini ve pozisyonunu anlamak açısından önemlidir. Daniel Bell bilgi’yi (knowledge) teori ve bağlam ile tanımlamakta ve bu tanımla beraber malumatı ve veriyi bilgiden ayırmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak, araştırmanın kapsamındaki akademik olmayan

aktörler tarafından uygulamalı araştırmaların yürütülmesi ile elde edilen çıktının bilgi değeri olmadığını iddia etmek yanlış olmaz. Bilgi üretiminde temel faktör olarak öne çıkan “fayda” modern rasyonel kapitalizmde başat pozisyona gelmiştir. Bilgi ise çağ tanımlayacak bir pozisyona gelmiş, her türlü aksiyon için kaçınılmaz bir unsur olarak öne çıkmaya başlamıştır. Bilgi artık bilginin kendisi için değil, karar verme aşamalarında yardımcı bir unsur olarak veya problem çözme mekanizmasının bir parçası olarak üretilmeye başlamıştır. Buna bağlı olarak bilginin, malumatın ve verinin global çapta hızla çoğalması onun yönetilmesi gereken bir şeye dönüşmesine de neden olmuştur. Böylece bilginin bürokratikleşmesi, metalaşması ve dallara ayrılması da kaçınılmaz olmuştur.

Temel bilimlerin ve teorik çalışmaların yerini piyasanın ihtiyaçlarına yönelik olarak şekillenen uygulamalı araştırmalar almaya başlamıştır. Araştırmancının veya bilimsel çalışmanın dahi niteliğini ve değerini belirleyen unsur da onun belirlenen alandaki faydası olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bu da yukarıda değinilen tartışmaya benzer olarak dönemin bilgi üretim koşullarının “bilginin sonu” veya “salt bilimin sonu” gibi kavramlarla değerlendirilmesine yol açmıştır. Bilginin fayda gözetilerek üretilmesi yalnızca araştırma sektöründe gözlemlenmemektedir. Bundan daha önce üniversitelerin global olarak geçirdiği dönüşüme bakmakta fayda vardır.

Kıtalar, ülkeler ve okullar üniversitelerin dönüşümünü kendilerine has yollardan geçerek deneyimledilerse de globalleşme ile birlikte bu dönüşüm günümüzde tüm dünyada benzer bir örüntü ile gerçekleşmeye başlamıştır. Üniversitelerin görevi ve işlevi konusundaki tartışmalar yüzyıllardır devam etmektedir. Bu tartışmada iki temel görüşün hakim olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmaz. Bunlardan ilki üniversitelerin doğrudan fayda gözetmek veya ulusun ve piyasanın dinamiklerine göre hareket etmek gibi bir misyonunun olmaması, salt bilim, araştırma ve eğitim faaliyetleri ile meşgul olması gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Bu görüşte Mill, üniversitelerin mesleki açıdan yeterli profesyoneller yetiştirmekten ziyade genel bilgi sahibi, akıllı bireyler yetiştirmeyi hedeflemesi gerektiğini söyler. Benzer olarak Humboldt üniversite geleneği de üniversiteleri eğitim misyonuna ek olarak bağımsız araştırmalar ile bilgi üretimine katkı sağlaması gereken kurumlar olarak kurgular. Üniversitelerin konumu ve işlevi konusunda bir diğer görüş ise bunun aksine,

üniversitelerin piyasanın ihtiyaçlarına yönelik araştırmalar yürütmesi ve profesyoneller yetiştirmesi gerektiğini savunan görüştür. Günümüzde de hakim olan yüksek öğretim anlayışına karşılık gelen bu görüşü Amerikan üniversitelerinin temsil ettiği bilinmektedir.

Uygulamalı araştırmalar veya özel olarak uygulamalı sosyoloji bu tezin temel unsurlarından birisidir. Hem üniversitelerin hem de akademi dışı aktörlerin bilgi üretim pratikleri artık büyük oranda uygulamalı alana yönelmiş durumdadır. Çoğunlukla müşteri talebi üzerine şekillenen bu araştırmalar belirli bir sosyal problemi anlamak ve çözmeye yönelik öneriler sunmak için yapılır. Yukarıdaki tartışmaya ek olarak, üniversitelerin dönüşümü tartışmalarında öne çıkan bir konu da uygulamalı araştırmalara yönelik teknik eğitim verilmesi, bir başka deyişle üniversitelerin piyasa için profesyoneller yetiştirmesi gerektiğidir. Üniversitelerdeki ve araştırma sektöründeki bu eğilim sosyologların veya sosyal bilimcilerin araştırmacı, değerlendirme uzmanı, bilgi yönetim uzmanı gibi sıfatlar almasına neden olmuştur. Yani, sosyal bilim alanlarından mezun olan uzmanlar artık kendilerine akademi dışı istihdam alanları bulabilmektedir.

Uygulamalı araştırmaları belirleyen temel unsurun onun doğrudan faydası olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Ancak bu konu üzerinde de “fayda” tanımı etrafında dönen tartışmalar vardır. Kapitalist piyasanın hemen ve doğrudan fayda anlayışı entelektüel dünyanın bilgi birikimi anlayışından ayrılmaktadır. Özellikle uygulamalı araştırmalarda eğilim, araştırma çıktılarının doğrudan kar getirmesi veya belirli bir program veya politikaya uygulanabilir olması gerektiğidir. Ancak sosyal bilimler alanında fayda gözetmeyi reddeden görüşler de bulunmaktadır. Bu görüş, bu alanda yürütülen araştırmaların uygulamalara doğrudan bir katkısı olmasa dahil dolaylı yolla önemli sonuçlar ortaya çıkaracağını savunur. Bu görüşe paralel olarak üniversitelerin de piyasa ihtiyaçlarına yönelik olarak yalnızca uygulamalı eğitim verilmesi eleştirilmekte öğrencilere kritik ve çok yönlü düşünme yeteneği eindirmenin önemi savunulmaktadır. Nitekim bilim tarihinde en önemli buluşlar fayda gözetmeksizin yapılan araştırmalar sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Araştırma veya danışmanlık firmalarının ortaya çıkışı batıda daha eski tarihlere dayansa da dünyada bu şirketlerin yükselişi 21. Yüzyıl'ın başı olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu durum üniversiteler ve şirketler arasında kurumsal iş bölümü olarak da değerlendirilmektedir. Üniversiteler daha çok bilimsel araştırma ve yayın yapma, ve eğitim görevini üstlenirken, firmalar da akademik bilgiyi yeni ve etkili kullanıma yönelik ürünlere dönüştürmektedir. Sosyal bilimler alanında ise bu sektörün başlangıcını Amerika'da 1940'lı yıllarda ortaya çıkan think-tank'ler olarak ele almak mümkündür. Bu kurumlar başlangıçta kamu politikası danışmanları olarak görev alsalar da zamanla uygulamalı sosyal araştırmalarını belirli politik saikler gözeterek yürütmeye başlamışlardır. Bu durum da bu kurumların tarafsızlığını zedelemeye başlamıştır. Devam eden on yıllarda ise birçok alanda uzmanlaşmış küçük çaplı araştırma şirketleri kurulmaya başlamıştır. Bu durum yakın zamanda büyük miktarda fon kaynaklarının aktarıldığı önemli bir sektöre ve istihdam alanına dönüşmüştür.

Şimdiye kadar literatürden aktarılanlar ve verilen tüm örnekler batının bilim anlayışı ve teknolojisi temel alınarak yapılmış çalışmalardır. Bilgi sosyolojisi literatürüne bakıldığında da benzer bir örüntüye rastlanır. Türkiye gibi batılı olmayan veya gelişmekte olan ülkeler bilim, teknoloji ve araştırma alanında öz kaynakları yetersiz olarak değerlendirilen ve tarihsel olarak yüksek öğretimi, bilimi ve bilgi üretim pratiklerini batıdan ithal eden ülkelerdir. Bu durum Türkiye'de de yalnızca yüksek öğretim geleneklerinin ithal edilmesi ve uyarlanması ile kısıtlı kalmamıştır. Araştırma sektöründe de bilgi üretim pratikleri başlangıç olarak kalkınma projeleri aracılığıyla batılı uzmanlar ve proje koordinatörleri ile ithal edilmeye, bir başka deyişle öğrenilmeye başlanmıştır. Planlama kavramı da kalkınma projelerinin başat unsurlarından birisidir. Planlama, aynı zamanda uygulamalı sosyal bilimlerin batılı olmayan ülkelerde ortaya çıkışına olanak sağlayan alan olarak da değerlendirilebilir. Planlama ve planlamanın tasarlanmasına ve yönetilmesine yönelik sosyal araştırmalar genellikle ülkenin kendi dinamikleri ve öz kaynakları gözetilerek yürütülmemektedir.

Türkiye'de üniversitelerin ve sosyal araştırmaların ortaya çıkışı ve gelişimi söz konusunda olduğunda da bilginin ithal karakterini gözden kaçırmamakta yarar

vardır. Türkiye’de üniversitenin kuruluşu ve gelişimine göz atmak sektör ve akademi arasındaki paralelliği ve boşluğu ayrıca sektörün durumunu daha iyi anlamak adına önemlidir. Tarihi boyunca batının yüksek öğretimini taklit ederek ilerleyen Türkiye üniversiteleri, başlangıçta Humboldt modelini benimsemiş olsa da zamanla Amerikan üniversite modeli ile kurulmaya başlamıştır. Neoliberal eğitim politikalarının benimsenmeye başladığı 80li yıllarda Türkiye ilk vakıf üniversiteleri ile tanışmıştır. 2000lerin başından itibaren ise Türkiye’de yüksek öğretim tartışmalarının önemli bir ayağı da Bologna süreci olmuştur. 2001’de dahil olunan bu süreçte Avrupa’nın yüksek öğretim standartlaşması gereği birtakım düzenlemelere gidilmiştir. Bu düzenlemeler, piyasa odaklı olduğu ve standartlaştırılmış bir eğitim anlayışı ile üniversitelerdeki kritik düşüncüyü törpüleyeceği gerekçesiyle eleştirilmiştir. Dünya genelinde olduğu gibi Türkiye’deki üniversiteler de artık proje peşinde koşan ve fon kaynağı arayan kurumlara dönüşmüştür.

Türkiye’de uygulamalı sosyal araştırmaların gelişmesine bakıldığında tarihsel olarak bu ihtiyacın Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı’nın (DPT) kuruluşuna yani 1960’a dayandığını görmek mümkündür. Kalkınma çalışmaları ve planlama ile birlikte sosyal araştırma Türkiye’de bu tarihten itibaren kurumsallaşmaya başlamıştır. Bu kurumsallaşma ise Türkiye’nin kendi kaynakları ve gereksinimi sonucu değil uluslararası yardım fonlarının önkoşulu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Aynı dönemde İstanbul Üniversitesi’nde de Sosyal Antropoloji bölümü kurulmuş ve birçok uygulamalı araştırmaya imza atmıştır. Buna ek olarak öğrencilerine nitelikli saha araştırması yapmayı teorik ve pratik olarak öğretmeyi hedeflemiştir. Ancak bu dönemde DPT ve TÜİK tarafından sayıca üniversitelerden fazla yürütülen sosyal araştırmalar düşük kaliteli ve dağınık olmakla eleştirilmiştir. Bu durum da sosyal araştırma alanında günümüzdeki problemlerin ne kadar kronik olduğunun göstergesi olarak yorumlanabilir.

Kalkınmanın ilk on yılı olarak tanımlanan 1960-70 yılları Türkiye’de devlet kurumlarında sosyal araştırmaların ve sosyal bilimler bölümlerinin kurumsallaştığı yıllardır. Bu yıllarda TODAIE, Hacettepe Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü gibi kurumlar ortaya çıkmış ve çok sayıda ve geniş çaplı sosyal araştırmalar yürütmüştür. Bu

dönemde uluslararası fonların varlığından bahsetmek mümkün olsa da bu araştırmalar çoğunlukla devlet fonları ve insan kaynağı ile yürütülmektedir. Bu dönemde araştırma veya danışmanlık şirketleri henüz kurulmamıştır. Ancak, öz kaynaklar ile devlet kurumları veya üniversiteler tarafından yürütülen bu araştırmaların ömrü çok uzun olmamıştır.

80li yıllarla birlikte uygulaması hız kazanan neoliberal politikalar ile ülkede devlet tarafından yürütülen birçok çalışmanın özel sermaye kontrolüne geçmeye başlamıştır. Yapılan araştırmaya göre, sosyal araştırmalar yürüten özel şirketler de ilk olarak bu dönemde ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu dönemde şirketlerin ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının kurulması ve Avrupa Birliği, Birleşmiş Milletler gibi fon sağlayıcıları ile projeler ve araştırmalar yürütmesi hız kazanmıştır. Bu dönemde danışmanlık şirketlerinin genellikle büyük üniversitedeki öğretim üyeleri tarafından kurulduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum piyasa ve akademi arasındaki paralelliği ve bağı açıklamak için önemli bir göstergedir. Bu durum sosyal bilimler bölümlerinden önce çevre değerlendirme gibi alanlarda çalışma yapabilecek olan mühendislik fakültelerinde görülmeye başlamıştır.

90larla birlikte AB uyum süreci hız kazanmış ve Türkiye’de birçok büyük veya küçük çaplı projeler yürütülmeye başlanmıştır. Araştırma bulgularından birisi, bu süreçten önce sosyal araştırma sektörünün bu güne kadar büyük olmadığıdır. Bu dönemde ortaya çıkan birçok danışmanlık firması olsa da sosyal araştırma özelinde örgütlenen bir yapıya rastlamak çok mümkün değildir. Nitekim araştırmada sosyal göstergelerin kullanımının Türkiye’de neredeyse bugün bile yeterli olmadığı belirtilmiştir. 2000lerin başından itibaren ise bu gelişmelere sivil toplum kuruluşlarındaki hızlı artış eklenmiştir. Özellikle 1990 sonrası hikayeyi daha berraklaştıran şey araştırmaya katılan uzmanların mesleki anlatıları olmuştur. Birçoğu sosyal bilimler alanlarından mezun olan katılımcılar danışmanlık firmalarıyla henüz öğrenciyken hocaları aracılığıyla tanışmıştır. Bu anlatılardan anlaşıldığı üzere araştırma sektörü, sosyal bilim mezunlarına önemli bir istihdam alanı sağlamıştır. Araştırmacılardan bazıları üniversitede kariyerlerine devam etmek isterken, bu maddi mümkün olmadığı için böyle bir yol seçtiklerinden bahsetmiştir.

Türkiye’de araştırma firmaları giderek ülkenin her yerine yayılsa da sektör çoğunlukla Ankara ve İstanbul ‘da yoğunlaşmıştır. Araştırmada karşılaşılan bir diğer mesele de bu tezde incelenen şirketlerin ve STK’ların Ankara’da yoğunlaşmış olması, İstanbul’da çalışan firmaların ise market araştırmaları konusunda uzmanlaşmış olmasıdır. Ankara’yı bu alanda özgün kılan unsur büyük çaplı projelerin paydaşları olarak uluslarla arası organizasyonları ve devlet kurumlarının burada bulunmasıdır. İstanbul daha çok ticaret ve iş dünyası merkezi olarak görüldüğünden bu iki şehir arasındaki müşteri profili ve buna bağlı olarak şirket profilleri de farklılık göstermektedir. Bu farklılık aynı zamanda, fon kaynağı, projenin tasarlanması, projenin talep edilme nedeni ve metodolojik süreçlerin ve saha çalışmasının fonlayıcıdan bağımsız kurgulanması gibi meseleleri de etkilemektedir. İstanbul’da özel şirketlere danışmanlık veren şirketlerde müşterinin metodoloji belirlenmesi, saha çalışması ve raporlama gibi süreçlere müdahil olmadığı görülmüştür. Ancak Ankara’daki firmalar uluslararası fonlarla yürütülen büyük çaplı projeler için veri toplamakta ve neredeyse her aşamasında müşteri ile müzakere etmektedir.

Fon sağlayıcının ulusal veya uluslararası olması da araştırma dinamiklerini önemli ölçüde belirleyen bir unsurdur. 80’lerden sonra Türkiye’de sayıca artan yabancı yatırımcı ve uluslararası bankalardan sağlanan krediler sektörün oluşmasında kritik bir yerdedir. Yapılan görüşmelerde katılımcıların neredeyse hepsi projelerinin yabancı kaynaklarla yürütüldüğünü belirtmiştir. Ulusal kaynaklarla yürütülen araştırmaların bütçesi ve kapsamı genellikle dar olmaktadır. Ulusal kaynakların ve devlet kurumlarının özellikle kalkınma fonları ve kredilerle yerini uluslararası finansörlere bırakması araştırma sektörünün oluşmasında en önemli neden olarak görülebilir. Ancak, bu finansörlerin çeşitliliği ve kontrol edilemezliği herhangi bir yerel merkezin yürütülen araştırmaları incelemesi ve niteliğini değerlendirmesini imkânsız kılmaktadır. Araştırma sektörünün yeni yeni oluşmaya başladığı bu dönem hala birçok konuda belirsizliklerin devam ettiği, görece kontrolsüz bir dönemdir. Her araştırma projesi kendine özgü dinamikleri olmakta ve bunun belirleyicileri finansör ve danışman ile sınırlı kalmaktadır.

Sektörde yürütülen arařtırmaların en önemli ayaklarından birisi satın alma prosedürleridir. İhale süreci piyasada bilgi üretim dinamiklerini, özellikle bilginin metalařması ve seri üretimi üzerinden anlamlandırmak için önemli ipuçları sağlamaktadır. Bunlardan en önemlisi, teklif dokümanları arařtırmaya ve belirlenen konuya hakim olan teknik ekibin kontrolünden ve puanlamasından geçse de, projelerde satın almacı çalışanların verilen proje tekliflerinde son karar verici olmalarıdır. Bu durum da verilen tekliflerde niteliğin deęil finansal tekliflerin rekabet edebilirlięinin belirleyici olduęunu göstermektedir. Yani, sürecin en bařından nitelikli sosyal arařtırmaların önüne engeller çıkmaktadır. Öte yandan, arařtırma řirketlerinin kaderi de bu teknik ve finansal tekliflerin ihaleyi kazanmasına baęlıdır. Zaman içerisinde, bu teklifleri hazırlamak da ayrı bir uzmanlık alanına dönüşmüřtür.

Arařtırma projelerinin devlet kurumları ve üniversitelerden özel řirketlere geçmesi piyasanın da rekabet kořulları ile birlikte arařtırma nitelięini de olumsuz etkilemiřtir. Piyasada yürütülen arařtırmaların bilimsellik deęeri taşıması beklenmese de sosyal bilim yöntemlerine uygun olarak yürütölmesi ve istatistiksel olarak doęru örneklem ve analiz tekniklerinin kullanılması gerekmektedir. Belirtildięi gibi piyasada herhangi bir merkezi kontrol mekanizması olmasa da arařtırmayı yürüten uzmanlar kiřisel çabaları ile arařtırmaları en iyi yöntemlerle en iyi sonuçları verecek řekilde yürütmeye çalışmaktadır.

Arařtırmanın nitelięini belirleyen bir dięer önemli unsur da müřterinin arařtırmadan beklentisidir. Nitekim geniř kapsamlı arařtırma projelerinde arařtırma soruları, metodoloji ve arařtırmada çalışacak olan uzmanların profilleri teklif çağrısı dokümanında ayrıntılı olarak paylaşılr. Bu dokümanlarda uzman profilleri içerisinde akademik danışman da bulunur. Büyük çaplı projelerde müřterinin bařlangıçta belirledięi kriterlere ek olarak süreç devam ederken de birçok kez kontrol edilir. Yine bu tür arařtırmalarda fonlayıcı genelde AB, BM Dünya Bankası gibi uluslararası organizasyonlardır. Bu organizasyonlar son on yıllarda çıkan farklı sosyal arařtırma çeřitleri için el kitapları bulunmaktadır. Arařtırmanın birçok ařamasında belirleyici olan bu yönergelerde bulunan standartlar fonlayıcı için temel alınır ve yapılan arařtırmaların nitelięi bu standartlara göre belirlenir ve ölçölür.

Daha önce belirtildiği gibi Türkiye’de uygulamalı sosyal araştırma son on yıllarda bu tür kuruluşların belirlediği standartlar ile öğrenilmiştir. Araştırmaya katılan uzmanlar sektörde yürüttükleri araştırmaların nasıl yapılacağını yine sektörde öğrendiklerini, üniversite eğitimleri sırasında bu araştırmalar için pratik eğitim görmediklerini belirtmişlerdir.

Bu sıralananlara ek olarak, her araştırmada olduğu gibi sektörde yürütülen araştırmalarda da birçok kısıt bulunmaktadır. Ancak hem araştırmacının emeğini değersizleştiren hem de araştırmanın niteliğini olumsuz etkileyen en önemli kısıt araştırmalara ayrılan zamandır. İhale tekliflerinde düşük ücretlerin öne çıktığı gibi araştırmayı daha kısa sürede yapacağını iddia eden firmalar da öne çıkmaktadır. Çoğunlukla planlanan sürenin daha da kısıtlanmasının sebebi bürokratik süreçler olmaktadır. Özellikle devlet kurumlarının içinde bulunduğu çok paydaşlı projelerde bu süreler çok fazla uzayabilmektedir. Bu kısıtlama da araştırmacılarda baskı yaratmakta ve uzun çalışma süreleri ile emek sömürsüne yol açmaktadır. Nitekim çoğu zaman proje teklifinde araştırmacılara ayrılacağı söylenen günlerin üstüne çıkılmakta ancak verilen ücret değişmemektedir.

Araştırmaların yararlılığını ve talep edilme sebebini anlamak için uygulamalı araştırmaların uluslararası kalkınma veya AB uyum süreci fonları gibi kaynaklar ile artış gösterdiğini yeniden hatırlatmakta fayda vardır. Bu fonlar aracılığıyla Türkiye’de neredeyse her proje için çeşitli aşamalarda araştırmalar yürütülmüştür. Bunun en temel sebebi fon sağlayıcıların bu fonun gerçekten belirtildiği gibi kullanılıp kullanılmadığını, nasıl geliştirilebileceğini ve belirtilen hedefe ulaşıp ulaşılmadığını kontrol etmektir. Özellikle yabancı bankaların kredi kullanımlarında sosyal etki değerlendirme raporu belirli bir miktarın sağlanması için önkoşul olarak ortaya konabilmektedir. Bu araştırmalarda da yukarıda bahsedilen standartlaşma eğilimlerini, bu bankaların ortaya koyduğu araştırma ve rapor standartları ile gözlemlemek mümkündür. Bu araştırmada karşılaşılan önemli bulgulardan birisi de yapılan birçok araştırmanın belirtilen hedefleri amaçlamadığı, yalnızca prosedürel bir gereklilik olarak görüldüğüdür. Bu sebeple özellikle sosyal etki araştırmalarında müşteri, fon sağlayıcıyı tatmin edecek bir sonuç beklentisi içerisinde. Bu beklenti de müşterinin araştırma şirketi veya danışmanlar üzerinde veri manipülasyonu

baskısına yol açabilmektedir. Araştırmaların çoğunun, yürütülen altyapı projeleri veya sosyal projelerin izleme, değerlendirme ve etki araştırmaları olduğu düşünülürse bu araştırmaların en önemli sebebinin verilen fonun kullanımını meşrulaştırmak ve fon akışının devamını sağlamak olduğu anlaşılabacaktır.

Uygulamalı araştırmalar konusunda literatürde en çok tartıştığı meselelerden birisi de bu verilerin hedeflenen amaçtan farklı olarak başka mecralarda değerlendirilmesidir. Ancak bunun için öncelikli olarak verilerin veya araştırma sonuçlarının yayınlanması gerekmektedir. Akademik çalışmalardan farklı olarak, sektörde yürütülen araştırmaların verileri ve sonuçları müşterinin satın aldığı bir üründür ve kullanım hakları sözleşmede aksi belirtilmedikçe tamamen müşterinin elindedir. Hem literatürde hem de bu çalışmada yapılan araştırmaların birçoğunun içsel kullanım olarak hedeflendiği ve yayınlanmadığı görülmüştür. Ancak bu araştırmada karşılaşılan bir diğer önemli bulgu da araştırma projeleri yürüten STK'ların, danışmanlık firmalarından farklı olarak, bu konuya oldukça önem vermeleridir.

Piyasada yapılan araştırmaların sonuçlarının akademik alanda kullanılmadığı belirtilmektedir. Bu araştırmaların bilimsellik iddiasında olmaması ve çok dar bir alanda belirli hedefe yönelik olarak yapılması ve çoğunlukla erişilebilir olmaması bu durumun önemli sebeplerindendir. Ancak ister değerlendirme ister etki araştırması olsun, araştırmalar birçok temel verinin toplanmasını da içermek durumundadır. Bireysel akademik çalışmalarla ulaşılamayacak kapsamda ve detayda büyük miktarda veri şu anda sektörde üretilmektedir. Ancak Türkiye'de uygulamalı araştırma hala yeni ve öğrenilen bir süreçtir ve onun ithal karakteri dolayısıyla birçok sorunla karşılaşmaktadır. Bu da özel sektörde yürütülen uygulamalı araştırmaların akademik kaynaklara katkı sağlamasını güçleştirmektedir. Ancak bu alanda danışmanlık hizmeti veren akademisyenlerin bir diğer motivasyonu da bu verileri doğrudan kullanamamaları da burada edinilen deneyimdir.

Sonuç olarak, bilginin malumatlaşması onun üretim süreçlerindeki dinamiklerle doğrudan alakalıdır. Bu nedenle tez, bu dönüşümü anlamak amacıyla yapılan

alışmada bu dinamiklere odaklanmaktadır. Üniversitelerin de benzer bir örüntü ile eğitim vermesi ve proje geliřtirmesi beklenmektedir ancak bu alışmada bilgi üretiminin imkânsız olduđu alan sosyal araştırma endüstrisi olarak tanımlanmakta ve bu alan akademiden birçok alanda ayrılmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak tezde, akademik bilgi üretiminin endüstriyel ilişkilerden ayrı olarak bilginin olanaklarını araması ve bilgi üretimini mümkün kılmaya alışması önerilmektedir.

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