INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY IN TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION: INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO GLOBAL TRENDS BETWEEN 2000-2017

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

BY

METE KURTOĞLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

MAY 2023

Approval of the thesis:

INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY IN TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION: INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO GLOBAL TRENDS BETWEEN 2000-2017

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ABSTRACT

INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY IN TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION:
INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO GLOBAL TRENDS BETWEEN 2000-2017

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May 2023, 170 pages

The global landscape of higher education has undergone major transformations in the last two decades. Massification, internationalization, marketization, quality assurance mechanisms, university-industry linkages, new information and communication technologies, life-long learning and student-centered learning approaches have been the main pillars of higher education reforms at the global, national, and institutional levels. In conformity with these global trends, Turkish higher education has experienced a process of rapid massification and expansion since the 2000s. As a result, managing the increasing number of higher education institutions and students and responding to the diverging needs of society became a significant policy concern for the Turkish higher education system. In the sociology of higher education and higher education research literature, 'institutional diversity' is a key term for the debates on managing mass higher education systems and diversification. Accordingly, this thesis aims to analyze these global trends' impact on Turkish higher education at the national and institutional levels, focusing on massification, expansion, and institutional diversity. Expert interviews were conducted to analyze the conditions for massification and institutional diversity at

the national level. And for the institutional level, three different types of universities (i.e., Humboldt, international research, and entrepreneurial) were selected to examine their responses to such transformations in terms of continuities and ruptures in their missions and institutional strategies. The findings of the thesis discuss the convergence and divergences of these different types of universities in due course and the obstacles to institutional diversity in Türkiye.

Keywords: sociology of higher education, Turkish higher education, massification, institutional diversity, isomorphism

ÖZ

TÜRK YÜKSEKÖĞRETİMİNDE KURUMSAL ÇEŞİTLİLİK: KÜRESEL EĞİLİMLERE KURUMSAL YANITLAR 2000-2017

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Mayıs 2023, 170 sayfa

Son yirmi yılda tüm dünyada yükseköğretimde büyük dönüşümler yaşandı. Kitleselleşme, uluslararasılaşma, piyasalaşma, kalite güvence mekanizmaları, üniversite-sanayi iş birliği, yeni bilgi ve iletişim teknolojileri, yaşam boyu öğrenme ve öğrenci merkezli öğrenme yaklaşımları bu dönemdeki yükseköğretim reformlarının; küresel, ulusal ve kurumsal düzeylerde temel boyutlarını oluşturmuştur. Bu küresel eğilimlere uygun olarak, Türk yükseköğretimi 2000'li yıllardan itibaren hızlı bir kitleselleşme ve genişleme süreci yaşamıştır. Bunun sonucu olarak, artan yükseköğretim kurumu ve öğrenci sayılarını yönetmek ve toplumun farklılaşan ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermek, Türk yükseköğretim sistemi için önemli bir politika gündemi haline gelmiştir. 'Kurumsal çeşitlilik'; yükseköğretim sosyolojisi ve yükseköğretim araştırmaları literatüründe, kitlesel yükseköğretim sistemlerini yönetme ve çeşitlendirme tartışmaları için anahtar bir kavramdır. Bu bağlamda, bu tez, -kitleselleşme, genişleme ve kurumsal çeşitliliğe odaklanarak- belirtilen küresel eğilimlerin Türk yükseköğretimi üzerindeki etkisini ulusal ve kurumsal düzeylerde analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ulusal düzeyde, kitleselleşme ve kurumsal çeşitlilik koşullarını analiz etmek için uzman görüşmeleri yapılmıştır. Kurumsal düzey içinse, bu dönüşümlere tepkilerini incelemek üzere üç farklı

üniversite türü (yani Humboldt, uluslararası araştırma ve girişimci) belirlenmiş ve bu üniversitelerin misyonlarındaki ve kurumsal stratejilerindeki süreklilik ve kopuşlar irdelenmiştir. Tezin bulguları, bu farklı üniversite türlerinin belirtilen süreçteki benzeşme ve farklılaşmalarını ve Türkiye'de kurumsal çeşitliliğin önündeki engelleri tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: yükseköğretim sosyolojisi, Türk yükseköğretimi, kitleselleşme, kurumsal çeşitlilik, eş biçimlilik

This, too, shall pass…

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör for her guidance, criticisms and encouragement. She has literally been my 'Doktormutter' (doctoral mother) in this challenging process. Without her support I would have already left academia.

I am very grateful to the examining committee members Erkan Erdil, Çağatay Topal, Aylin Çakıroğlu Çevik and Caner Özdemir for their valuable comments and suggestions.

My sincere thanks go to Armağan Erdoğan and Susanne Maria Weber for supporting my journey in the field of higher education research as an early career researcher.

I should also gratefully acknowledge my friends Gülizar Karahan Balya, Egemen Metin Turan, Dilek Yargan, Ezgi Pehlivanlı and Aylin Turgut for their support.

And I would like to thank to my dear family, Elif Kurtoğlu Bülbül, Fatih Kurtoğlu and Cengiz Kurtoğlu.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CoHE	The Council of Higher Education
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EUA	European University Association
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TÜBİTAK	The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The global landscape of higher education has undergone major transformations since the 2000s. Summarized as 'global trends in higher education'; massification, internationalization, marketization, quality assurance mechanisms, university-industry linkages, new information and communication technologies, life-long learning, and student-centered learning approaches have been the main pillars of policy debates on higher education reforms at the global, national, and institutional levels in the last decades. (Becher&Trowler 2001; Altbach et al. 2009). These policy trends became dominant in the context of wider socio-economic transformations and neoliberal discourses towards establishing global knowledge economy/society. Guided by the endogenous growth, human capital and new public management theories, neoliberal policy frameworks gained hegemony in the policy reports of the World Bank[1] and the OECD[2]. Since higher education is defined as the 'engine of economic growth' in these policy discourses, national governments paid an increasing attention on reforming higher education for increasing their competitiveness in the global knowledge economy. This led to the emergence of similar reform packages in higher education policy both at developed and developing countries. The most comprehensive example of these packages has been the Bologna Process[3] at the European level, which is connected to the Lisbon Strategy aiming at making EU "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world". As an overarching framework at the supra-national level aiming at constructing the European Higher Education Area, the Bologna Process consists of interrelated reform packages on mobility, quality assurance,

[1] For example, the report titled "Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for Developing Countries" was published in 2003.
[2] For example, the report titled "Tertiary Education for the Knowledge Society" was published in 2008.
[3] https://www.ehea.info/

qualifications frameworks and lifelong learning, among others, for national higher education systems and higher education institutions since 1999.

These multi-dimensional and multi-level processes of global higher education reforms gave way to the development of higher education research as an international and interdisciplinary field. As of 2018, according to the list of the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College, there were 218 higher education research centers and 277 graduate programs on higher education all around the world. In addition to that, there were listed 121 academic journals focusing on higher education and published in English; 54 of which were founded in the 2000s. (Tight, 2018). Different aspects of higher education, such as; access, diversity, governance, finance, student experience, academic profession, etc., gained attention from a variety of disciplines like management science, educational science, and sociology, among others. This trend in the development of higher education research is also evident in Türkiye, especially since 2010, through emergence of academic journals on the topic and establishment of various higher education research centers and graduate programs (Kurtoğlu, 2019a).

Teichler (1996:441-442), one of the leading scholars in the field of higher education research, provides a map of the field in terms of the "spheres of knowledge in higher education" and relevant disciplines of the individual researchers under four categories:

1. *"Quantitative-structural aspects:* access, admission, elite and mass higher education, diversification, types of higher education institutions, duration of study programmes, graduation, educational and employment opportunities, job prospects, income and status, returns for educational investment, appropriate employment, mobility. Economists and sociologists tend to address these aspects most frequently.
2. *Knowledge and subject-related aspects:* disciplinarity versus interdisciplinarity, studium generale, academic versus professional emphasis, quality, skills and competences, utilization of competences, overqualification. These areas are often addressed by experts from education as well as various sub-disciplines addressing science (history, sociology etc.)
3. *Person and process-related aspects:* motivation, communication, counselling and guidance, didactics, learning style, assessment and examinations. Education and psychology are the key disciplines addressing this domain, but sociology plays some role as well.
4. *Organization and governance-related aspects*: planning, administration, management, power and consensus, decision-making, efficiency and

> effectiveness, funding, and resource allocation. Law, political science, economics, public and business administration are major disciplines involved."

Analyzing the impact of the global trends on Turkish higher education at the national and institutional levels with a focus on massification and institutional diversity, this thesis work is written as a contribution to the sub-field of sociology of higher education and the development of higher education research in Türkiye as an interdisciplinary field. As such, it fits mainly under the category of quantitative-structural aspects and partially into that of organization and governance-related aspects in Teichler's formulation. Turkish higher education experienced a rapid process of massification and expansion in the 2000s, more than doubling the size of the higher education system in terms of its number of students and higher education institutions. Such expansion of the system brought up the policy debates on the diversification and classification of higher education institutions. Parallel to global trends, managing the transition to a mass higher education system and how to govern the growing number of institutions became a major policy concern for decision-makers. As a response in 2015-2017, The Council of Higher Education (CoHE), the central governing body responsible for all higher education institutions in Türkiye, announced its project on mission differentiation and specialization. The first pillar of this project, aiming at regional socio-economic development led by the universities, started in 2015 with the selection of "regional development-oriented universities," especially among the universities established after 2006. The second pillar, titled "Research-Oriented Specialization Programme," was launched in 2017 aiming at research-oriented specialization of the universities in certain areas prioritized by the needs and aims of Türkiye. (YÖK, 2021). This thesis work is designed around such policy debates on the massification and expansion of the system and their repercussions for institutional diversity.

For the purposes of the study, universities are considered as institutions acting within a national higher education system, open to impact from their external environment (i.e. shifts in the socio-economic system, policy changes from the political authority, societal demands, etc.), and have a certain degree of autonomy in deciding on their position in such environment and developing their institutional strategies.

The main research questions are;

1. How did different types of higher education institutions in Türkiye respond to the implications of global trends in higher education on the Turkish higher education system between 2000-2017?
2. How did the implications of global trends in Turkish higher education impact the level of institutional diversity in the higher education system?

Three different types of universities were selected (classical comprehensive, international research, and entrepreneurial) to investigate the continuities and ruptures in their institutional position and strategies in this period, allowing a comparison of the convergences and divergences that emerged under the impact of global trends and national policy changes. The taxonomy of classical comprehensive, international research, and entrepreneurial universities is constructed as Weberian ideal-types. This helps us to analyze the deviances of these universities from their original forms in response to the policy changes in the given period. Also, historically, they fit into Wissema's (2009) typology of higher education as three generations (see Section 3.5.). The data for these cases is collected through interviews with the top-level administrators of these universities and supported by information from the university website and strategic plans. To understand the policy debates at the national level that have impact on the institutional strategies of higher education institutions, expert interviews were conducted with ten experts in the field of Turkish higher education. The experts presented a wide range of experience and knowledge in higher education research, university administration, policy-making at the national level, and implementation of the Bologna Process in Türkiye. Sub-level research questions and details on case selection and expert interviews are given under Chapter 2.

1.1. Sociology of higher education and higher education as an institution

Sociology of higher education is a sub-field of sociology that emerged in the 1960s in the context of expanding higher education since the end of World War II. Burton

Clark (1973), among the founders of the field in the USA, notes that with such an expansion, higher learning became problematic to social analysts as it became more important to the general population as well as economic and governmental elites. Thus, the 1960s saw a revitalization of the study of education in economics, political science, history, organizational analysis, and sociology.

For the governments, creating a dynamic advanced economy for the national strength necessitated a rationalization of training (B. R. Clark, 1973). A significant example of such rationalization is the California Master Plan of Higher Education of 1960. Well-known for the emergence of the American research university (and today's world-class or global research university), this Plan has been a compelling case of higher education policy-making for managing massification and expansion of higher education with a classification of different types of universities carrying different missions for the society and the economy. Beyond its impact on policy-making, the debates and research around this Plan have constructed a base for the systematization of the sub-field of the sociology of higher education. Clark Kerr's conceptualization of the "multiversity" (1963), Martin Trow's typology for the elite, mass, and universal higher education systems (1973), and Clark's works on the university as an institution (1973), among others, are developed in this context. These contributions provided theoretical tools for analyzing issues of access to higher education, diversity, mission differentiation, etc., and provided a framework for the sociology of higher education to develop as a separate sub-field at a time when the subfield of the sociology of education was focusing on elementary and secondary levels and did not pay serious attention to higher education.

Although there are sociological studies of higher education much earlier than the expansion of higher learning after World War II, such as Max Weber's lecture on "Science as a Vocation" in 1917 (1946) and Thorstein Veblen's "The Higher Learning in America" (1918) among others, sociology of higher education became a serious subfield with a steady flow of writing and a specialty in which students take training and accept a professional label in the 1960s (Clark, 1973:5). Following Clark, Gumport (2007) identifies four main domains for the development of the sociology of higher education: the study of inequality, the study of college impact,

the study of academic profession and the study of colleges and universities as organizations.

The transformation of various aspects of the higher education systems due to the socio-economic shifts in broader society kept receiving attention from different disciplines within social and educational sciences. As summarized by Ulrich Teichler (1996: 434–435), starting from the 1960s, there have been changes in major themes for research and public debate on higher education in the last few decades in Europe. In the early 1960s, the key theme was the relationship between educational investment and economic growth. This theme was followed by the issues of higher education expansion, institutional diversification, and equality of opportunity during the mid and late 1960s. Then, as a response to the student protests of the late 1960s, stronger student-centered approaches in curricula, teaching methods, guidance, etc., gave rise to various centers of "staff development" in the early 1970s. During the mid-1970s, concerns about the growing employment problems of graduates and the need for curriculum reform due to changing talents, motives and career prospects of the rising number of students became major issues. Finally, in the mid-1980s, governance and management of higher education with a focus on evaluation and quality control emerged as a key theme in higher education policy and research.

Such a wide range of issues have been studied from various perspectives from sociology, political science, economics, educational science, and management science, supporting the development of higher education research as an international and multi-disciplinary field in the 1990s with the globalization of higher education. As Gumport (2007b:325) notes, a stronger interest in deeper questions about higher education can be observed, including its social organization, purposes, structures, practices, and divergent impacts on participants in the enterprise and on society at large. Accordingly, there emerges a convergence between sociology and higher education research to various extents and depths: sociological concepts and methods deepen our understanding of higher education's realities just as higher education, in its diverse forms and with its challenges, continues to be a rich site for sociological analysis. For the faculty in sociology, on the other hand, the study of higher education has achieved very little visibility compared to the study of education. It appeared typically as a site for the sociological study of organizations or occupations

or more recently for the surging interest in studies of science, knowledge, and technology. As one indicator, among the 40 specialty areas listed as sections in the American Sociological Association (ASA), the sociology of higher education is not listed-although there are some related categories within which researchers study higher education either as a site of study or as a context for the sociological phenomenon they are exploring: "sociology of education," "organizations, occupations, and work," and "science, knowledge and technology" to name a few. (Gumport, 2007b:341-342).

Higher education as an institution

As mentioned above, for the purpose of thesis work, universities are considered as institutions acting within a national higher education system, open to impact from their external environment and have a certain degree of autonomy in developing their institutional strategies. This approach has its grounds in the sociological institutionalist perspective proposed by Meyer et al. (2007). According to this perspective, one can view higher education as deeply affected by structures whose nature and meaning have been institutionalized over many centuries and now apply throughout the world. The meaning of categories such as student, professor, university, or graduate, or of topics such as physics or literature may be locally shaped in minor ways but at the same time have very substantial historical and global standing. (p.187). For Meyer et al. (p.188) this way of looking at higher education is useful for two reasons:

> *"First, in contrast to particularizing views, an institutional perspective supports the realization that local higher educational arrangements are very heavily dependent on broader institutions. This means, on the one hand, it is difficult to create a university if the concept of "university" is not available in the wider cultural and organizational environments. On the other hand, if the environment does contain a blueprint or model, then the whole founding process turns out to be easy…Second, in contrast to conventional views, seeing higher education as an institution directs one's attention to the cultural scripts and organizational rules built into the wider national and world environments that establish the main features of local situations…Universities and colleges, disciplinary fields and academic roles, are defined, measured, and instantiated in essentially every country in explicitly global terms and are so reported to international institutions like UNESCO."*

Thus, considering the university as a World institution helps us to explain the arrangements at a particular higher education institution in its relation to wider (national, global, socio-economic, political, etc.) institutional settings. This line of thought is highly useful for the aims of this study as I want to understand the institutional policies of the specific types of universities in relation national and global institutional environment at a given period. In doing so, I aim to figure out convergences and divergences between and within these institutions. This approach provides, in a way, a test for such institutionalist perspective because one strength of these perspectives is their prediction for isomorphic change. As Meyer et al. (p.193) puts it;

> *"Given the enormous variation in social, cultural, and economic conditions within countries and (even more) across the world, most lines of sociological theory would predict extreme variation in the character of educational institutions in different national or regional locales and very different trajectories of growth and change. Institutional theories, fairly uniquely, predict isomorphism and isomorphic change…This is perhaps the single most important implication arising from institutional theory. If higher educational structures, like universities and colleges, reflect common models in national or world environments, they should show unexpected similarities across diverse settings and change in similar ways over time. And by all accounts, the university is indeed a central historic global institution, core to the distinctive trajectory of Western and now world society."*

In the same chapter Meyer et al. (2007:213) call for more qualitative research studying the world model constructions and their enactment in local sites to see how current transformations result in specific systems of higher education or universities, i.e., are they resisted or confirmed, for what reasons and with what consequences. This thesis work is highly relevant in such a framework, analyzing the impact of the global trends in higher education as world model constructions on the Turkish higher education and specific types of universities.

The strength of institutionalist perspective in explaining isomorphism in higher education is evident in wide usage of DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) seminal work on organizational isomorphism and their definitions of coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism resulting from pressures in the external environment of the institution. "Coercive isomorphism refers to organizations' homogenous characterization over time with the pressures and/or expectations via culturally accepted social norms, state mandates, financial reliance or contract law, that ends in

conformity to wider institutions. Mimetic process refers to an organization's emulative behavior if there is uncertainty and ambiguity in organizations goal setting, processes and regulative activities etc. Normative isomorphism is caused by professional pressures such as accreditation agencies and professional certification boards. Legitimacy, the acceptance of an organization by its external environment is a fundamental consequence of institutional isomorphism."

This perspective works well in the context of this study in explaining the impact of global trends and the institutional environment in the national higher education system, leading to isomorphism and convergence. Still, there is the need for investigating the divergences within and between the different types of institutions. At this point, use of Weberian ideal types as an analytical tool provides a solution. "Ideal types are logical rather than real or empirically observable versions of a given phenomenon. It is an analytical construct that serves the investigator as a measuring rod to ascertain similarities as well as deviations in concrete cases. It provides the basic method for comparative study." (Coser 1977:223). For the purposes of this study, the types of universities selected i.e. classical comprehensive, international research, and entrepreneurial universities are used as ideal types. This allows us to analyze the deviances from the ideal type constructions of each type of university under the given external conditions in the given period. These constructions also fit into the typology of higher education as three generations developed by Wissema that categorizes the medieval university, modern research university and the recent entrepreneurial university (2009).

To sum up the introduction chapter, this study is a contribution to the developing fields of sociology of higher education and higher education research. Taking the university as an institution and as its unit of analysis, it investigates the impact of the global trends in higher education on Turkish higher education and three specific types of universities between 2000-2017. Using qualitative research methods, the data is collected through expert interviews and case studies.

The details of the research methodology and the method of the study are presented in Chapter 2. Following that chapter, the conceptual framework on global trends, massification, and institutional diversity is discussed in Chapter 3. And Chapter 4

provides an overview of Turkish higher education focusing on institutional diversity, massification, type of universities, and institutional autonomy.

After this background and conceptual frameworks, the findings of the study are presented in Chapter 5 under the headings of national and institutional levels. In Chapter 6, these findings are discussed interrelatedly and in comparison. Finally, an overall summary is presented in the Conclusion chapter.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

This study aims to investigate the institutional responses of three different types of universities (classical comprehensive, international research, and entrepreneurial) to the global trends in higher education within the external environment of the Turkish higher education system. Taking the university as an institution and as its unit of analysis, it aims at providing an analysis in the light of the interconnectedness of the institutional, national, and global levels on the one hand and presenting the convergences and divergences in the institutional strategies of different types of universities on the other. Global trends in higher education include a wide range of topics for the global transformation of higher education since the 2000s (i.e., massification, internationalization, marketization, quality assurance mechanisms, university-industry linkages, new information and communication technologies, life-long learning and student-centered learning approaches, etc.). Among them, this study focuses on the issues of massification, expansion, and institutional diversity in Turkish higher education in the period of 2000-2017.

2.1. Research questions

1. How did different types of higher education institutions in Türkiye respond to the implications of global trends (massification, expansion and institutional diversity) in higher education in the Turkish higher education system between 2000-2017?
   - What have been the conditions shaped by the external environment for these institutions (i.e., major policy changes, new regulations, etc.) at the national level?
   - What has been the universities' response to these changes in terms of their institutional strategies and institutional positioning within the national higher education system?
   - What are the continuities and ruptures in the institutional policies in this period?

- How do institutional policies converge or diverge in terms of different types of institutions?

2. How did the implications of global trends in Turkish higher education impact the level of institutional diversity in the higher education system?
   - What have been the elements fostering institutional diversity?
   - What have been the obstacles to institutional diversity?

2.2. Method of the study

The qualitative research method is used for this study. Expert interviews are conducted to collect data on the national level for understanding the policy debates on massification, expansion, and institutional diversity in Turkish higher education. For the cases selected as different types of universities, semi-structured interviews were conducted with their top-level administrators who worked at the university during different periods of the presidency since 2000. This allowed me to analyze the continuities and changes within the institution in terms of its institutional policies from a historical perspective. This data for cases is supported by the official information gathered from the universities' websites and strategic plans.

The period 2000-2017 starts with the year 2000 for two reasons. Firstly, the top-level administrators interviewed for the case study started their terms in the office in 2000. And second, Türkiye joined the Bologna Process in 2001, and implementation of the Bologna Process in Türkiye has set the agenda for higher education policy reforms in line with the global trends on internationalization, quality assurance, and qualification framework among others. Moreover, during 2015-2017 there were lively policy debates on mission differentiation and specialization led by the CoHE as a way to manage the outcomes of the rapid massification and expansion of the 2000s. The interviews were conducted in 2017, quite timely, to actively observe the debates on the announcement of regional development-oriented universities and research universities for the first time. That is why 2017 marks the end of the period analyzed in this study.

Although the focus has been on this period, during the interviews there came up issues like the establishment of the CoHE in 1981 as the central authority

responsible for all of the higher education institutions in Türkiye. As this has been a crucial point regarding institutional autonomy and institutional diversity in Turkish higher education, findings on this issue are used for understanding the background of the conditions for institutional diversity.

Expert interviews

An expert interview is a qualitative semi-structured or open interview with a person holding 'expert knowledge' often used as a method in policy analysis as part of a more comprehensive set of methods or as a stand-alone method (Van Audenhove& Donders, 2019). As Meuser and Nagel (1991) note, experts can be defined as persons who are responsible for the development, implementation, or control of a solution, or persons who have privileged access to people or decision-making processes. Experts have high insight into aggregated and specific knowledge and are usually networked persons willing to cooperate and exchange. Thus, expert interviews are advantageous in exploring a specific field and less time-consuming than many other methods. However, it should be kept in mind that expert knowledge is not neutral; they are part of the societal debate and act in a field characterized by power relations. (Audenhove, 2007).

This method has been highly useful for the purposes of this study in benefiting from the knowledge, experience, and network of a wide range of experts on Turkish higher education. The experts were selected based on their experience in policy-making processes at the national level like being a member of the CoHE Boards, expertise in the implementation of the Bologna Process in Türkiye, and their academic expertise in higher education research (which is accepted by the Inter-university Board of Türkiye as a scientific field for associate professorship in 2015). 10 experts were interviewed between 05.04.2017-30.07.2017. The experts were highly willing to cooperate for this study. Most of them were motivated that these issues are now becoming a matter of sociological research although they were not optimistic about the governance of Turkish higher education and the policy debates at the time. As mentioned, experts are not neutral in their positions on the policy-making processes. I feel lucky that I had the chance to reach a diverse and highly experienced group of experts with a variety of strong positions in their perspectives on how these issues should be tackled in Turkish higher education. I owe them for

the richness of the data, and I am thankful to each of them for their openness and support. I have to admit that their commitment and valuable work on improving Turkish higher education has been a big motivation for me to believe in the significance of the sociology of higher education and higher education research in Türkiye. The list of the experts and their experiences in the field are presented in Table 1 below.

Selection of the cases

As mentioned, three different types of universities, i.e., a classical comprehensive (Humboldtian) university, an international research university, and an entrepreneurial university, were selected based on Weberian ideal type constructions for being able to compare the similarities and deviance. The conceptual characteristics of these types of universities are given in section 3.5.

- Case A: A state university established before 1980. A classical comprehensive university
- Case B: A state university established before 1980. An international research university.
- Case C: A non-profit foundation university established after 2000. An entrepreneurial university

These types are not part of any kind of national classification; thus, they are not representatives of any institutional categorization of the Turkish higher education system. One reason for this is that; such typologies do not have official or scientific grounds in Türkiye. For the CoHE and regulations the types of universities are limited to state and non-profit foundation universities (this is discussed under the issue of institutional diversity in Turkish higher education under chapter 4 and also in the findings chapter). And there is no official classification of the 207 universities in Türkiye similar to that of Carnegie Classification of Institutions Higher Education[4] (USA), for example. A second and more essential reason is that classifying higher education institutions under certain categories based on a set of indicators might be useful in managing them, but it is not helpful in understanding the institutional history and organizational culture of and the internal diversity within that specific university. Thus, as a higher education researcher, I prefer the use of qualitative methods for a deeper understanding of the uniqueness of a specific university in a national higher education system.

[4] https://carnegieclassifications.acenet.edu/

Also, it is important to note that I did not label these universities under the types of classical comprehensive (Humboldtian) university, international research university and entrepreneurial university. They exist in the literature of higher education research as ideal types, and it is these universities themselves that name their institutions as such in their official documents. Also, their top-level administrators used the same definitions in the interviews.

Interview questions

The questions for the semi-structured interviews with the higher education experts at the national level mainly included the following themes, and additional questions were asked related to their specific field of expertise. These questions are linked to the second main research question focusing on the conditions and obstacles for institutional diversity in Turkish higher education.

- How do you define institutional diversity in higher education?
- What are the existing factors of uniformity and institutional diversity in Turkish higher education?
- How do you evaluate the massification and expansion of Turkish higher education in the 2000s and its impact on institutional diversity?
- How do you evaluate the current "mission differentiation and specialization program" of the CoHE in terms of its impact on diversification?
- How do you evaluate the impact of quality assurance mechanisms on diversification?
- How do you evaluate the impact of rankings and classifications on institutional strategies and diversification?

The questions for the semi-structured interviews with the top-level administrators of the cases mainly included the following themes. These questions are linked to the first main research question investigating the responses of three types of universities to global trends and their external environments:

- How do you define the position of your university within Turkish higher education?
- How do you evaluate the impact of massification and expansion of Turkish higher education in the 2000s on the institutional position of your university?
- How do you evaluate the impact of the CoHE on defining the institutional strategies at your university?
- How do you evaluate the impact of quality assurance mechanisms on defining the institutional strategies at your university?
- How do you evaluate the impact of rankings on defining the institutional strategies at your university?

The literature on the conditions favoring institutional diversity and the obstacles to institutional diversity is taken into consideration while preparing the questions. This literature is presented under section 3.3.

List of the interviewees

10 experts were interviewed for the national level and 7 top-level administrators (3 for Case A, 3 for Case B, and 1 for Case C) were interviewed for the cases. Each of the interviews took around 45-60 minutes. The interviews took place in Ankara and İstanbul between 05.04-30.07.2017. Expert 3 and 9 were out of these cities at this period, that's why I had to collect their responses by e-mail. The list of the interviewees is given below:

Table 1. The list of the interviewees

Interviewee	**Gender**	**Experience**	**Interview**
Interviews at the national level			
E 1	F	Higher education researcher	Face to face
E 2	M	Higher education researcher	Face to face
E 3	M	Ex-member of CoHE Executive Board	E-mail
E 4	M	Ex-member of CoHE Board	Face to face
E 5	F	Ex-president of a public university International experience in quality assurance systems	Face to face
E 6	M	An active member of CoHE Executive Board (2017)	Face to face
E 7	F	Bologna Expert International experience in quality assurance systems	Face to face
E 8	M	Bologna expert Ex-president of a public university	Face to face
E 9	M	Expert in science and technology policy studies	E-mail
E 10	M	Ex-president of a foundation university International experience in quality assurance systems	Face to face
Interviews for the cases			
TLA 1.1	M	Period 2000-2008 (Case A)	Face to face
TLA 1.2	M	Period 2008-2012 (Case A)	Face to face
TLA 1.3	M	Active as of 2017 (Case A)	Face to face
TLA 2.1	M	Period 2000-2008 (Case B)	Face to face
TLA 2.2	M	Period 2008-2016 (Case B)	Face to face
TLA 2.3	F	Active as of 2017 (Case B)	Face to face
TLA 3.1	M	Active as of 2017 (Case C)	Face to face

This list of experts and top-level administrators present a diverse range of experiences and positions on higher education policy debates in Türkiye. They have actively involved in the policy making processes at the national and/or institutional levels. They witnessed critical transformation processes of Turkish higher education. Thus, the content they provided is, also, highly valuable for historical documentation of the developments in Turkish higher education from an insiders perspective.

Data analysis

The content analysis of the data collected from the interview is made with the use of the MAXQDA software program. After the coding process of the data the findings were categorized under the following issues for the national level; a. governance of higher education, b. massification and expansion, c. institutional diversity, d. mission differentiation, e. impact of rankings, f. Bologna process and g. neoliberalism and the entrepreneurial university.

Similarly, the findings from the interview with the top-level administrators of the cases are categorized under the following issues; a. mission of the university, b. governance of the institution, c. academic life, d. university-industry cooperation and entrepreneurship, e. impact of rankings and f. remark on the national level.

Limitations of the study and further research

As mentioned, the data is collected in 2017 and there have been many developments in Turkish higher education since then, which are not covered in this study. However, the problem of managing massification, expansion, and institutional diversity is still a structural element of policy debates in Turkish higher education. And this work is highly relevant for exploring the background of such policy concern. As the mission differentiation and specialization program of the CoHE is still in practice, evaluation of its impact on institutional diversity and management of massification of Turkish higher education would be an interesting topic for further research.

As a second limitation, although covering the global, national and institutional levels is a contribution of this study, the internal diversity within the institutions among

different faculties and departments in responding to the policy changes and sustaining their culture is not included in this study. It was very limitedly touched upon in some of the interviews. Thus, how different faculties and departments within a university experience the transformation of higher education in terms of their academic and organizational practices is another crucial topic for further research.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON GLOBAL TRENDS, MASSIFICATION AND INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY

In this chapter, the literature on the global trends in higher education since the 2000s, the logic of mass higher education (Altbach, 1999), and institutional diversity in higher education are briefly presented.

3.1. Global trends in higher education in the 2000s

There seems to be a common understanding of defining the similar transformation process in higher education systems in different parts of the world since the 2000s as 'global trends in higher education.' More or less, the list of these trends includes; massification, internationalization, marketization, quality assurance mechanisms, university-industry linkages, new information and communication technologies, life-long learning and student-centered learning approaches (Becher&Trowler 2001; Altbach et al. 2009). Separate literature for each of these concepts and processes has been developed within the scope of higher education research and in relevant policy documents. Thus, dealing with each of them is beyond the aim of this thesis work. As mentioned earlier, the research questions of this study focus mainly on massification and expansion of higher education in Türkiye in relation to institutional diversity. Accordingly, the following sections will provide the basic conceptual framework and the key concepts of massification, expansion, and institutional diversity.

Before moving there, it is useful to mention two broader frameworks for a better understanding of the context that such global trends have emerged and pushed governments and universities to comply with a certain set of reform agendas. These

are also relevant for exploring the findings from the interviews as the impact of the dominance of neoliberal policies on the higher education reforms and the challenges of the increasing 'supercomplexity' that the higher education institutions live in were pointed out by the experts and the top-level administrators.

Neoliberalism, knowledge economy and higher education

As Michael A. Peters (2007) argues, in the context of the transition from welfare state policies to neoliberalism, the transformation of higher education in Anglophone countries from a universal welfare entitlement into a private investment in 'human capital' established a similar pattern shared by a number of OECD countries. This transformation was guided by neoliberal theories of human capital, endogenous growth and new public management. In due course, Western governments have begun the process of restructuring universities, obliterating the distinction between education and training in the development of a massified system of higher education designed for the twenty-first century. The common patterns of the neoliberal transformation of higher education can be listed as follows (p. 160):

- "First, a transparent alignment of the university system to reflect the needs of an emerging 'post-industrial' economy, with increasing demands for highly trained, multi-skilled, tertiary-educated workers.
- Second, the introduction of new forms of corporate managerialism and the emulation of private sector management styles; the corporatization of the university system.
- Third, the introduction of corporate or strategic planning and the move to institute a form of 'ownership monitoring' in order, allegedly, to reduce the financial risk of the State.
- Fourth, under neo-liberalism, there was an attack on faculty representation in university governance and the general attempt to discredit democratic forms of university governance on 'efficiency' grounds.
- Finally, the introduction of user charges, student loans, and the creeping privatization of the system as a whole took place to varying degrees in countries like New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom."

Another dimension here has been the emphasis on the discourse of 'higher education for the global knowledge economy' defining higher education institutions the engines of economic growth. The four pillars of the knowledge economy defined by the World Bank (2003, p.2) indicate the main implications of this policy discourse on redefining the role of higher education:

- "A supportive economic and institutional regime to provide incentives for the efficient use of existing and new knowledge and the flourishing of entrepreneurship.
- An educated and skilled population to create, share, and use knowledge.

- A dynamic information infrastructure to facilitate the effective communication, dissemination, and processing of information.
- An efficient innovation system of firms, research centers, universities, consultants, and other organizations to tap into the growing stock of global knowledge, assimilate and adapt it to local needs, and create new technology."

These pillars also summarize the ground that gave way to the rise of the 'entrepreneurial university.' For Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff (2000) the role of the university in the knowledge economy and the triple helix of university-industry-government relations gave way to a 'second academic revolution' including economic development as a third mission in addition to research and teaching –' the first academic revolution' being the introduction of research into the university mission in the 19th century.

This issue of the third mission is a bit controversial. In most of the policy documents and university websites, there seems to be consensus on defining the mission of the university as teaching, research, and service for society. Can the universities' activities for contributing to the economic development at technoparks, technology transfer offices, and innovation centers be counted under the title of 'service for society' is a tricky question. One can find the background of this problematic in the contradictions between the discourse on knowledge society and that of the knowledge economy. Very briefly, for example, Daniel Bell (1976) in his 'The Coming of Post-Industrial Society' optimistically predicted that a knowledge society based on socialization and democratization of knowledge would emerge in the post-industrial society and the university would be the dominant institution in the post-industrial society taking the place of industrial enterprise of industrialism. As Jessop (2008:13-14) puts it, Bell's predictions failed under the dominance of knowledge capitalism with the production and use of knowledge with an 'economizing' logic and the fact that universities are increasingly under pressure to act like economic enterprises.

This tension between serving society and serving the economy as the third mission of the contemporary university also came up in the interviews with the top-level administrators as re-defining their mission in transforming global and national environments has been a crucial concern for institutional policies in the last decades for them.

Higher education in an age of supercomplexity

In his well-known classic for higher education research, 'university knowledge in an age of supercomplexity' Ronald Barnett (2000:415) defines supercomplexity as an outcome of the multiplicity of epistemological frameworks under conditions of a conceptual overload, where complexity is the state of affairs in which the demands exceed the resources. He provides a list of a number of lines of reflections on knowledge and the university in the context of postmodern critique and the debates around the knowledge society and knowledge economy discourses. These reflections give way to the 'end of the university' thesis, at least for the 'modern university as we knew it'. These reflections provide a summary of the epistemological challenges that the modern university faces. As such, they are helpful for understanding the tensions the universities face in their relations with/within society and the economy under the pressures for transformation in the context of the global trends mentioned. Some of the reflections Barnett emphasizes are (pp. 409-411):

- "The entrepreneurial university sells its knowledge services in the knowledge economy, producing its own 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter&Leslie, 1997)
- In a 'knowledge society' (Stehr 1994) in which knowledge is produced in and across society as such, the university is no longer the sole or even the main source of knowledge production in society.
- The forms of knowledge that the university has prized (that is forms of knowledge describing and representing the world- 'Mode 1') is challenged by new forms of knowledge valued in the wider world (that is performative and problem-solving knowledges- 'Mode 2'). (Gibbons et al., 1994).
- The means of validating knowledge claims is changing, as careful elucidation of knowledge claims and scrutiny through peer dialogue is being replaced by much quicker forms of accountability in a world of ever-rapid change and challenge.
- Universities all around the world became more and more 'accountable' to systems of scrutiny by the state, moving towards the university of 'excellence' (Reading, 1996)
- As the university becomes inserted into society, its epistemologies change; knowledge becomes performative in character and loses its power to enlighten (Lyotard 1984)."

The 'end of the university' thesis is derived from such background that the university has lost its monopoly over the high-status knowledge production, and the forms of knowledge that the academic community has favored are now challenged. Against this thesis, Barnett argues for the emergence of new roles for the university that are still in continuity with its earlier self-understandings built around personal growth, societal enlightenment, and the promotion of critical forms of understanding. (p. 411).

This epistemological framework on the challenges of such a world of supercomplexity has at least two repercussions for higher education as an institution. First, rethinking and redefining the (cultural) missions of the university and its relation with society, economy, and politics in such a supercomplex environment becomes a crucial task. As we will see in the findings the institutional policy debates on re-defining the mission of the university in continuity with its historical role, have been a major concern for top-level administrators since the 2000s. Second, do the universities have the autonomy, sources, mechanisms, and tools to redefine themselves and realize their (new) missions is a big question for policy-making and institutional diversity. This challenge can also be observed in the discussions of top-level administrators in the findings of this study.

3.2. "The logic of mass higher education"

The concepts of massification and expansion of higher education are usually used interchangeably. For clarity, I use massification for the increase in the number of students and the enrollment rate and expansion for the growth in the size of the higher education system with the increase in the number of higher education institutions in a higher education system.

Following a historical path, the number of university students worldwide has increased from 13 million in 1960 to 137 million in 2005 (UNESCO, 2008), and the global higher education gross enrollment ratio doubled between 2000 and 2018 from 19% to 38% (UNESCO, 2020)[5]. According to Trow's (1973) classification, this shows a global trend toward universal access to higher education. His analysis of the transition from elite to mass to universal access in Europe and the USA after World War II produces three forms and phases of higher education with different functions:

[5] As of 2023, there are around 235 million students enrolled in universities around the world. However, despite the boom in demand, the overall enrollment ratio is 40%, with large differences between countries and regions. (https://www.unesco.org/en/higher-education?hub=70286).
"In low- and middle-income countries, it is not enough to build greater social inclusion by growing quantitative participation and focusing on enhancing the relative opportunities of women and ethnic populations that have been under-represented or excluded. The more difficult issue is the relationship between educational inequality and socio-economic inequality. To ensure that the emerging HPS provides a broad pathway for social mobility, it is essential to maximize the autonomous allocative social power of higher education and build egalitarian structures within it." (Marginson, 2016).

- *"Elite higher education* is characterized by the limited access to higher education (0-15%) with a main function of shaping the mind and character of a ruling class, a preparation for elite roles;
- *Mass higher education* is characterized by an enrollment ratio of 16-50 % and plays role in the transmission of skills and preparation for a broader range of technical and economic elite roles.
- *Universal higher education* is characterized by enrollment of over 50% of the relevant age group with a role of adaptation of the "whole population" to rapid social and technological change."

Massification of higher education has created certain tendencies towards greater social mobility for a growing segment of the population, new patterns of funding higher education, increasingly diversified higher education systems in most countries, and an overall lowering of academic standards in general (Altbach et al., 2009). As listed in Altbach's (1999) article titled 'The logic of mass higher education,' the challenge of funding, the emergence of new types of institutions and new sectors in higher education, distance learning as a means of dealing with the increasing demand, diversification, managerialisation and complexity of the higher education institutions, changing nature of the academic profession and the student culture are the key topics for understanding the challenges of mass higher education in the 21st century.

As discussed in Chapter 4 and the findings, Türkiye faced a rapid process of massification and expansion in the 2000s. Thus, this list of key topics is highly relevant for comprehending the policy debates on massification, expansion, and institutional diversity.

3.3. Institutional diversity

3.3.1. Definitions of concepts

Differentiation and diversification of higher education institutions in the context of massification and expansion of higher education is a global trend as mentioned in the previous section. In this section, the conceptual framework and the policy implications of institutional diversity in higher education are presented.

While the concept of diversity is about the variety of entities at a specific point in time (a static situation), differentiation is the process in which new entities in a system emerge (a dynamic process) (Huisman, 1995:51). Diversification as a term is used for the increase in the variety of institutions over time and homogenization, on the contrary, corresponds to the loss of variety in a higher education system when the institutions are becoming more similar. 'Academic drift' is a common term explaining this process of homogenization: it denotes a trend for higher education institutions to emulate other institutions, particularly those seen as more prestigious. To distinguish diversification from differentiation; while the first refers to the processes at the system level, the latter is about the internal processes within an institution. (Huisman, 2016).

Institutional diversity in higher education can be defined as the variety of organizations within a higher education system (Ziegele&van Vught, 2020). Birnbaum (1983:37-56) identifies seven forms of institutional diversity:

- "Systemic diversity refers to differences in institutional type, size, and control found within a higher education system;
- structural diversity refers to institutional differences resulting from historical and legal foundations, or differences in the division of authority within institutions;
- programmatic diversity; institutions can be distinguished on at least five programmatic bases: degree level, degree area, comprehensiveness, mission, and emphasis of programs and services provided by the institutions;
- procedural diversity; refers to how the programs are offered.
- reputation diversity is related to the perceived differences in status and prestige;
- constituential diversity is related to the differences in students served and other constituents in the institutions (faculty, administration) in terms of their family backgrounds, sex and ethnic group identification.
- values and climate diversity is associated with differences in social environment and culture of the institution."

The main activities of higher education institutions within every higher education system are carried out in diverse institutional settings, which vary substantially between countries. Despite the universalistic and cosmopolitan values and aspects of the academic disciplines and communities, real life in higher education is strongly shaped by nationally determined modes of governance, rules and regulations, employment practices of academic and administrative staff, curricular practices, etc. (Teichler, 2020). Thus, institutional diversity is analyzed within the context of the national higher education systems.

External and internal diversity

In the literature, there is a distinction is between external or institutional diversity and internal diversity. The first refers to the differences *between* higher education institutions in a higher education system, and the latter refers to the differences *within* the higher education institution. Internal diversity can correlate negatively with external diversity when institutions with specific characteristics become more internally diverse and, as a result, more alike and less different to each other. (Birnbaum 1983:39). For example, if universities with no vocational school decide to offer 2 years vocational programs or universities that do not have distance learning programs start offering these programs they become more diversified internally, but at the same time, they now share the characteristics once was unique and become more alike decreasing the level of institutional or external diversity within the higher education system.

Horizontal vs vertical diversity

Another point of distinction for institutional diversity in a higher education system is horizontal vs vertical diversity. Vertical diversity refers to the differences between higher education institutions in terms of their reputation and performance, assuming a normative understanding of "better" or "worse" institutions, while horizontal diversity takes into account the differences in institutional missions and profiles (Teichler, 2007). One can observe some kinds of institutional hierarchy based on academic prestige almost in every higher education system. Mostly, research universities and world-class universities in today's world of higher education are seen as more prestigious than other types of higher education institutions. As Meek, V.L et al. (1996:222) put it; this is not the case because it is essential in the function and character of the university but it is a result of the way society values it. On the other hand, there is a practical element in having such prestige as these institutions aim to be in advantageous positions in competing for resources, students, faculty members, and research funding. As pointed out, this prestige of certain types of institutions might foster a mimicking behavior for others, leading to homogeneity in the higher education system.

3.3.2. Arguments in favor of institutional diversity

The evaluation of the level of institutional diversity of a higher education system at a given time can be neutral. However, many governments have introduced policies in favor of institutional diversity assuming that "diversified higher education systems provide higher levels of client-orientation (both regarding the needs of students and the labor market), social mobility, effectiveness, flexibility, innovativeness, and stability. i. Offering access to higher education to students with different educational and socio-economic backgrounds, ii. providing social mobility through different modes of entry into higher education, iii. responding to the increasing variety of specializations that the labor market needs, iv. permitting the crucial combination of elite and mass higher education, v. increasing the level of effectiveness of higher education institutions through institutional specialization, vi. ensuring the needs of different groups in society to have their own identity and their own political legitimation, and vii. providing opportunities for institutions for experimenting with innovation without the need to implement the innovation for all institutions at the same time are the main arguments supporting the policies for increasing the level of institutional diversity." (Birnbaum, 1983:44-45).

Despite all these benefits of increasing institutional diversity, it does not necessarily follow that the outcomes would be better.

> *"First, a high level of diversity may lead to segmentation and segregation. For example, single-sex colleges serve the needs of their students better than a coeducational college, and that separate Catholic, Protestant, and Islamic universities better serve the interests and rights of the religious groupings in society. That said, one could query whether institutional varieties run counter to macro-level objectives related to societal integration of graduates, equity of access and opportunities, and student emancipation. Second, extreme diversity could lead to a lack of transparency and system coherence, with consequences for student choice becoming more challenging, for student attrition being under pressure, and for diminishing permeability of the system (students wishing to transfer to another institution) and the (lack of) efficiency of a higher education system as a whole." (Huisman, 2016:2).*

3.3.3. Factors for institutional diversity

In this section, the obstacles to institutional diversity are presented following van Vught's (2008) work on the literature on diversification and differentiation in higher education research for developing a 'framework for a theory of differentiation and diversity in higher education systems.' In this article, using an 'open systems approach' in social sciences and benefiting from three perspectives, i.e. the population ecology perspective, the resource dependency perspective, and the institutional isomorphism perspectives in organizational theories he formulates two propositions for understanding the conditions for uniformity and diversity in higher education systems. Before pointing them, let's read his interpretation of higher education as an open system:

> *"a system consisting of individual higher education organizations (being the components — or subsystems — of the higher education system) embedded in an environment that includes the social, political, and economic conditions within which the higher education organizations need to operate. Being an open system, the higher education system is open to its environment, which implies that its components are both able to receive inputs (in the form of students, faculty, finances, and other resources) and to deliver outputs (in the form of graduates, research, results, and advice)." (p.158)*

According to the first proposition he puts forward; "the larger the uniformity of the environmental conditions of higher education organizations, the lower the level of diversity of the higher education system. The level of uniformity of governmental policies and the level of variety in the student body and in the needs of the labor market are two relevant factors to test this proposition." (p.162).

A common argument derived around this proposition is that "governmental regulations limit the scope for higher education institutions to develop their profile and consequently decrease diversity. Market mechanisms, particularly competition, on the other hand, would offer leeway for institutional profiling and niche-seeking behavior and therefore lead to or sustain high(er) levels of diversity." (Fumasoli&Huisman, 2013). The empirical studies, however, show some shifts from expectations. In their study of cross-national and longitudinal analysis of ten higher education systems, Huisman et al. (2007) found that; "i. the size of the system -the number of institutions in a higher education system- does not necessarily imply a

high level of diversity, and ii. that governmental regulation may help to preserve a formally existing level of diversity in a higher education system. They suggest that legally defined boundaries in higher education systems (as in binary systems) are successful in preserving the existing level of diversity, but that governmental policies that offer more autonomy to higher education institutions encourage these institutions to emulate the most prestigious ones." In addition to binary systems of higher education, the complex tripartite structure of the public sector higher education system of California appears to have succeeded in maintaining a certain level of diversity, preventing academic drift and homogenization (Fox, 1993).

Van Vught's second proposition is on the impact of academic norms and values: "The larger the influence of academic norms and values in a higher education organization, the lower the level of diversity of the higher education system. Factors from the higher education literature to test this proposition are the ability of academic professionals to define and defend the (academic) norms and values as relevant for higher education organizations and the extent to which academic norms and values guide the imitating behavior by lower status institutions (academic drift)". (p.162)

In sum, “the two propositions offer a combination of structural isomorphism caused by competition (from the population ecology model) and institutional isomorphism caused by coercive, mimetic and normative pressures (from the institutional isomorphism model). In addition, the propositions show that the actual occurrence of processes of differentiation and dedifferentiation has to be explained by the combination of (external) environmental conditions and (internal) organizational characteristics.” (p.162). Investigating institutional diversity in the Turkish higher education system with a focus on the experiences of three types of universities at the organizational level under the impact of national and global policy frameworks (external conditions) in the last two decades this thesis work is in line with van Vught's analysis.

The rise of global rankings has been influential in shaping national and institutional policies since 2003 and has become another crucial factor for understanding the

uniformity and diversity of higher education institutions, which is discussed in the following section separately.

3.3.4. Impact of rankings and classifications

Creating a reputation race, rankings support vertical diversity in higher education systems leading to the imitation of high-reputation institutions (van Vught 2008). The performance indicators they favor like; research performance, income from entrepreneurial activities, international collaborations, etc. become goals of a wider group of institutions willing to succeed in such race, thus creating homogenization.

Classifications and rankings of higher education systems often support vertical diversity directly or indirectly as labeling substantive variations are interpreted vertically; 'theoretical' is 'higher' than 'applied' or an 'internationally oriented" and "research-oriented" institution is perceived as 'higher' than a 'regionally oriented' one (Teichler, 2020). It is also evident that higher education institutions believe in the impact of rankings on their reputation and status. They take ranking results seriously and use them in their institutional decision-making with the belief that highly-ranked institutions are rewarded with more funding and prestige. (Hazelkorn, 2007). Different kinds of 'excellence schemes' supported by governmental policies in countries like China, Germany, and Russia among others, promoting a group of research-oriented universities to become world-class universities and reach top levels at the global rankings obviously create institutional hierarchy and vertical diversity in these higher education systems. Germany and China are considering a shift from such vertical differentiation, as Germany initiated a horizontal variety of excellence schemes for teaching and learning, research, and innovation (Ziegele&van Vught, 2020).

Contrary to rankings, to support higher levels of institutional diversity as a tool for transparency, van Vught (ibid.) calls for "developing typologies or classifications for various types of higher education institutions showing the diversity of their institutional missions and profiles, specific ambitions and performances.”. The U-Multirank (https://www.umultirank.org/), for example, is an outcome of such calls which provides "a ranking at the institutional level as a whole as well as at the level

of specific fields of study. It covers a wider scope of university activities including five dimensions of university activity: teaching and learning, research, knowledge transfer, international orientation, and regional engagement."

A final note for this section is about the inequalities directly or indirectly result from these new public policies for creating institutional hierarchies, both for the institutions and the students. As van Vught (2008: 170) puts it; for institutions, such reputation race necessitates a growing need for funding (not only for research but also for hiring 'best' academic staff and for public relations activities to strengthen their 'prestige.' "And, obviously, richer institutions have more sources to increase their reputation than poorer institutions. This process is self-reinforcing: as the race goes on, the wealth inequalities and the differences in reputation tend to increase. The result is the establishment and strengthening of institutional hierarchies. Increased competition thus creates hierarchical differentiation in higher education systems". Secondly, this race for 'catching the best international students from the global market of international students is accompanied by a greater social stratification of students:

> *"Highly reputable institutions try to enroll high-ability students. In order to accomplish this, they apply high-tuition/high-aid strategies, trying to attract and select those students who are most talented and whose enrolments reflect on their prestige. The result is a social stratification based on merit. Higher education systems become more stratified by academic ability. Both students and institutions act in such a way that a meritocratic stratification is produced." (ibid).*

3.4. Institutional positioning and institutional autonomy

The final useful set of concepts for analyzing institutional diversity is 'institutional positioning' and institutional autonomy. The dominance of the 'neoliberal university' and the supercomplexity of the higher education landscape summarized in section 3.1. "compelled the universities to start positioning themselves by constructing portfolios through setting priorities and a more explicit focus on specific competencies." (Fumasoli&Huisman, 2013). How higher education institutions position themselves strategically in the higher education system and how this – subsequently– has an impact on diversity needs to be incorporated into research on institutional diversity (ibid). Analytically, 'institutional positioning' as a concept

works as a linking pin between the higher education institution (the organization level) and the higher education system (the environment level) (ibid). In developing institutional strategies as 'strategic agencies' to locate themselves within the external environment they operate in, the resources and capabilities of universities are important factors.

Institutional autonomy is one of the key concepts regarding the resources and capabilities the universities have within a higher education system in developing their strategic action. Moreover, it is necessary for allowing universities to sustain their institutional traditions and organizational culture despite the given dominant neoliberal policy discourses. Historically the defense of the autonomy of the university (and science) is a long-standing field of contestation against interventions from the religious authorities, the state, and the market forces. There is a huge literature on this debate, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, and besides, 'institutional autonomy' is a difficult concept to operationalize. For simplicity, the framework the European University Association (EUA) developed will be referred to here.

In 2007 EUA announced its Lisbon Declaration titled "Europe's Universities beyond 2010: Diversity with a Common Purpose". This declaration is significant as it emphasizes the linkages between institutional diversity and institutional autonomy. Three relevant paragraphs of the declaration on 'a diversified university system', 'fundamental importance of university autonomy', and the call for governments on their policies on university autonomy are given below. Briefly, recognizing the necessity of the transition from an elite to mass higher education for universities, the declaration emphasizes the need for autonomy and funding for responding to the diverse social and economic demands and expectations from the universities.

“A diversified university system”:

> *"Universities recognize that moving from an elite to a mass system of higher education implies the existence of universities with different missions and strengths. This requires a system of academic institutions with highly diversified profiles, based on equality of esteem for different missions. Institutions will increasingly offer different kinds of study programmes leading to a wide spectrum of graduate qualifications that allow progression routes from one institution to another and will*

develop research, innovation and knowledge transfer activities in line with their diverse missions."

"The fundamental importance of university autonomy":

> *"For universities, the adaptability and flexibility required to respond to a changing society and to changing demands relies above all on increased autonomy and adequate funding, giving them the space in which to find their place. The common purpose of contributing to Europe's development is not opposed to diversity; instead, it requires that each university should define and pursue its mission, and thus collectively provide for the needs of individual countries and Europe as a whole. Autonomy implies control of major assets such as estates, and of staff; it also implies a readiness to be accountable both to the internal university community – both staff and students – and to society as a whole."*

"Call for governments for university autonomy":

> *"Governments are urged to endorse the principle of institutional autonomy so as to accommodate diverse institutional missions and to include academic autonomy (curricula, programmes and research) financial autonomy (lump sum budgeting), organisational autonomy (the structure of the university) and staffing autonomy (responsibility for recruitment, salaries and promotion). Autonomy should be founded on adequate public funding and should also facilitate the strategic management of public and private income and endowments (from philanthropists, companies, alumni and students) by the universities themselves. Governments are urged to benchmark progress against target levels set in relation to both autonomy and funding of universities. Universities will strive to reinforce further leadership and strengthen professional management."*

By operationalizing the dimensions of university autonomy under four dimensions; academic, organizational, staffing and financial, EUA started preparing national 'scorecards' for assessing university autonomy in Europe through data collection from its member universities. The most recent one, University Autonomy in Europe IV[6], is published in March 2023. Türkiye took part in these reports in 2011 and 2023. Its 'scores' under these four dimensions are given in section 4.4.

3.5. A typology of higher education

The vital shifts in the history of higher education that reshaped the missions, functions, and organization of universities are categorized under various typologies.

[6] https://eua.eu/resources/publications/1061:university-autonomy-in-europe-iv-the-scorecard-2023.html

A common one is the typology of categorizing the historical transformations of the universities under 'three generations' as summarized in Table 2 below. This typology was created by J.G. Wissema in his well-known book titled "Towards the Third Generation University: Managing the University in transition," where he presents a kind of guideline for universities in their transition to 'third generation universities' (3GU). These 'generations' historically correspond to the Medieval university, modern research university, and the emergent 'entrepreneurial university.' The typology he presents in Table 2 is useful for the scope of this thesis for understanding the ideal types of the Humboldt University, the international research university, and the entrepreneurial university; second generation corresponding to the Humboldt University and third generation corresponding to the entrepreneurial university. The international research university is not included in his typology. It commonly corresponds to the American research university that became a global model due to its achievements after the second World War as part of the California Master Plan and the impact of rankings since 2000s. It is presented below together with the concept of multiversity for allowing comparisons, as the 'idea of multiversity' of the international research university is developed contrary to the 'Idea of Humboldtian University'. This concept of multiversity is also helpful in explaining the deviances and inconsistencies in the cases analyzed in this thesis, which is elaborated in the discussion Chapter.

Another well-known scholar of the philosophy of higher education, Barnett (2011a), presents a similar typology; that of the metaphysical university, the research university, and the entrepreneurial university. "The dominant idea behind the *metaphysical university* as an institution was that, through the learning and inquiry that it sponsored, it gave access to a transcendental realm. The *research university*, emerged with a transition from scholarship and learning to knowledge and research was a '*university-in-itself*'; concerned with its own knowledge production activities, research being more important than teaching. Finally, judged as an outcome of 'neoliberalism,' the entrepreneurial university is a university that has it is being amid the marketization of what were public services. If the research university is a university *in-itself*, the entrepreneurial university is a '*university for-itself*'." (pp.441-443).

Table 2. Characteristics of the three generations of the universities

Characteristics of the three generations of the universities			
	First generation university	**Second generation university**	**Third generation university**
Objective	Education	Education plus research	Education and research plus know-how exploitation
Role	Defending the truth	Discovering nature	Creating value
Method	Scholastic	Modern science monodisciplinary	Modern science, interdisciplinary
Creating	Professionals	Professionals plus scientists	Professionals and scientists plus entrepreneurs
Orientation	Universal	National	Global
Language	Latin	National languages	English
Organisation	Nationes, faculties, colleges	Faculties	University institutes
Management	Chancellor	(Part-time) academics	Professional management
Source: Wissema 2009. p.23			

For Wissema (2009), the conditions that gave way to the transition from the modern research university (second generation) to the entrepreneurial university (third generation) that are 'inevitably destroying' the first model are as follows:

- "The pressures on quality that are the result of a massive influx of students since the 1960s,
- The impossibility of governing universities in the traditional way as a result of the increase in student numbers and the resulting strong intertwining with government departments,
- Globalization, which also affects universities and leads to competition on three fronts: students, academics and research contracts,
- The rise of interdisciplinary research and the resulting frictions with the faculty organization
- The increased cost of cutting-edge research,
- The challenges offered by the establishment of specialized top research institutes outside the universities,
- Government demands that universities play a role in technology-based economic growth in the knowledge-based economy,
- The opening up of corporate research and the opportunities offered by collaboration with industry as a consequence,
- The rise of academic entrepreneurship, kicked off by the university-driven IT companies in the US." (p.7)

This list provides a mix of the impact of massification and neoliberal trends in higher education that were discussed in previous sections. We will continue with presenting typical characteristics of the modern research university in its form of the 'Humboldt university'; a more detailed definition of the entrepreneurial university

and introduction of the ‘idea of multiversity’ as a model developed in the context of the California Master Plan, forming the American research university that became dominant as the international research university (or World-Class University).

Humboldt university

As an outcome of the Enlightenment tradition, the Humboldtian university emerged as a German model for the modern research university in the early 19th century. Its main principles on freedom and *‘bildung’* can be summarized as follows (Scott& Pasqualoni, 2016:2):

> *“The Humboldtian university was to be founded on the principle of freedom, which is broken down into its key institutional elements: freedom in teaching, learning, and research (Lehrfreiheit, Lernfreiheit and Freiheit der Forschung); the unity of research and teaching (Einheit von Lehre und Forschung) and of knowledge (Einheit der Wissenschaft); on a view of the aim of university education not as narrow vocational training (Ausbildung) but as cultivation of the person, as Bildung. These principles were to be respected and safeguarded by the Kulturstaat, a civilized state valuing artistic and intellectual freedom and thus also the institutional autonomy of the university, avoiding as much as possible further interference in its affairs.”*

The central political problem around the foundation of the Humboldt model was “to find a way in order to secure the necessary institutional order for modern science and the pursuit of qualified knowledge; and prevent it from being corrupted or destroyed by other might legitimate forces in society such as politics, economy and religion. According to Wilhelm von Humboldt, the only possible solution for that was an autonomy guaranteed by the state or by the sovereign.” (Nybom, 2003:143). As a result, institutional autonomy was among the main pillars of this university. The repercussion of such emphasis on the autonomy and freedom for the internal organization of the university for the academic units (*Lehrstuhl*), in comparison to the ‘departments as central units in the American university.

The transformation of the university towards a neoliberal model is mostly debated around a 'Humboldt vs. Neoliberal' dichotomy. And at many universities the resistance against neoliberalization was organized around the 'defense of the Humboldt tradition.' As a point of internal diversity, the reactions have not been the same for each faculty;

> *"...nostalgia for Humboldt and 'Humboldt for all' may be limited to humanists and social scientists, while natural and medical scientists are ready to move on- indeed already have moved on- to the new world of competitive academics and multiple funding resources." (Ash, 2008:57)*

Although its legitimate legacy is still inspiring the higher education debates as an Ideal, in reality, the Humboldt model was not exempt from the problems of modern higher education, such as unemployed academics or crowded lecture halls:

> *"As contemporaries noted, by the turn of the nineteenth century both the unity of teaching and research and the primacy of 'pure' science were in deep trouble, in the natural sciences and humanities alike. The key slogans of that time seem eerily familiar today. Contemporaries complained about overcrowded lecture halls, seminars and laboratories. They warned against the danger of an 'intellectual proletariat' of unemployable academics...Thus, the tension between the mythical Humboldtian' ideal and the realities of modern higher education did not first become visible in the 1960s, as many, especially politically conservative critics, have assumed, but much earlier. Historians note a profound irony here: just when the 'German model' had come to be viewed as the World standard outside German-speaking Europe, it was perceived to be in crisis at home". (Ash, 2008:43).*

Entrepreneurial university

As the university for itself, the entrepreneurial university is an outcome of neoliberal policy frameworks for academic capitalism, commodification of knowledge and the triple-helix of government-university-industry interactions of innovation for a knowledge economy. It is also a 'performative university' that is aware of what needs to be done in order to survive in this 'new world':

> *"This university is told by the state that what counts in knowledge production is 'impact,' but it has no need of such guidance, since impact is precisely what the entrepreneurial university understands. The entrepreneurial university is a 'performative university'; and doubly so. It understands that it has to perform in the world to survive; or at least it considers that to be the case. It has to be active in the world; an engaged university indeed. And it understands further that its knowledge products and services have to per-form in the world, preferably marked by an economic return. In this milieu, knowledge is valued in terms of its exchange value before its use value." (p.443).*

As a defender of the 3GU, Wissema (2009) distinguishes the entrepreneurial university from the research university in that; the latter "belongs to the 19th century thinking in terms of specialization in which the universities would generate the basic knowledge while companies and institutes for applied know-how would 'translate' it into practical solutions." This has changed in the knowledge economy with commodification of scientific knowledge that necessitates a new model for

universities. That model is the entrepreneurial university, which is claimed as 'giving more freedom to universities to choose their own ways'. Wissema (2009:8) defines the fundamental characteristics of the 3GU model as follows;

- Fundamental research was and will be the core activity of the university.
- Research is largely transdisciplinary or interdisciplinary.
- 3GUs are network universities, collaborating with industry, private research and development (R&D), financiers, professional service providers and other universities via their knowledge carousel.
- 3GUs operate in an internationally competitive market. They actively compete for the best academics, students and research contracts from industry.
- 3GU's are two-track universities. While they cannot in general escape from being mass universities, they create special facilities for the best and brightest students and academics.
- 3GUs embrace the concept of consilience and creativity as a driving force of similar importance to the rational scientific method.
- 3GUs are cosmopolitan; they operate in an international setting with a wide and diverse range of staff and students; in this respect, they are close to the Medieval Universities. They employ the English language for all courses as the new lingua franca.
- Exploitation of know-how becomes the third university objective as universities are seen as the cradle of new entrepreneurial activity in addition to the traditional tasks of research and education.
- 3GUs will be financed by output financing rather than input financing." (p.8).

International Research University and Multiversity

As referred in earlier sections, the California Master Plan[7] (1960) was developed in the context of post-World War II era of massification and growing demands from government and industry from the universities for socio-economic development. The Plan has been successful in sustaining institutional diversity, by transforming a number uncoordinated and competing colleges and universities into a coherent system. It regulates the specialization and function of the institutions within the California system: the research universities (University of California institutions), universities emphasizing applied research and teaching (State universities) and liberal or vocational short cycle undergraduate level teaching institutions (Community colleges)" (Teichler, 1988). This emphasis on plurality is also related to the "commitment to a socially inclusive higher education system[8], dedicated to

[7] For major feature of the master plan: https://www.ucop.edu/institutional-research-academic-planning/_files/California-master-pan-topic-brief.pdf

[8] The political environment that this Plan was developed was shaped by the influence of 'progressive liberals' or 'California progressives' defending 'higher education for all'. Simon Marginson (2016) discusses how this emphasis on equal opportunity was attacked under dominance of neoliberal

equality of opportunity and excellence at the same time" (Marginson 2016:xi). The limited number of public research universities (multiversity) in this system was focused on 'excellence in research' while other institutions were serving to the needs of wider social groups. In this way, it became a successful example of institutional diversity, providing the co-existence of elite and mass higher education in a higher education system.

This model of American research university gained prominence in time and became the leading model for higher education worldwide. This can be seen in the global rankings, which look like a list of 'global multiversities' since the criteria used for those rankings mainly favor the characteristics of the American research university in terms of research performance, internationalization and reputation. This creates 'global sameness' and contrary to the California experience; it works against institutional diversity in many countries (Marginson 2016:78):

> *"Unlike the California system forms, ranking does not encompass institutional diversity. It bears down hard on nonmultiversities. It drives them upwards towards a global research-intensive form that not all can perform, not all should perform, and none can finance. All nations, rich and poor, need institutions other than science universities, but the elevation of the multiversity as the one single emblematic form undermines the status and resources of all other institutions."*

The California model can also be considered as a prototype for different versions of the "excellence initiatives" introduced all around world[9] for supporting a limited group of universities for 'national competitiveness in the rankings' and research-intense activities. This policy is legitimized under the rationale that research is highly expensive and resources should be concentrated in a certain number of universities for effectiveness and competitiveness. In her work, focusing on the policy choices against the impact of rankings titled "World-class universities or world-class systems? Rankings and higher education policy choices" Hazelkorn (2013:86), labels this as the 'neo-liberal model';

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policies in 1990s, in his "The Dream Is Over The Crisis of Clark Kerr's California Idea of Higher Education". https://www.luminosoa.org/site/books/m/10.1525/luminos.17/

[9] China, Finland, France, Germany, India, Japan, Latvia, Malaysia, Russia, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, Taiwan and Viet Nam – among many other countries – have launched initiatives to create world-class universities. (Hazelkorn, 2013). The "research-oriented specialization program" started in Türkiye in 2017 should be evaluated in this context.

> *"The Neo-liberal model seeks to concentrate resources in a small number of elite or world class universities. This is often referred to as the 'Harvard-here' model because it aims to replicate the experience of Harvard University or the Ivy League. This is to be achieved by encouraging greater vertical or hierarchical (reputational) differentiation between HEIs, with greater distinction between research (elite) universities and teaching (mass) HEIs. Resource allocation may be linked to institutional profiling or other classification tools informed by rankings."*

Contrary to that, a 'social-democratic model' strengthening horizontal differentiation is also possible:

> *"The Social-democratic model seeks to balance excellence and equity by supporting the development of a world-class system of higher education across a country. This is to be achieved by strengthening horizontal (mission or functional) differentiation across a diverse portfolio of high-performing HEIs, some of which may be globally or regionally focused. Emphasis is on supporting 'excellence' wherever it occurs by encouraging HEIs to each specialize in specific disciplines or knowledge domain according to their expertise, competence, demand and/or mission. There is a strong emphasis on a close correlation between teaching and research, and knowledge production, commercialization and dissemination as components of an integrated process. Institutional compacts or strategic dialogues may be used as a policy tool to enforce mission specialization and differentiation."*

'Idea of Multiversity' vs. the 'Idea of University'

Clark Kerr, as the president of University of California (1958–1967) and a social scientist, was actively involved in the processes of the development and implementation of the Plan. In due course, he wrote the book titled "The uses of the university" (1963), where he presents 'the idea of multiversity.' In his words, compared to the metaphysical university and the modern research university, this idea of multiversity is characterized by plurality:

> *"The 'Idea of a University' was a village with its priests. The 'Idea of a Modern University' was a town -a one-industry town- with its intellectual oligarchy. 'The Idea of a Multiversity' is a city of infinite variety." (p.41)*

Its plurality is kind of its strength in serving the diverse needs and demands from a variety of actors in society:

> *"Plurality is evident in the multiversity having multiple purposes and serving many clienteles: producing new knowledge, educating its students, attracting research funding, communicating research findings to various publics, serving society, being critical of society, and responding to the needs of policymakers, commerce and*

agriculture. It also has multiple centers of power, leading to the need for university governance rather than government." (Donovan, 2016:88)

Another characteristic of the multiversity is its inconsistency (Kerr, 1963:18):

> *"The multiversity is an inconsistent institution. It is not one community but several- the community of the undergraduate and the community of the graduate; the community of the humanist, the community of the social scientist, and the community of the scientist; the communities of the Professional schools; the community of all the nonacademic personnel; the community of the administrators. Its edges are fuzzy it reaches out to alumni, legislators, farmers, businessmen, who are a related to one or more of these internal communities. As an institution, it looks far into the past and far into the future and is often at odds with the present. It serves society almost slavishly society it also criticizes, sometimes unmercifully. Devoted to equality of opportunity, it is itself a class society. A community, like the medieval communities of masters and students, should have common interests; in the multiversity, they are quite varied, even conflicting. A community should have a soul, a single animating principle; the multiversity has several some of them quite good, although there much debate on which souls really deserve salvation."*

Being "inconsistent internally as an institution and consistently productive" is in a way its 'key to success':

> *"The multiversity has demonstrated how adaptive it can be to new opportunities for creativity; how responsive to money; how eagerly it can play a new and useful role, how fast it can change while pretending that nothing has happened at all; how fast it can neglect some of its ancient virtues." (p.45)*

This notion of being adaptive to changes in the external environment of socio-economic transformation is a crucial point for understanding the tension between 'the university as an institution' and philosophical quests for '(the) Idea of University' found in the line of thinking highly referred to Newman, Kant and Humboldt. In what Peter Scott (1993:1) directly argues below, it appears as 'adaptation' is the actual guiding idea for the university as an institution against any Idea of university as a transcendent virtue:

> *"The university as an institution has escaped restriction by the university as an idea. If it had not been able freely to adapt - to succeeding socio-economic orders, to radical shifts in science and intellectual culture, it would have long ago passed into history. That it has not done so, that in the late 20th century, the university remains a powerful and pervasive institutional form, not just in the West but throughout the world, is a tribute not so much to its transcendent virtue but its ceaseless adaptation. So, attempts to impose some over-arching idea or principle that describes the university can be dangerous. Either they are irrelevant, failing to capture the historically determined diversity of university practice; or, if successful, they limit the university's capacity to adapt and survive."*

These typologies or defined models of universities help us to compare and picture the various dimensions of the transformation of higher education. However, understandably, they are characterized by focusing on the 'dominant ideas of university' at a given era. This way of debating higher education also creates a barrier to observing the actual diversity of higher education institutions. The dominance of the modern research university did not mean that, for example, teaching-oriented universities or academies for liberal arts, etc., did not co-exist at times. Or, the dominance of the entrepreneurial university today in the last decade does not mean that the Humboldtian tradition will totally disappear from the internal practices of universities. Neither can it become "the university" of our age. There are, and there will be, a variety of higher education institutions with a variety of organizational forms and pedagogical practices. Kurtoğlu (2019b) emphasizes this point as a shortcoming of the institutionalist perspectives in coming to terms with institutional diversity. Dominated with the policy frameworks, its scope disregards the plurality of "ideas of university" (vs. the modern Idea of the university) in the 'postmodern times' so to say, and the variety of organizational forms and pedagogies they are or they can be experimenting in an uncertain world. Already there are a variety of conceptualizations of university going beyond the 'Humboldt vs. Neoliberal' debate, such as the ecological university (Barnett 2011a), sustainable university, ecoversities[10], (feminist) women's university, and so on. Thus, studies on alternative discourses on higher education and alternative universities that are not seen in the policy documents needs to be included to catch a clearer picture of the existing diversity of universities.

I want to conclude this section on institutional diversity, with a Clark (2008:24) on higher education as a 'differentiating society par excellence', both internally and externally as a self-guiding society:

> *"We can conclude that higher education is a differentiating society par excellence. It adjusts internally to increasing arrays of input demands and output connections by greater specialization in its production units and the programs they offer. Adapting to the changing contours of rapidly expanding and highly specialized knowledge, it creates more varied types of academic tribes. Massive operational*

[10] https://ecoversities.org/

differentiation is also increasingly shaped by the linking of higher education to comparative national economic progress and by the inborn tendency of most subjects to cut across national bodies. Higher education is preeminently an internationally shaped component of modern and modernizing societies…The dynamic of differentiation is a powerful root cause of the tendency for higher education to be a self-guiding society. Governments and other patrons will increasingly find higher education to be a contentious arena highly resistant to command and control."

To conclude this Chapter 3, how to manage the global trends of massification and expansion with policies towards institutional diversity has become a major policy concern for governments in different parts of the world. The USA and Europe experienced this phenomenon right after World War II. It gave to the formation of the California Master Plan in USA; and in Europe different examples of binary systems were developed, differentiating universities and institutions for applied sciences or vocational training. The conditions in the supercomplexity of today's global higher education landscape necessitate strategic actions for higher education institutions and the higher education systems as open systems in constant interaction with their environments. As such, the policy concerns around the problematic of institutional diversity is still relevant and seems to be on the agenda of policy-makers and researcher for the coming decades. The topic is rather new for the policy debates in Turkish higher education, although the country has some degree of experience in differentiating its higher education system in the 1960s and 1970s too. The main reason for the current interest in bringing the policies for institutional diversity derives from the fact the country faced a rapid and, to -a large extent- uncontrolled massification and expansion in the 2000s doubling the size of the system in terms of the number of students and higher education institutions. The next chapter will provide the historical background on institutional diversity and the overview of massification and expansion in Turkish higher education.

CHAPTER 4

AN OVERVIEW OF TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

In this Chapter, an overview of Turkish Higher Education in terms of institutional diversity, massification, expansion, and institutional autonomy is presented.

4.1. A brief history of institutional diversity

The history of modern universities in the Turkish Republic goes back to modernization attempts during the last centuries of the Ottoman Empire. After the loss of its power on the battlefields, the Ottomans recognized the need to improve its labor force in the fields of engineering and medicine (mainly in service of the military), and later in bureaucracy and diplomacy. Contrary to the gradual development of modern research universities in Europe over the centuries, the case of the Republic of Turkey involves a move from existing educational institutions in a multi-ethnic and theocratic Ottoman Empire to universities and other types of higher education institutions imported from the West. Secularism has been the main concern of this cultural shift (Barblan et al., 2008).

The first attempt to establish a comprehensive modern higher education system came after the foundation of the Turkish Republic with the 1933 reforms. The significant contribution of German professors who had escaped from the Nazi regime should be noted during the early period of higher education in the young Republic of Turkey. As in many other cases of establishing a modern nation-state, during the independence era universities functioned as incubators for nationalistic ideas, and produced educators of the emerging governing class and providers of the technical expertise needed for nation-building (Altbach, 2008). Parallel to the industrialization of the country the system expanded from the 1950s to 1970s with the establishment of new – mostly technical – universities, that functioned for the

purpose of sustaining the production of high-quality technical personnel. A second wave of expansion came after 1973 with the establishment of 10 new universities outside the three metropolitan cities of İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir. During this period, which involved unregulated growth, the system propagated various types of institutions in terms of status, duration, goals, and admission procedures (Şimşek, 1999). The various types of institutions included universities and non-university institutions in various vocational areas such as engineering, business, commerce, surgery, and veterinary medicine; state academies and two-year vocational schools similar to community colleges in the USA. (Barblan et al., 2008).

From relative autonomy to uniformity under the CoHE

Emre Dölen (2010), an important expert on the history of Turkish higher education, defines the period between 1946-1981 as "the period of the autonomous university" with the institutional autonomy defined in Law No: 4936 (1946) and the administrative and scientific autonomy, academic freedoms, and collegial governance of the university guaranteed under the 1961 Constitution. This period ended with the military coup in 1980 and taking control over universities by centralizing higher education was among the top priorities of the military rule. The Council of Higher Education was established in 1981 with Law no: 2547, as the constitutional body responsible for planning, coordination, and governance of all higher education institutions in Türkiye. The military coup was legitimized as a response to intense political turmoil in the country and the universities were blamed as the sources of left-wing/right-wing political activism. Thus, the foundation of the CoHE should be analyzed with regard to the politics of higher education in Türkiye rather than the main higher education policy concerns.

As summarized from Emre Dölen (2010) and (Barblan et al., 2008) with Law no:2547;

- The administrative autonomy of the universities and their units was abolished.
- The institutional diversity with a variety of types of higher education institutions was replaced by a unified system consisting of universities only. Each of these universities, in general, is composed of faculties, graduate schools, conservatories, and two-year vocational schools. (This is an example of the negative correlation between the increase in internal diversity and the decrease in institutional diversity in the overall higher education system mentioned earlier).
- “Rectors are appointed by the President of the Republic among the candidates nominated by the CoHE, and so are the deans appointed among the candidates

proposed by the rector of the university concerned. The Rector is the chief executive officer of the university, all organs being advisory to the rector" (Barblan et al., 2008).

- Most of the authorities of the Interuniversity Council were transferred to the CoHE. The CoHE became the only autonomous institution in the higher education system.

As a matter of institutional diversity and marketization of higher education in Türkiye, Law no:2547 allowed the establishment of non-profit foundation universities for the first-time increasing competition within the system.

Law No: 3708-Universities with 'special status' and high technology institutes

The impact of CoHE on the institutional autonomy of the universities established before 1980 was huge. It has been a big challenge for those universities to adapt to the new regulations of the CoHE on decision-making processes, recruiting academic staff, admission of students, etc. Many of them tried to resist some of the changes or tried to find ways to byroads to sustain their institutional cultures. These experiences are also mentioned in the interviews at the national and institutional levels. "The concerns of these universities on the shortcomings of the CoHE system resulted in the introduction of a new Law in 1991 (no:3708) allowing the Council of Ministers to grant 'special status' to those universities deemed to be sufficiently developed. These universities would have a lay governing board -a higher administrative board- with full financial and administrative powers to prepare the university budget, appoint academic staff and determine the administrative structures of the institution. This amendment was suppressed, however, by the decision of the Constitutional Court in 1992." (Barblan et al., 2008).

The establishment of a new type of higher education institution concentrating on graduate research and teaching in areas of high technologies with a university-equivalent status was also part of Law no: 3708 and this dimension was not rejected by the Constitutional Court. (Barblan et al., 2008). İzmir High Technology Institute and Gebze High Technology Institute were established in 1992. Today these institutions are universities with undergraduate education as examples of academic drift and homogenization of the higher education system.

The debates for a new higher education law in 2013

In 2012-2013 the CoHE initiated a public debate on reforming the higher education system. A template was prepared, and the stakeholders were invited to share their suggestions and reflections on a website.[11] "In compliance with the global trends, the president of the CoHE at the time has declared the urgent need for responding to global demands and the needs of the market, emphasizing the responsibility of the Turkish higher education system in contributing to the economic development of the country and supporting its global competitiveness in the global knowledge economy. The template of the proposal was built around the main principles of diversity; institutional autonomy and accountability; performance evaluation and competition; financial flexibility, and multi-resourced income and quality assurance. On institutional diversity, the introduction of international universities and for-profit private universities was foreseen in the proposal. Moreover, a classification of universities as institutionalized (older, well-established ones) and non-institutionalized (recently established ones) was proposed. Respectively, the first group will be governed by boards of trustees and benefit from relatively greater autonomy; where the control of the CoHE over the second group would remain greater through the exercising of regulations and the governance of university councils." (Kurtoğlu, 2019c).

The policy debates around this proposal for a new law of higher education have been significant for the development of a policy agenda for managing massification, expansion, and institutional diversity in Turkish higher education. However, the proposal did not succeed in the legislation process and was not implemented.

'The Mission Differentiation and Specialization Program' of the CoHE

"In 2015 and 2017, respectively, the CoHE introduced the 'Specialization Programme Aimed at Regional Development' and 'Research-Oriented Specialization Programme' under the umbrella of its broader policy agenda of 'Mission Differentiation and Specialization in Higher Education' supported by the Ministry of Development. The first aims at increasing the contribution of universities -especially those younger universities established after 2006- to regional

[11] The website was http://yeniyasa.gov.tr/. But it is not accessible anymore.

development. With this group of universities established after 2006, the government followed a policy of having a university in every city of the country. And this program for regional development provides certain incentives for the selected universities in specific areas of their expertise for economic development like; forestry and nature tourism, agricultural products, food, textile, and so on." (CoHE, 2021).

As a result of the second program, a list of Research Universities is selected since 2017 based on the 'Ranking of The Entrepreneurial and Innovative University Index'[12] implemented by TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye) since 2012. The aims of the research universities are defined as:

- "Encouraging high-quality knowledge generation process in line with Türkiye's aims and areas of priority.
- Increasing the number of Ph.D. holders with high level of research competencies.
- Strengthening interdisciplinary and institutional cooperation.
- Strengthening international cooperation.
- Increasing the visibility and recognition of Turkish universities in international ranking systems." (CoHE, 2021).

Both programs are still active and are expanded and amended in due course. These programs, however, do not introduce any new types of universities with a variety of organizational characteristics in terms of institutional diversity. They represent a functional differentiation and use of the higher education institutions to the needs of the economic development and the global competitiveness of the country under the discourse on the global knowledge economy.

As the interviews for this study were conducted in 2017, the experts provided their evaluations and critiques on these programs in the context of massification and institutional diversity. The impact of these programs on the internal and external diversity of the Turkish higher systems needs to be further researched in terms of the mission definitions and organizational changes in the participant universities of these programs.

[12] https://www.tubitak.gov.tr/en/about-us/policies/content-entrepreneurial-and-innovative-university-index

4.2. Types of higher education institutions

The expansion of a higher education system does not necessarily provide an increase in institutional diversity. For the CoHE, the types of universities are limited to state, non-profit foundation, and vocational higher education institutions. The debates on introducing new types of universities and a wider perspective on institutional diversity beyond the formal diversity for Türkiye are presented in the findings of the study.

Yet, it is possible to talk about a variety of university models in the history of Turkish higher education influenced mainly by the French, German, and American models. In the late years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Turkish Republic initially French and later German influence on higher education can be observed. The impact of the German model gained more significance with the employment of German professors at the universities, who escaped from the Nazi regime in the 1930s. As a result, a tradition of the Humboldtian classical university developed in the early years of the Republic. Later on, examples of the American model of international research university were included after the 1950s. The policies of the CoHE since the 1980s towards internationalization and organization of the universities as American research universities are also labeled as the Americanization of Turkish higher education.

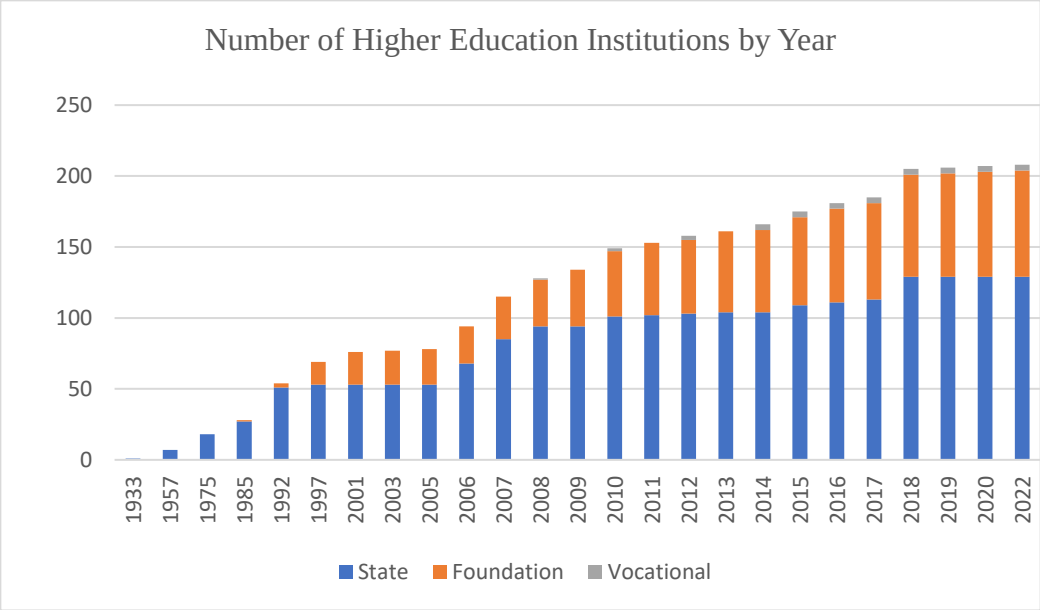
In her classification of higher education institutions in Türkiye as of 2002, Erden (2006) develops six categories of classical-modeled universities (5), American-modeled universities (4), post-1973 universities (12), former academies (7), post-1991 universities (25) and private universities (22). This kind of classification is highly useful for mapping institutional diversity in a higher education system. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, this study is concerned with a deeper understanding of the stories of the unique institutions in combination with their relation to their national and global environments. For example, how did each of those four classical universities respond to the Americanization of the system, to what extent they could sustain their unique characteristics after the CoHE and the current dominance of the global trends are central questions for this thesis work. The same questions are valid for American-modeled universities. And do these

universities have the conditions at the level of the national higher education system for co-existence? What are the factors of homogeneity and heterogeneity? The cases selected for this work make sense in this context, as Case A is a classical university, case B is an American-modelled international research university and Case C is a young foundation (private in Erden's classification) university with entrepreneurial characteristics.

4.3. Massification and expansion in the 2000s

The growth in the size of Turkish higher education in terms of the number of institutions and number of students in years can be observed in Tables 3 and 4 below. The data shows what is meant by repeatedly mentioning the rapid massification and expansion of Turkish higher education in the 2000s. As of 2022, there are 129 state universities, 75 non-profit foundation universities, and 4 vocational schools. In 2001 there were 53 state and 23 non-profit foundation universities.

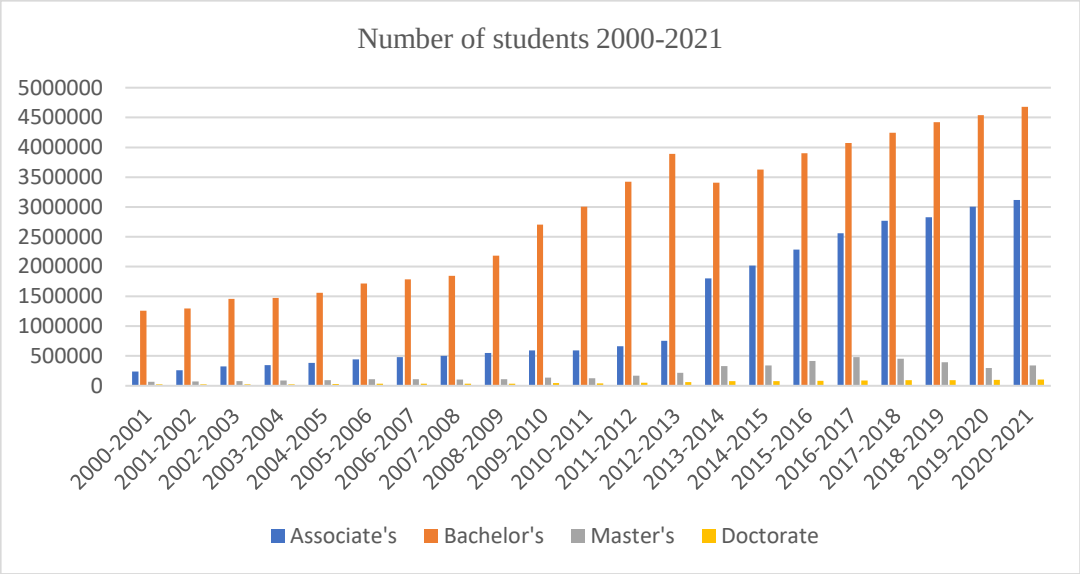
Table 3. Number of higher education institutions by year



The number of university students, on the other hand, increased from 1.260.960 in the 2000-2001 academic year to 4.676.657 in 2020-2021 only for bachelor's degree, including open education programs.

Once again, this data explains why managing massification and expansion through institutional diversity is a major and urgent policy concern for Turkish higher education. For the aims of this study, they provide us hints of the challenges the universities face under the logic of mass higher education in the Turkish context.

Table 4. Number of university students 2000-2021



4.4. Institutional autonomy in Turkish higher education

As presented in section 3.4. institutional autonomy is a crucial factor for the universities to position themselves in the higher education system and the external environment they operate in; as well as a requisite for sustaining institutional diversity within a higher education system. In this section, the 'scores' of Turkish higher education in EUA University Autonomy in Europe Scorecards are presented to have an overview of the problems of institutional autonomy in Türkiye.

Türkiye took part in Scorecard II (2011) and Scorecard IV (2023). The results under four dimensions of institutional autonomy (organizational, financial, staffing, and academic) in EUA's framework are given in Table 5. The dimensions are defined as follows (Provot et al. 2023):

- *"Organisational autonomy* covers academic and administrative structures, leadership and governance;
- *Financial autonomy* covers the ability to raise funds, own buildings, borrow money and set tuition fees;
- *Staffing autonomy* includes the ability to recruit independently, promote and develop academic and non-academic staff;

- *Academic autonomy* includes study fields, student numbers, student selection as well as the structure and content of degrees."

The scorecard groups the higher education systems under four clusters according to their scores over 100: 'High cluster' (100% to 81%), 'medium-high cluster' (80% to 61%), 'medium-low cluster' (60% to 41%) and 'low cluster' (40% and under). As can be seen in Table 5; Türkiye was in the low cluster both in 2011 and 2023 for organizational autonomy. For financial autonomy, there is a minor decrease but dropped down from the medium-low cluster to the low cluster. Its highest scores are in staffing autonomy in which the situation is stable in the medium-low cluster. Finally, it remains stable for academic autonomy, too, staying in the medium-low cluster. Two specific points are worth highlighting here;

- "Türkiye is the only system where the selection, appointment, and dismissal of the rector rests singlehandedly with the country's president."
- There are "variety of restrictions regarding universities' capacity to decide on the overall student numbers and determine admission mechanisms.

The second point is especially important for the universities in the course of massification, causing difficulties in managing their physical infrastructure and the student-per-teaching staff ratio. The experts and top-level administrators frequently raised these issues as a challenge in developing their institutional strategies.

In 2008, Üstün Ergüder pointed out the need for differentiation against the uniformity caused by the CoHE as the most important problem for institutional diversity. The solutions he proposes are in line with the Bologna reforms in Türkiye that introduced institutional strategic plans and quality assurance mechanisms.

> *"Perhaps, at present, the most important problem with CHE is that the organization puts institutional diversity into a straitjacket because of a monist, centralizing, and hierarchical structure. Differentiation should be recognized and made use of through a new framework since it can only help institutions to be more productive and effective. Quality assurance mechanisms and transparency are the tools for minimizing the risks of autonomy and of the potential misuse of differentiation. It should be accepted that institutions may adopt the governance models of their choice; decide on the job definitions and responsibilities of their leaders; but bear the consequences of the system they build. Parallel to this, it should be an obligation for institutions to establish, adopt, execute, and review their missions and objectives as well as their strategic plans. The kind of university they want to become should be obviously relevant to their mission, objectives, and strategic plans." (Ergüder 2008:177)*

Table 5. Türkiye in the EUA University Autonomy Scorecards - 2011 and 2023

	2011	2023
Organizational autonomy	**Score: 33% Rank: 27 out of 28** • the procedures for the selection and dismissal of the executive head are stated in the higher education law. • Turkish public institutions are unable to invite external members to sit on their governing bodies. • The structure of academic units, such as faculties and departments, is also heavily regulated: approved by an external authority • Turkey can only establish not-for-profit outfits	**Score: 39% Rank: 35 out of 35** • Turkish universities are the most regulated across Europe in the area of organizational autonomy. Heavy restrictions apply to the selection and dismissal of the rector as well as the capacity to open academic structures and legal entities. • Furthermore, Türkiye remains the only system where the selection, appointment, and dismissal of the rector rests singlehandedly with the country's president. This exceptional form of influence on university governance further impacts all dimensions of autonomy, beyond what can be reflected in the scoring.
Financial autonomy	**Score: 45% Rank: 22 out of 28** • there is a relatively high degree of consistency concerning public funding modalities • Turkey, where universities receive a line-item budget, forms an exception in the "medium-low" group. • Turkey allows its universities to set tuition fees for non-EU students	**Score: 37% Rank: 31 out of 35** • in this cohort are characterized by line-item budgets, which is the most restrictive public funding modality • since 2011, Türkiye has experienced a minor decrease in scoring, as the result of the abolition of the tuition fees for national students. Universities must now cooperate with an external authority to set the fees for international students.
Staffing autonomy	**Score: 60% Rank: 21 out of 28** • Institutional independence in these systems is strongly curtailed. The restrictions placed on hiring, paying, dismissing, and promoting personnel over a wide spectrum. The civil servant status enjoyed by some or all employees in all medium-low" systems constraints institutions, particularly in deciding on salaries and dismissals	**Score: 56% Rank: 26 out of 35** • Türkiye, a returning system, enters this cluster and retains stability in scoring since 2011
Academic autonomy	**Score: 46% Rank: 25 out of 28** • variety of restrictions regarding universities' capacity to decide on the overall student numbers and determine admission mechanisms • Institutions in eight out of 11 systems including Turkey may set admission criteria for Master's students	**Score: 46% Rank: 29 out of 35** • Türkiye show neither upward nor downward movements since 2011
Source: Prepared from EUA University Scorecard in Europe II (2011) and EUA University Scorecard in Europe IV (2023).		

There was kind of a consensus around relating these tools for transparency and accountability to institutional autonomy and institutional diversity also in the expert interviews. The logic goes like this, let the universities define their missions and goals by themselves, make their operations transparent and accountable through accreditation mechanisms, audit their performance based on their strategic plans and to the degree they succeeded in their premises, let students and other stakeholders decide on how to benefit and interact with the higher education institutions based on these transparency tools. The result of such logic follows as; if the university as an institution proves that it has developed such a 'sustainable quality culture', and the independent Quality Assurance Agency strengthens its capacity for institutional evaluation and accreditation, then the CoHE might/should delegate some of its authorities among the four dimensions of institutional autonomy to the universities.

This line of thinking is exactly an example of what is meant by the corporatization of the universities as part of the 'neoliberal university' discussed under global trends. There are, at least, two points here to pay attention to and approach with a reservation. First, the rise of New Public Management with technologies of audit and accountability and their transfer from the financial domain to the public sector, particularly higher education is studied and criticized under the term 'audit culture', creating new subjectivities as self-managing individuals who render themselves auditable (Shore&Wright 2000:57). This is found totally against the academic freedoms and citizenship perspective defined in the Humboldt tradition. As Jessop (2017:856) puts it:

> *"Reflecting this reorientation towards serving the KBE, universities have adopted the latest management fads for increasing efficiency, such as New Public Management principles, enterprise resource planning, business process re-engineering, total financial management, customer relations management (for students), data mining and the sale of data to outside commercial interests (Eaton et al. 2013). In addition, employers and practitioners are getting more involved in curriculum development, managers of private enterprises are drawn into educational governance and agenda setting, accountants and financial managers acquire more influence over strategic formulation, and mobility is fostered between the academy and non-academic worlds. Thus, the traditional model of university governance depicted most famously (if sometimes more in rhetoric than practice) in the Humboldtian community of scholars and students, is being challenged by demands for greater accountability to a multi-tiered state system, to diverse business interests ranging from small- and medium-sized firms to national and international champions and, more generally, to the treadmill demands of competitiveness over many scales and around an ever-expanding range of economic*

and extra-economic factors (Slaughter and Cantwell 2012). This holds even for world-class universities, which gain some autonomy from national pressures only to face them globally."

The second point is on the relationship between institutional autonomy and academic freedoms. Regarding the increasing cases of infringement of academic freedoms in the European Higher Education Area, a specific section was included in the Rome Ministerial Communiqué (2020) -which is the outcome of the Ministerial Conference of the Bologna Process in Rome. Also, an Annex[13] was issued to 'outline a shared understanding of academic freedom for the EHEA'. The related section in the communique is as follows:

> *"We reaffirm our commitment to promoting and protecting our shared fundamental values in the entire EHEA through intensified political dialogue and cooperation as the necessary basis for quality learning, teaching, and research as well as for democratic societies. We commit to upholding institutional autonomy, academic freedom and integrity, participation of students and staff in higher education governance, and public responsibility for and of higher education". (p.5).*

Highly rooted in the Humboldtian tradition, both the concepts of academic freedom and university autonomy are strong elements of the legacy of the European university tradition and may be called its unique contribution to human history. In their challenging and quite interesting article Matei and Iwinska (2018:355) point out that "the Bologna Process and the emergence of the EHEA created conditions for the advancement of university autonomy, both conceptually and in practice, however, this was not the case with academic freedom." Moreover, they argue that, as their title suggests, the paths of these two philosophically and historically interrelated related concepts are now diverging. The codification of institutional autonomy as in the case of EUA and the disjunction between instrumental aspects and moral/human rights aspects in the university governance with the dominance of efficiency and performance concerns cause a relative disregard for academic freedom. In brief, "the concern for efficiency transforms autonomy into an instrumental concept that is supposed to serve the capacity of the university to 'deliver' better and makes it privileged over academic freedom; as such, this model sacrifices academic freedom for autonomy." (p.358).

[13] http://ehea.info/Upload/Rome_Ministerial_Communique_Annex_I.pdf

To conclude, with a weak record of academic freedom and university autonomy in its history and today, this question of ‘diverging paths’ seems to be highly relevant in the Turkish case, too.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

5.1. National level

In this section, the findings from the content analysis of the expert interviews at the national level are presented under the categories of i. governance of higher education and the CoHE, ii. massification and expansion, iii. institutional diversity, iv. Mission differentiation and specialization, v. impact of rankings, vi. the Bologna process and vii. Neoliberalism, academic capitalism, and the entrepreneurial university.

These findings are providing answers mainly to the second main research question on the implications of global trends in higher education in Turkish higher education and the factors favoring and limiting the level of institutional diversity. To give a wider perspective on the multi-dimensional and interrelated issues of Turkish higher education the themes presented are not limited to institutional diversity.

5.1.1. Governance of higher education and the CoHE

Governance of higher education in Türkiye is not a direct issue of this thesis, however, as the CoHE is the main central authority for planning and implementing the higher policies in Türkiye, its responsibility in policies on massification and institutional diversity was discussed by the experts from different angles. Its capacity for developing and implementing comprehensive long-term policy frameworks were questioned.

To begin with, a surprising argument was that despite its ‘supra powers’ and responsibilities the CoHE was not capable of planning:

"In Türkiye we have the CoHE established in 1981. It is over-authorized. It holds much more powers than a coordination agency or administrative council would have. But how much of these powers are used, and how capable it is in coordinating despite all its centralism is debatable. On one hand, there are supra powers, on the other hand, there is an institution incapable of realizing the simplest functions expected from it. Consider planning for example; there is a mismatch with the needs of the country in faculties of education and medicine. This is not an issue of today. One can observe the tendencies of the country since the 1970s; the population, the population tendencies, the demand for doctors, and the demand for teachers are all given. We could not sustain such a match till today. But this is not a problem of the CoHE, only. The governments and the universities have their share in terms of their irresponsibility…at the end of the day, there is no clarity on how and with which legitimate tools such coordination will be sustained. And there is no public debate on it. Nor, doing things after listening to the stakeholders adequately." (Exp.2, M.)

An explanation for such a mismatch in the powers and capabilities of the CoHE can be found in its outdated structure and weak human resource:

"…to me, the biggest problem area for higher education in Türkiye is the structure at the national level. The fact that the CoHE is not updated, and does not have a structure appropriate for the necessities of current times. And that the higher education law could not be reformed…the CoHE has a human resource capacity that is behind many of the state universities in terms of quality and quantity. And the fact that the executive committee members and general assembly members are appointed for four years, do not allow a permanent institutional capacity…the members are not appointed by taking into consideration the expected qualifications." (Exp.1, F.)

Another shortcoming of the CoHE in policy making is that it reacts to emergent problems instead of designing a future perspective and developing policies accordingly:

"There comes a point that a crisis brakes out, then we try to maneuver for that one. Thus, first, an infrastructure for securing the outcomes of emerging developments of the higher education system and an infrastructure of good governance are necessary. The CoHE should reshape itself accordingly. I think it's important to create the tools for securing such infrastructure for governing the future first and then to implement the initiatives." (Exp.8, M.)

This critique is supported by Expert 5, as she explains how comprehensive policymaking should be:

"This is very comprehensive (governance of higher education). Each of its problems should be investigated separately first and then integrated for preparing a comprehensive development project. And to do that, first of all, the political power governing the higher education system should give you that autonomy. Should

support you with all the necessary resources. Then, by governing this task with the right human resource, with a ten-years mobilization this can be developed and constituted. But there is a need for comprehensive work on that. This is not a problem to be solved by just thinking about it a bit and saying let's do this and that. Some of its problems are on the surface, some are very deep, complex, and multi-dimensional. We really need experts in higher education and advisors from abroad to plan this project.". (Exp.5, F.).

The same necessity of developing a comprehensive policy plan in cooperation with respective partners is emphasized for the policies of differentiation:

"Before diversifying the types of universities, the real sources of the complaints on the uniformity should be investigated. To which specific necessity or concern will the demands be responding should be determined by measurable indicators. Even a needs-responses matrix can be considered here. Can the owners of those complaints have a legitimate ground without evaluating their universities' essential mission and the risks of change and explicitly putting forward their cost-benefit analysis? For diversification, by defining the main factors like; the area of specialization, geographical dimension (local, regional, national, and international dimensions), relevant missions, structures and the rules of the game, governance, etc., appropriate designs can be developed. This is where the challenge occurs for the CoHE; to accept a facilitating function within the main principles and framework for diversity. Such a task would necessitate cooperation with respective parties; the network of the institutions and policymakers." (Exp.9, M.)

A final remark under this category is on the governance at the institutional level with a specific emphasis on the difficulties of creating an institutional culture in comparably younger universities. Developing such distinguishing characteristics for the institutional identity is highly relevant for improving institutional diversity.

"I need to note that our universities, even the oldest one, is rather young compared to the university tradition in the world. And the majority of them are quite young universities established in recent years. Sure, it is not easy to become a university. Being a university, being able to look at things at an institutional level is very precious to me. But in a process of rapid expansion, it has certain positive aspects, you grow fast but is it healthy growth? Are you able to? establish an institutional culture? I do not think these are questioned enough. Thus, there are quite different structures inside. The institution should have its own identity. Thus, I find the institutional level more important- the program level is talked about more often nowadays. The institutional processes should settle. This is difficult because it needs to be developed by including everyone, by their decisions and internalization. Here, dialog, good communication of administrators especially within the institution with different faculties, units is one of the best ways to overcome such difficulty." (Exp. 8, M).

To sum up, the CoHE is evaluated by the experts as a governing body with an outdated structure and weak human resources incapable of long-term comprehensive

policy development. Also, they note the challenges of being a young national higher education system with few universities older than 50 years. This is understandable for a Republic that is a century year old. After establishing certain modern (higher) education institutions since early Republican era, the number universities have expanded in Türkiye in waves. At the institutional level, being rather young institutions result in difficulties in developing institutional identity and culture, which is critical for fostering institutional diversity. It could also be considered as an advantage for innovativeness of these universities, however, given the limitations in autonomy and resources that is difficult to expect. These obstacles for institutional diversity is discussed in section 5.1.3.

5.1.2. Massification and expansion

As presented in Chapter 4, the size of the Turkish higher education system has grown exponentially in last decades. Expansion does not necessarily lead to diversification, however, it brings up the policy concerns for governing the growing number of institutions and students. And as discussed in Chapter 3, diversification can be a successful tool for satisfying the diverse needs of various groups and stakeholders in society. In this section the experts' views on the massification process in Turkish higher education is presented.

To begin with, Expert 2, who is an academic in the field of higher education research, provides a brief comparison of the waves of massification in Türkiye and the West.

> *"As you know, in Türkiye, expansion of higher education, i.e. increase in the access opportunities is quite later than in the West. It occurs as a wave in 1992 with the establishment of 23 new universities. It is an important wave of massification. Sure, it can be taken some years before. As nine universities were established after the foundation of the CoHE etc. but 1992 was a big move. Later, new universities were established between 2006-2008, a university in every city. And after that, some questions on higher education like how such an expansion will be governed, and how will its coordination be sustained are asked more frequently. Actually, there is a similar development in the West. Just there is a huge time difference like 40-50 years. As, in developed countries like the USA, Germany, France, New Zealand, etc. massification has been realized to a large extent in the 1960s, first we observe a significant step towards expansion, followed by the emergence of resource allocation in higher education as an important issue. In Türkiye also there is a similar process like a rise in debates on higher education after massification,*

however, different than the West, the debates here are rather weak…certain issues are at the infancy stage." (Exp.2, M.)

There is a variety of positions among experts defending or criticizing the massification and expansion processes and welcoming some of its 'unintended consequences' as social modernization. Expert 5, for example, argues that the system became unmanageable with expansion in general and inflation of foundation universities in particular:

"the expansion after 2006 was much more rapid compared to the one in 1992's. the system somehow absorbed the expansion of the 1992's. A lot has been improved since the 2000s. However, the huge growth since the 2000s and the inflation in the number of foundation universities made the system unmanageable, to me." (Exp.5, F)

She continues with the quality concerns and the problems of the physical infrastructure. The 'expected' decrease in the academic quality in the logic of mass higher education was mentioned, but apparently, the growing problems of the physical capacity of the universities for teaching, research, and student services (dorms, food, etc.) should be taken into account while fostering massification:

"If there are 100-150 students per faculty member in a system, and around 1000 dollars per student as the resource spent, what kind of quality are we talking about here? What quality! When you visit those universities, you see the vulnerability; the infrastructure is insufficient, the classrooms are overcrowded, etc. You visit the library it is more like a study room. You look at the system there; teaching is in Turkish, the students do not speak any foreign language and cannot reach foreign resources." (Exp.5, F).

Expert 2, on the other hand, is arguing for further expansion of the system despite the concerns of quality:

"Türkiye is a growing economy and a growing industry for higher education. It is still growing and will continue growing. I say this everywhere; if new universities were opened in Türkiye doubling the current numbers, Türkiye is still a country that can handle that. Despite all this discourse on the quality has diminished etc. The equation is clear; currently, we have around 7 million students, and half of them are in open education. That means, if another 180 universities were added to the current 180 universities, theoretically, there is a demand for becoming consumers of it. Thus, it is a growing industry, from the perspective of higher education. Thus, I do not think that rigid quality precautions should be applied here". (Exp.2, M.)

And Expert 4, being critical of the process, mentions social modernization in different parts of Anatolia as a positive consequence of expansion. Yet, he is still cautious about the risk of overemphasis on social and commercial expectations against the scientific quality of the universities as its core value:

> *"Although I criticize it, every decision has certain positive sides. For example, when I visit some cities in Anatolia where there is a new university established with insufficient infrastructure but has developed in time. The most important part is, the current government might have different reasons for establishing this many universities, however, it might have become a boomerang against their logic. Because you observe that it is something about modernization there. Young people coming together as women and men form a community. This changes the climate of the city…it is a social modernization. But, when you listen to the candidates for the presidency of these newly established universities, there is a commercial logic, too. The chambers of commerce and the shopkeepers really want that; the students will come and the economy will flourish. But, these should not be the aims for establishing universities…there might be economic contributions but that's not what makes a university; the scientific quality is important. The expectations cannot be social and commercial. I think that side is still missing." (Exp.4, M)*

This issue of universities' contribution to the socio-economic development of cities in the local environment and the risk of localization, on the contrary, is mentioned by other experts, too:

> *"As the cooperation between the developed and underdeveloped (universities) has been dismissed with the rapid increase in the number of universities, those (underdeveloped ones) turned in upon themselves. And when you wanted to go and teach at one of those universities from developed universities after the 1990s, they would not want you. The developing universities in Anatolia started to reject people from developed universities. That's localization. And it led to the quality of those universities becoming more problematic. In terms of science and education. These are basic problems that rose after the CoHE." (Exp.5, F).*

Finally, Expert 3 calls such localization a 'banalization trap':

> *"The universities should be in exchange with the city they exist like the way that a tree is fed by the earth and feeds it. Here, there might be an issue that all the problems, be it at the regional or global level, are not handled with a general scientific perspective. The problems should be evaluated at scientific and international standards. Otherwise, there is a risk for the universities to be localized and become ordinary. I call this a 'banalization trap'. The university is in a position to be elite and picky both at the intellectual and academic levels. The university should contribute to the local and global levels and humanity with such a perspective. The quantitative growth does not only lead to volumetric growth, the growth of the dimensions of the existent; but it also leads to outcomes that change the quality of it." (Exp.3, M.)*

These findings are beneficial for diverse perspectives of the experts on the controversial issue of massification and its positive and negative outcomes in Türkiye. This issue will be dealt in Discussion Chapter.

5.1.3. Institutional diversity

Being the central problem investigated in this thesis, this is the largest category of the findings in this section. Thus, I want to group them under sub-categories of types of higher education institutions, the obstacles to institutional diversity, and problems in defining the mission of the universities.

5.1.3.1. Types of higher education institutions: State, foundation, and private?

As emphasized in Chapter 4, in Türkiye, the formal types of higher education institutions are state universities, non-profit foundation universities, and vocational schools. During the interviews, one of the salient issues was the problem of distinguishing foundation universities from for-profit private universities. The inflation of foundation universities and whether they are for-profit or non-profit in reality has been a big question since their introduction into the system by the CoHE. Besides that, another particular reason for the focus on this issue during the interviews was the preparations for a new regulation for allowing for-profit private universities in 2017, in the months that these interviews were conducted.

As Expert 8 puts it directly;

> *"what do I understand from diversity? What kinds of diversity models are there in the world? First, there is one according to the structure of the universities. We currently have these two; state universities and non-profit foundation universities. But there is a recent debate on allowing or not-for-profit companies into the higher education system. This is diversification. It might have positive aspects, especially as in the current situation in Türkiye, although there are non-profit foundation universities, we see that many of them are away from such aim. In reality, many of them aim at making profits. At this point, there are de facto for-profit universities. This is an important part of diversification, but its outcomes for the higher education system or is it right or wrong is another debate." (Exp.8, M).*

Another expert warns against the misconceptions of state, foundation, and private by giving examples from US Higher Education:

"First it is crucial to position the foundation correctly. If you put it next to private just because of its name, you ruin it. Because I always give the example of Stanford, Berkeley, and Phoenix in the USA. Now these are all big universities. Berkeley is public, Stanford is a foundation and Phoenix is for-profit. When ask about these in the USA they would know Phoenix but think of the other two as the same. Indeed, the public one and the foundation one are highly similar. The difference is about being for-profit. The tendency in Türkiye is to put the private ones together, putting the foundation with the private. However, ODTÜ (state), Koç (foundation), Bilkent (foundation), Sabancı (foundation) these are much more similar to each other (than the similarity with for-profit)." (Exp.10).

Another common point is the comparison between state universities and foundation universities in terms of their size, organizational structures, and competitiveness:

"Sure there is a relatively autonomous structure at the foundation universities. There is a more dynamic structure, they have to be competitive. There is an expanding higher education, the numbers are increasing. The biggest difference at foundation universities is their dynamism as a result of their obligation for being competitive. This is a crucial factor. I think, this also has a significant impact on state universities too. If you look at the competitive universities, the previous (competitive) state universities are still good, but there are foundation universities as good as them. We know them. Both from the rankings and their performance. Thus, we see that the foundation universities have created a competitive aspect for the state universities and there has been a paradigm shift at state universities as well. There is a board of trustees, they are more autonomous financially and in creating their own resources. They have a quicker working system due to competition...Also, the foundation universities are more flexible, they can determine their salary policies themselves in drawing qualified personnel, and they can decide on their scholarship policies. Thus they have big advantages in getting good students and personnel. State universities don't have this opportunity, unfortunately." (Exp.8, M).

Academic quality concerns especially for graduate education at foundation universities for the reproduction of the academic system is raised by Expert 4:

"When it comes to privatization, I am totally against it. I have said this many times. The foundation universities, to me that's only in their names, have expanded rapidly. I defended that they should not be allowed for graduate education right after they are established. They need to prove themselves with undergraduate education first, then continue with graduate education. Some were given permission for doctoral programs right at the beginning with the criteria of having three faculty members. The doctoral programs are about the reproduction of the system. I tried to warn them that the implications of making a mistake here would be very different in the long run.... it is undesirable when every university opens doctoral programs even at their foundation stages. Certain universities can open doctoral programs. The others should have graduate programs after they prove their adequacy." (Exp.4, M)

And as a solution for the concerns of the for-profit universities, one expert emphasized the use of quality assurance mechanisms and transparency tools developed in Türkiye, in the context of the implementation of the Bologna Process:

> *"I'm not against for-profit universities but its regulation should be made quite well. Especially, this is also valid for state universities, transparency and accountability should be at the center of such a structure. And the most important thing to sustain that is the quality assurance. Thus, the activities of a university should be questioned; be it a state or foundation if that is the case private universities. To me, this can be achieved only after transparency is provided, and a quality system exposing the services, outputs, and values is at work. Before that, it might cause certain risks." (Exp.8, M).*

Finally, this debate on private universities and trust in transparency tools can move towards a perspective on higher education as any market selling commodities to the demanding students as consumers:

> *"one university can say that, our student per academic staff is too high, we don't have significant publication numbers, but I teach quite cheaply. The others ask for 20.000 lira, I offer this for 3.000 lira. It is your choice if you have the money you go there. But if you don't study, and you don't want to study but you just want to get a useless degree with shallow knowledge come to this one. This can be a choice but it needs to be transparent. And there is demand for that. The guy will run the family business, does not want to do something intense but just to get a little bit of university culture. The father has a factory, and she/he will continue there. Just wants the degree for its honor…this is no harm to anyone, it is not a bad thing. But this should be known transparently. Ripping off people by showing that degree as a good one, is evil. We don't see such differences, we don't face them, we are intolerant about them, we ignore them and act as if they don't exist." (Exp.10, M).*

A similar approach was mentioned by the representative from the CoHE:

> *"If there are new types of universities emerging, if people are provided with all the information like in a shop, with equal opportunities, the conditions of such processes will be clearer. Currently, we (the CoHE) try to administer the process through inputs. Accordingly, things we do create more and more regulations. In the sense that what can we do to include only those that would not damage the system into the system? This is not the correct way. As with many approaches in the world we want to govern it by focusing on the outputs". (Exp. 6, M)*

Allowing for-profit universities has been debated in Türkiye for long, and there were draft legislations prepared for their allowance, but they are not enacted so far. One explanation for this demand is the marketization of higher education as a sector under neoliberalism and legitimization of this process due to the fact that the public

higher education does not have the capacity for satisfying the growing demand for higher learning. A second explanation is the ‘open secret’ that most of the existing non-profit foundation universities, in fact, make profits and many of them have bad reputation in terms of the quality of education and services they provide to their students. Thus, there is a growing request for distinguishing between real foundation universities and for-profit institutions. Also, most of the foundation universities are not seen trustworthy in their scientific quality and are seen as threats for the overall quality of the higher education system.

Once again, a market perspective for institutional diversity emerges here letting any higher education institution to play in the market, on the condition that it is transparent about the quality of services it provides and its quality is accredited by independent quality assurance mechanisms. This line of thinking is a manifestation of the neoliberal university, where universities are like corporations and students are like consumers acting in the market of higher education sector.

The discussion on public, private and foundation universities as types of universities in Turkish higher education is highly narrow for approaching institutional diversity. One positive side is the argued relative autonomy from the CoHE that the foundation universities enjoy for increasing their chances for innovation and differentiation. However, in a study on foundation universities in Türkiye, Mızıkacı (2010) argues that “except a small number of distinctive institutions showing semi-elite characteristics, foundation universities largely show coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphic characteristics; thus, remain akin.”

5.1.3.2. Obstacles to institutional diversity

Another sub-category of the findings under the category of institutional diversity is the obstacles reflected by the experts. The CoHE is usually blamed for the uniformity and standardization of the Turkish higher education system. One expert related these to the existence of the central examination system for entering the universities and to the mistrust of the central authority to other parties of the system.

"As this is the case (having the central examination), there is a concept of standardization seen as a tool for providing equality of opportunities. When talking of having certain standards in all universities around the country, in essence, you emphasize uniformity. Because you open vocational schools and faculty of arts and sciences at each of them. And each one considers themselves competent for providing master's and doctoral programs. Because, according to such standardization it is considered as 'what is missing there, why should not the students in that region benefit from this'. The second parameter is mistrust. You put into practice such laws and regulations that do not leave any chance for the administrator to take certain initiatives. Why? Because the administrator can do mistakes but as the central authority you know the best. They should ask the authority first or act in accordance with the regulations and then you approve. These two problematics are the building blocks of the construction of current uniform higher education institutions to me." (Exp.1, F).

This issue of 'mistrust' of the CoHE to higher education institutions and administrators is raised in different ways by the experts under different sections. Lack of institutional autonomy and the difficulties the universities administrators face in decision making are obviously creating obstacle for institutional diversity, leading to coercive isomorphism. It can be related to the centralist political and social culture in Türkiye. Expert 10 relates the uniformity of the system to the concept of 'power distance' as an explanation for favoring centralist structures in Türkiye. And such central authorities lead to mistrust and cannot delegate their powers to the components of the system.

"The system in Türkiye has always been uniform. The CoHE was established to standardize the universities. And it has been successful in that. Sociologists observe the differences between human communities. Human communities have some choices. Turkish society likes the centralist structure more. They want a leader. The power distance is too much. They glorify the leader and the distance between them breaks away. It is not like this in Scandinavian societies, for example, it is on the contrary. There is no chance there that the leader increases the power distance. The distance is short there. And due to the fact that individualism is more important there, this inevitably reflects more on diversity. Thus, in Türkiye, the understanding of the CoHE, i.e., standardized centralist structure bonded." (Exp.10, M)

A second dimension of obstacles to institutional diversity is the institutional hierarchy created by classifications and competition for prestige among universities. This creates an imitating behavior towards what is considered as the characteristics of the "best" in the system (mimetic isomorphism).

"All of the universities have a goal of being a research university, all are open to internationalization, and all are in line with university-industry cooperation. In this

sense due to the fact that a classification would bring certain concerns about different status, the CoHE could not dare to initiate that before." (Exp.1, F).

The tension between the prominence of research against teaching is brought up, pointing out the difficulty of assessing the quality of education and fostering ‘excellence in education’ as a mission in Türkiye is discussed by Expert 8. He expects quality assurance mechanisms to figure out this problem.

> *"Now what are the obstacles? When you look at it all the universities want to be a research university. But there is a second dimension for diversity. There are research universities we know all around the world and universities with excellence in education. They have put education forward and they even do not offer graduate programs. They have employable highly qualified graduates in accordance with the necessities of the contemporary world. Such graduates with 21st-century qualifications are demanded much more than the graduates of research universities at certain places. This can also be seen as a mission. However, in Türkiye, the prestige of the universities is measured by focusing on research performance. This is valuable of course, the university should conduct research, and produce scientific knowledge. But this will also be on the agenda in the quality assurance processes. Because the quality of education cannot be measured in Türkiye. Although you argue that you are a good university in education, you will be in the upper league in this dimension there are no tools to bring this out. Quality assurance should have the processes supporting that in this sense, (information) like all the graduates of this university are employed. Moreover, employed in these positions. Due to the lack of tools for measuring the quality of education. I think we rely too much on the university rankings." (Exp. 8, M)*

An interesting point came up was the fact that, although it is unrealistic, there was a discourse among policymakers that the newly established universities could rapidly reach the 'level' of 'developed' universities:

> *"Let me tell you another thing, you know about the big number of universities established in 2006. During that period, even at the CoHE, there was an understanding like; 'you will see that these universities will get ahead of ODTÜ, İTÜ in five years'. There were such talks among the CoHE members. Of course, such an argument does not have any scientific or organizational basis. It is not realistic at all. But that was the goal then, maybe those universities were expected to reach a different level ideologically. Now the argument is they should not be like that. Every university should not direct to the same goals, let's have diversity, let's have specialization, etc. Indeed, this shows that there is not a homogeneous perspective in the vision and strategies of the CoHE." (Exp.1, F).*

Another institutional prestige-related issue is the cases of 'academic drift' in Turkish higher education. The examples of high technology institutes established for graduate education and research, turning into universities with undergraduate

education were mentioned in Chapter 4. Another example is the case of vocational schools transformed into faculties:

> *"Actually, we do diversification within the system from time to time but then we destroy it. The system tries to converge…for example, vocational schools are transformed into faculties. Indeed, vocational schools have a pleasant mission. I mean the 4-year programs within the universities, on health, sports, etc. but due to the fact that the title of 'faculty' sounded more prestigious they chose to get it. But why do we destroy this? The vocational schools have a clear mission. They offer programs for applied training and educate workers. What is the point in turning them to faculties?" (Exp.8, M)*

The third dimension of obstacles is the bureaucratic, organizational, and academic culture and environment. And this is not only about the CoHE:

> *"Diversity is highly difficult in Türkiye. It is not only about the CoHE. The CoHE gradually feels the need for diversity. But the professors don't want it, the financial structure never does, and the legal structure cannot handle it. There have been certain experiences. When you start diverging a bit, the legal difficulties are huge. Thus the CoHE is not the biggest obstacle in front of diversity. It is the system itself. Some cheap competition like why did you give them two dormitories and one to me…the financial structure, the Ministry of Finance tries to uniformize all state universities…on the contrary, in diversity, there is a difference created on purpose. As I said, there are big legal difficulties. Thus, diversity needs too much effort. Permission for diversity is not enough, diversity should be forced. The system should force diversity. Unfortunately, in Türkiye permission for diversity is talked about." (Exp.10, M).*

Finally, the limitations on institutional autonomy and pressures on academic freedoms are given as obstacles to fostering institutional diversity:

> *"How does the Magna Carta Universitatum signed by 900 higher education institutions from I guess 87 countries define the university? As autonomous academic institutions. You cannot ensure such diversity without constructing autonomous academic institutions. The answer is quite clear to me. Defining its own mission is a prerequisite for academic autonomy. In that case only we, ourselves, define our mission. At the moment, can we do anything outside law no:2547 and the regulations based on that? No, we cannot. On staffing, can we act autonomously in hiring academic staff? No. Then how will I diversify my mission? How will I differentiate? That's it. We talk like, the universities are composed of three things; education, research, and service to society, etc. Everyone writes down staff around the same things, etc. I'm saying something hopeless but that's the situation." (Exp. 7, F)*

The same expert, despite her pessimism, continues by emphasizing the centrality of academic freedoms and autonomy for a healthy differentiation in a system:

> *"But I have a clear view on this, there should be different models. They should be allowed by the regulations. There should be new rising institutions with the new regulations. Within that, if existing state universities also demand differentiation with a reasonable plan they should also be allowed under the conditions of accountability. I am not saying don't do that or it should be prevented by a central structure. To me, the solution for all is academic freedom. An academy with autonomy and free thinking can produce their own solutions." (Exp, 7, F).*

To sum up, the uniformity caused by the CoHE, the elements of coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism in the system, the experiences of academic drift and lack of autonomy and academic freedoms are given as the main obstacles for institutional diversity. With such deeply rooted factors against diversification, it is not realistic to expect improvements in favor of institutional diversity in near future.

5.1.3.3. Problems in defining the mission of the universities

As the third sub-category of institutional diversity, the problems in defining the mission of the universities will be dealt with in this section. Following the obstacles listed in previous section at the national level, the problems pointed here focus more on the institutional level. The definitions of the missions of the universities are important for evaluating the level of diversity in a higher education system. Also, a university to develop its own institutional identity, culture, and policies needs to be able to define its missions to differentiate itself from other institutions. In Türkiye, however, as the system is designed for uniformity, it is also reflected in the mission statements:

> *"In Türkiye all missions (of all universities) are the same. There might be tiny differences, but I don't count them. I'm not saying that they are 100% the same, but that's enough if 95% of them are the same. As the system in Türkiye is designed in uniformity, good education, good research, sharing with the society, etc. these are generic things. And in Türkiye, the concept of mission is not taken seriously. Ask to university, a company selling cement also has something on their website as a mission. Because they were told that they need to have a vision and mission, put something there, it won't look nice otherwise…By the way, Türkiye is not that different from Europe. It is the same there. The system in Europe and in Türkiye is equally outdated. There is a mission written but there is no choice in it because the institution does not make a choice. First, you need to have such a choice, then you have to express it." (Exp.10, M)*

Despite the significance of defining their missions in a unique way for manifesting their institutional identity for diversification, it is interesting to note such uniformity.

This can be related to the fact that the strategic plans, mission and vision statements, internal evaluations etc. are all introduced by the Bologna reforms in the last twenty years within the package of quality assurance mechanisms. On one hand, one can argue that these universities have not yet developed an institutional quality culture and it takes time to do so. Thus, through further implementation of accreditation and external evaluation mechanisms such institutional quality culture will be improved in time. On the other hand, the universities might be resistant to or 'pretending as if' against the top-down implementations of the Bologna Process and the CoHE by not taking these processes seriously.

Still, this uniformity issue of the universities, that was earlier related to the actions of the CoHE and the isomorphic external environment, brings up questions like do the universities really seek for autonomously creating their identities and institutional strategies? Or do they enjoy their 'comfort zones' by complying with the regulations of the CoHE? Do they have the internal organizational capacity and culture to develop such strategies? Do the quality mechanisms support such diversification attempts? Etc.

As Expert 8 notes, for diversification, the universities should define their choices in their mission clearly:

> *"On diversification of universities, besides institutional types and differences, there is diversity in the operation of the universities. Here, it should be defined in the university's mission clearly. The university should set forth its diversity. So that all the processes are shaped accordingly, and the quality processes can make an evaluation in accordance with the university's mission. Indeed, if the understanding of the CoHE on diversification is that the universities are defined based on their own missions and act in accordance with it if this can be shaped and implemented well and an awareness of the issue occurs it can go in this direction. But sure there are obstacles there, too." (Exp.8, M)*

One of those obstacles is the indecisiveness of the institution on its focus:

> *"these are all resulting from the indecisiveness of the institution. On what should I focus, what type of an institution should I become? And this should not be the decision of one rector, the subsequent rector, the next, and the next…will that be persistent? There is no point in that if it is not persistent. In Türkiye these are all zigzag. One does one thing, and the latter does something else. Thus, there has not been an environment for the institution to develop its own inclinations knowingly*

and willfully. There are quite a few universities to have such maturity, indeed." (Exp.10, M)

Not making choices in defining their mission and thus in developing their institutional strategies might be related to ambitions for being among the best in everything for the elite universities, for sustaining their reputation. This will be discussed in the institutional cases of this study. It can also be related to the characteristics of the multiversity.

Although institutional evaluations of quality assurance agencies are seen as beneficial tools for helping universities to decide on their missions that might not be the case:

"mission cannot be developed by this (institutional evaluation). Because people need to think and discuss and talk to develop the mission. However, the evaluations are perceived as inspectorship in our case. Almost all are like that. Let's show our successful aspects, let's pass this process without damage." (Exp. 10, M)

5.1.4. Mission differentiation and specialization

The fourth category of findings from the expert interviews focuses on the mission differentiation and specialization programs of the CoHE. In 2017, when the interviews were conducted, the content and functioning of these programs were not clear in the public documents. Talking to an active member of the Board of the CoHE at the time was highly beneficial for understanding the direct position and aims of the CoHE in initiating these programs. That's why I start this section with consecutive quotations from the interview with Expert 6.

He openly pointed out the difficulties of governing this enormous system with single regulations as the rationale behind the development of these policies:

"The fact behind the recent policies of the CoHE is that the system is enormous and it is not possible to govern such a system with single regulations. Thus, the CoHE says 'I will go for two approaches here'; one is mission differentiation and the other is specialization. What is meant by mission differentiation is a differentiation under the headings like; regional-oriented, research-oriented, education, internationalization, and university-industry cooperation. Specialization is related to regional development, research, and education. It tells about the field that the university will be specializing in as the thematic field. The CoHE says, this is its fundamental duty and it relates that to the development plan." (Exp.6, M).

He mentioned private universities and international branch universities as new types of universities for differentiating the system. However, these two are not put into practice since then.

> *"There are three types of approaches here; first is mission oriented for us, like regional development, research, education, etc. Second is like I said, specialization. There the 100/2000 project is totally about putting specialization forward. And the third is about governance; in addition to the current types of state and foundation there will be new categories of private universities, international branch universities, and international universities with bilateral agreements like Turkish-Japan, Turkish-German universities." (Exp.6, M).*

As the attempt for giving 'special status' to 'developed universities' with higher institutional autonomy in 1991, one would expect similar benefits for the status of research universities in the new program. Possibly related to the mistrust issue mentioned before, the CoHE talks about granting 'controlled autonomy' in certain aspects depending on their performances:

> *"the process is going on for determining the research universities…the CoHE says, it will provide 'controlled autonomy' for them. I will be able to delegate my authority, especially to the state universities based on their performances. If there are ten research universities, I will distinguish them from the rest and run a competition within them. Thus the autonomy given to these ten might not be the same for all. What's meant with this is I can give permission for staffing to one, the authority to establish a research center to another, and permission to open new graduate programs to another one, etc. delegating authority to the ones the CoHE is convinced that they can manage these issues by themselves." (Exp.6, M).*

This is highly interesting that even the 'best performing' research universities are not considered trustworthy for delegating its powers and sustaining institutional autonomy. And even partial autonomy is tied to performance evaluation and competitiveness. Moreover, till today, there is no improvement in the institutional autonomy of the selected research universities.

As another issue of institutional autonomy the decisions on the number of students to be accepted each year- which is done by the CoHE, is another crucial point for research universities. First because of the fact that the international research universities or world-class universities these Turkish research universities are expected to compete in the rankings enjoy much lower students per teaching staff ratios. Second, as a result of massification, these universities also face problems in their infrastructure and resources, which is emphasized by the top-level

administrators of the cases. The CoHE, however, did not foresee such an advantage for the research universities of this program, except for the possibility of supporting the increase in the number of graduate students to decrease the ratio of undergraduate/graduate students:

> *"There is no way that the number of students will be decreased (at research universities). That is not possible when the demand is so high in the higher education system, besides these are good universities. There won't be a decrease but what can be done, for example, the university can be supported for graduate (studies) oriented growth. As the number of undergraduates will not be increased the ratio will change in time. The planning for staffing becomes more manageable for them in time so on. But it is not like this year our quota by the CoHE was 150 and when we become a research university it will decrease to 100. That is definitely not the case. It remains the same but proportionally it keeps growing at the graduate. And when the CoHE is planning the staff it can look at…because it cannot simultaneously manage these 180 universities separately in their associate's, undergraduate, master's, and doctoral degrees…there is no (organizational capacity) here for that. But for these 10 (research) universities, yes I will keep the number of their doctoral students in a separate category." (Exp.6, M).*

A final but highly significant note was on autonomy, clarifying that for the CoHE the performance in the higher education outputs is much more important than concerns for autonomy:

> *"that is to say, when comparing the models that can be taken as an example among higher education systems in Europe or the USA, the European universities always put themselves forward at the point of autonomy. But autonomy is not always equal to the focus on the output. Since this much autonomy is in "European universities", but when you look at the performance, they are not the countries with the best performance, put in terms of higher education outputs. After all, when you look at it, the references are still focusing on the USA." (Exp.6, M)*

To sum up, mission differentiation and specialization programs are developed as a response to the challenges of governing an enormous system with unified regulations. It does not provide a comprehensive policy on classification of higher education institutions, nor institutional diversity and autonomy are among its prior concerns. These programs are based on a functional differentiation policy focusing on regional development in certain economic areas and determination of a group of research universities parallel to 'excellence initiatives' in different parts of the world. The positive and negative aspects of these programs are discussed by other national experts below.

5.1.4.1. Reflections of other experts on mission differentiation and specialization

As mentioned in Chapter 4, there has been earlier attempts for distinguishing a certain number of elite universities with special status. Expert 4 starts with reminding these attempts and the necessity for differentiation, also for a more effective resource allocation:

> *"Diversity was on the agenda earlier too. I defended diversity, but you know here there is always a concern like let's not oppose anyone. If we give priority to one what will happen to the other one? There needs to be a categorization. We don't have any other choice than differentiating the ones for mass education and the other universities at the universal level. We should not put them into the same pot. I still think the same. I don't know how much the current debates on the research universities are influenced by the earlier discussions, but I don't think that the economy, and the country can make a step easily when we put them into the same pot and distribute the resources equally. They should have different goals, one giving importance to graduate education other on technical education, etc., by differentiating. The idea of putting forward some of the universities goes back a long way but it was not realized. I still think that's a necessity." (Exp.4, M)*

As research infrastructures are highly expensive, many countries prefer to concentrate their resources for research at a certain group of research universities and support them as pioneers of the country in the competition for the higher positions in the global rankings. Expert 2 emphasizes the conformity of the selection of research universities with the global trends of 'excellence initiatives':

> *"If the aim is to determine certain research universities to compete with the world and transfer more resources to them, that is fine. Principally nobody would be against that. This is also a trend in the world. Also with the impact of the rankings, to enter into global competition, there is a need for more resources. For example, traditionally relatively egalitarian systems like Germany, France, and Russia are moving in that direction. It is a trend." (Exp.2, M).*

However, the lack of resources and lack of autonomy are pointed as problems for transforming current universities into research universities in Türkiye by Expert 7:

> *"I don't find the transformation of the current universities in Türkiye into research universities possible due to the lack of resources. But I get the concern there…the research-oriented institutions should be autonomous in determining their student numbers. Of course, under the control of the outputs of research and quality processes. When the state gives the money it should check that too. Accountability is a prerequisite in this system. Because at the foundation universities with intense research, the one providing the resource does that checking. The state should do*

that too. But I think we need a hybrid model. A model with autonomy that the institutions decide upon the weight of the research and education. That's what I understand from a research university." (Exp.7, F)

Finally, these programs are criticized for missing the essence of diversity as they look more like a division of labor:

"The specialization in the agenda of the CoHE in the last two years is more about the needs of the political authority, like let there be specialized universities and I can demand this from that and that from the other, so on. If I want regional development they do the related work in the region. This is more like a division of labor. Better than nothing of course. But that's not the essence of diversity. As I said, it is typical about specialization." (Exp. 10, M).

5.1.5. Impact of rankings

The fifth category of the findings at the national level focuses on the impact of rankings on national and institutional policymaking. Entered the landscape of global higher education in 2003, rankings have continuously been on the agenda of policymakers and university administrators in one way or another. Their influence on student choices in the 'global market of higher education' has been among the initial legitimizing factors for the rankings despite a wide range of critiques of them:

"you know these global rankings in fact have an impact on all countries. Even there is this joke; all rectors say that the rankings are not important but secretly at night they check them. Because everyone wants to be at the top in the rankings and the studies show that student choices are really influenced by these rankings. When an institution is in a good place in rankings, it can get more student applications. There is this dimension. Especially for the universities in the West, since the tuition fees -from international students constitute a significant part of their revenues, we are talking about a serious political economy here. Thus, the rankings are essential elements of pressure for all countries." (Exp.2, M)

The fact that the rankings value the easily measurable aspects -and it is difficult to measure the quality of education- might direct universities towards mimetic isomorphism, preventing diversity:

"rankings all over the world are, I don't want to call them oppression but they can prevent diversity if the country cannot handle them properly. For example, I know that in Scandinavian countries rankings are ignored. Because it abolishes institutional diversity. That's my personal view. They are valuable but what is measured there should be understood…they might be pushing the universities away from their missions. One can argue that they will be the best university in education and you can be the best, but there is no tool to prove that…because it is difficult to measure the outcomes of education. I emphasize this all the time in quality

processes; we value the easily measurable aspects! On the contrary, we need to measure the really valuable ones…then what are easily measurable ones? You collect publication numbers, and citation numbers from the web and multiply and divide them and do the rankings. That's also something, I don't ignore, but…" (Exp. 8, M)

Thus, there should also be 'transparency tools' for the success of the universities focusing on education, service for society, and regional development for diversification:

"for example, a research-oriented university defined its mission as intense research which is important. If the mission is defined as education quality, first of all, that does not mean it will leave research aside. A good education should be related to research. But the weight is on education. Thus, this needs to be balanced. A university with a focus on service to society. All we do can be seen as service to society, however, a university can focus more on its regional mission and its contribution to regional development. But there needs to be tools to measure this. When there is not, with the pressures and like how is the success of the rector or the dean is measured, based on the rankings, unfortunately. Thus, without diversifying these tools, I don't think we can realize diversity." (Exp.8, M)

To sum up, rankings are well known for their mimetic impact on the higher education institutions as they define the 'best universities'. Despite the strong critiques of their methodologies, the criteria used for global rankings have direct impact on institutional strategies of many universities that want to improve their rank in these lists. And giving primacy to research outputs, these rankings disregard other main missions of universities such as teaching, regional development and social responsibility. Thus, they create pressures on those universities who would prefer to differentiate themselves by giving primacy to these missions, which negatively impacts institutional diversity. Use of classifications are recommended as tools of transparency in comparison to rankings.

The impact of rankings at the institutional level will be elaborated in the analysis of the cases.

5.1.6. Bologna Process

Türkiye became a member of the Bologna Process in 2001. The implementation of its dimensions has been influential in setting the agenda for policy reforms in

compliance with the global trends in Türkiye, especially on the quality assurance mechanisms, among others. It is commonly criticized for being a top-down process:

> *"I have been writing on the quality issues. I think I have been following this issue for a while…we can evaluate the current processes (establishment of the quality council) as follows. For a long time, the most problematic issue for Turkish universities is that the attempts on this subject do not come to the agenda by the demands of the universities. It is brought into the agenda by the pushes from the CoHE or as part of the debates around the Bologna Process and the formation of the European Higher Education Area. Thus, there is a problematic situation from the beginning. The universities are not proactive in this, they do not come with an understanding like I have these needs on this topic." (Exp.2, M)*

The Turkish Higher Education Quality Council (THEQC)[14] was established in 2015, which is partially a result of the implementation of the Bologna agenda on quality assurance mechanisms for more than ten years, raising awareness on the topic;

> *"the process began with the Bologna raised awareness on these topics, there was not an awareness on these before. And in the first years, the approach was like 'Who can assess our quality?' such resistance still exists to a certain extent. Transparency, openness, and accountability are indeed related to the social culture. It can only be constituted in time. You know it started with MÜDEK followed by FEDEK and others. I want to emphasize MÜDEK here, it was a significant example showing that it can be done in Türkiye and it is still active." (Exp.8, M)*

Parallel to many member countries of the Bologna Process, the implementation of it carried the risk of becoming a 'bureaucratic burden' in addition to that of the CoHE:

> *"on one hand Bologna is something external, it is brought into the agenda by the CoHE, not by the demands of the universities. The CoHE asks for implementing certain things. Then the universities create certain tactics as a response. As in implementing the ECTS. Since they don't believe in it, and see it as any bureaucratic job coming from the CoHE they evaluate it accordingly and pretend as if doing it. There are some 'entrepreneurial' universities so to say taking these seriously as tools for transforming the Turkish higher education system. I did not consider that is the case and it will turn into another bureaucratic obligation, at least there is such risk, and I think such foresight was right to a large extent. The problem is, we have criticized the bureaucracy from the CoHE for a long, and now we are expected to glorify the bureaucracy coming from the European Commission and the Council of Europe. I don't find this a healthy approach. In principle, our universities are too passive about these, they don't know what they want. They could be strongly defending it or strongly criticizing it, we don't see both. They do it as a bureaucratic thing." (Exp.2, M)*

The times the Bologna Process entered the policy debates in Türkiye were at the same time an optimistic period for Türkiye-EU relations and future EU membership

[14] https://yokak.gov.tr/

of Türkiye. That was a stimulating factor for the implementation of the reforms. The negative changes in the Türkiye-EU relations might have caused a language change for the CoHE for managing the perceptions of the stakeholders to make it easier to internalize the pillars of the process as parts of higher education reforms in Türkiye. This shift is also about creating a bottom-up perspective against the resistance and the critiques of being external and top-down:

> *"Sometimes terms can become corrosive. There is a project going on titled Turquoise Project. It depends on how one wants to evolve the process. The ultimate point can be the same, but it is important how you reach there. When you govern the process through Bologna, it is quite difficult to govern the perceptions. That's the same in Europe. When you talk about reform in higher education it is like bologna = higher education reform. This is a reform of Turkish higher education. As I said, its essence like being quality-oriented, and employment oriented, all the things we talk about are the issues of Europe and the common terminology is Bologna and the EHEA. As I said, for the reactions and making it applicable, it is important to put forward the own national model. Both will end up at the same point. In the West, there is a top-down approach also in Türkiye; there are the policy documents and how do we catch up with them. Now, we need a bottom-up approach here. There is a need (for reform) and in response to such need, we use the tools of the Bologna Process. Thus you end up at the same point but one is pulling and the other is pushing. In the conjuncture we live in there is something propulsive in the top-down integration of policy documents into our policies. Like, we are who we are, we don't have to keep up with them. But, as I said, if we form the necessity arguments first and say which tools will be used, it is Bologna in the end, anyway." (Exp.6, M)*

The implementation Bologna Process in Türkiye have been influential in setting the agenda for many topics of global trends in higher education such as internationalization, quality assurance, lifelong learning among others. In a way, it has created a common language or 'operating system' for organizational processes of universities and caused standardization to a certain degree.

5.1.7. Neoliberalism, academic capitalism and the entrepreneurial university

The final category includes a summary of neoliberalism, academic capitalism, and the entrepreneurial university. The framework of these concepts is discussed in Chapter 3 under global trends in higher education. As case C of this thesis work is categorized as an entrepreneurial university, it is relevant to note the views of the experts on the topic:

"neoliberalism's failure as a program is highly accepted recently. It has diminished the quality of life for the masses all around the world and placed the concept of the 'consumer' instead of the conception of the 'citizen'. For competitiveness and the need for a strong knowledge base, this resulted in the following points for the universities as the significant producers of knowledge and expertise: a. they should be managed like companies (entrepreneurial universities), b. the quality control should be like the ones at the fabrics (relating performance evaluation to the number of activities and products), c. research should be directed for the demands of the commercial parties (basic research based on curiosity should not be at every university), d. the finance of the universities should depend more on private funding, commerce, and student fees and e. the universities should compete for all aspects as the companies do. Due to our intellectual shallowness, our economic level, and the external dependency of our ruling classes, our country voluntarily obeys such new prescriptions outcome of which is destruction, to me. Only the universities with a strong tradition and history can try coping with these conditions." (Exp. 9, M)

Considering the fact that few of the Turkish universities are old enough to have such a strong tradition, one can assume that all of the universities in Türkiye have more or less faced the challenges of the discourse on 'universities for the global knowledge economy'.

The final comment is on the distinction between a research university and an entrepreneurial university, providing the background for the rise of the entrepreneurial university. This explanation will be useful in the following section for the comparison of case B (international research university) and case C (entrepreneurial university).

"Now the entrepreneurial university indeed is not a research university. It has an emphasis on the third mission -community service- in its relations with society and this is more for the universities that cannot become world-class universities in their research performance but want to prove themselves in another category. Harvard is not like that, MIT is not like that, and the 150 (research universities) in the USA are not like that. Their focus is totally on the research. However, they turn that into income, share it with society, and so on. Their community service is much better than most of the entrepreneurial universities in Europe…and there are the ones we call entrepreneurial in the USA that emerged for competitiveness. They focus on innovativeness as they are not research-intense. Research is highly expensive. It is impossible to do it by yourself. You need partners, which can be companies or the state or other universities, always need partners…thus a group of universities that cannot do these improve their conditions with a rather entrepreneurial spirit. And they need a managerial model there because they need to act fast there. There is no place for long discussions…these are also called third-generation universities etc. All these are not very strong in research, don't have such links, they cannot earn money through education because that's something classical, and it is more difficult to be known for education and gain resources there. Thus, they moved in this direction to benefit from the opportunities quickly and made some money out of that." (Exp. 10, M)

5.1.8. Summary of findings at the national level

In this section, a summary of the main points raised in the findings from the national expert interviews is presented.

On the governance of higher education in Türkiye, the lack of appropriate human resources and organizational structure at the CoHE, for creating long-term comprehensive policies, despite its centrality and super-powers is highlighted by the national experts. Given the enormous size of the system and diverse demands from the government, economy and society, there is a strong need for designing an ecosystem of higher education interconnected with development, science and technology, and youth policies. As higher education is an open system, its components should benefit from institutional autonomy and appropriate resources in developing their strategies for responding to their external environments. Given the fact that there are few universities in Türkiye older than 50 years, it is difficult to talk about strong and sustainable institutional cultures and identities. This also causes challenges in defining missions and institutional strategies within the institutions. However, this should not necessarily legitimize the bureaucratic control of the CoHE on all of the universities. At least from a institutional diversity perspective, the universities should be able to take initiatives, experiment and innovate various organizational and pedagogical practices, which necessitates autonomy and academic freedom as a prerequisite. However, the CoHE, which is the main actor causing uniformity, does not trust universities to grant them autonomy in certain dimensions given in the EUA Autonomy Scorecards in Chapter 4.

On massification and expansion, to begin with, the fact that the growing size of the higher education system became unmanageable for the CoHE is widely accepted by experts and CoHE itself. There emerged three main reflections on this issue of rapid massification and its positive and negative outcomes:

a. A *demographic* perspective that emphasizes the young population of the country and the high demand for higher education; thus, defending further expansion at the expanse of quality concerns;
b. A *quality* perspective that calls for planning before opening so many universities at once, pointing to the problems of physical infrastructure and lack of the necessary number of faculty members. Reminding the cooperation between the 'developed'

and the new universities before the 1980s, they search for similar policies for today's conditions. They warn against the risk of localization and the absence of the essential values of being a university at some of these new universities. Their positive contribution to social modernization in different cities is welcomed as an 'unintended consequence'.

c. A *market* perspective that argues for a demand-supply approach for the diversity in type and numbers of the institutions serving the needs of different groups in the country, supported and controlled by transparency tools and quality assurance mechanisms.

On institutional diversity; formally there is a quite narrow understanding of institutional diversity and the public debate on further diversification is quite weak. The existing types of universities are limited to state and non-profit foundation universities. Expert 6, who was a member of the board of the CoHE in 2017, mentioned introduction of for-profit private universities, international branch universities and international universities with bilateral agreements like Turkish-Japan and Turkish-German universities as new types of universities. However, only the Turkish-Japan and Turkish-German universities are enacted so far. the uniformity caused by the CoHE, the elements of coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism in the system, the experiences of academic drift and lack of autonomy and academic freedoms are given as the main obstacles for institutional diversity by the experts. There is vertical diversity based on the national program for research universities and the rankings. The reputation of these universities and the institutional hierarchy in the system support isomorphism as everyone wants to become a research university at one point. This causes a barrier for some universities to specialize their mission on 'excellence in teaching' or regional development among others. Also, there is a tendency for 'academic drift' resulting in homogenization of the system.

The development of the mission differentiation and specialization programs by the CoHE is a result of its awareness of the challenges of administering more than 200 universities in one jacket. This policy on selecting research universities and regional development oriented universities is expanded and is still in practice. In its initial phase, it is rather seen as a division of labor for the demands raised from the government for economic development in specific areas than a policy framework for diversity at the system level. Its outcomes for institutional diversity need to be analyzed in a decade.

Despite critics of their methodologies, the rankings have an impact on national and institutional policies in one way or another. The selection of research universities is part of the examples of the variety of 'excellence schemes' around the world aiming at increasing the competitiveness of the country both in the rankings and in the knowledge economy. This policy also aims at increasing competition between research universities. Creating a 'reputation race' and institutional hierarchy they have a homogenizing impact on institutional diversity. Classifications allowing transparency for higher education institutions with a diversity of missions like teaching-oriented and regional development is demanded and welcomed by the experts.

To sum up, broadly, the findings at the national level provide evidence and explanations for isomorphism (coercive, normative and mimetic) resulting from the implementations and the impact of global trends in Turkish higher education and the role of the CoHE as the central governing body. These findings provide the main characteristics of the external environment that the universities act within the Turkish higher education system. Following section on findings at the institutional level, on the other hand, will provide the cases of three ideal types of Humboldt University, international research university and entrepreneurial university in terms of their deviance from their ideal types due to their responses to the policy changes in their external environment in the last two decades.

5.2. Institutional level

In this section, the findings from the content analysis of the interviews with the top-level administrators of the cases and the institutional profiles of the universities created based on the information on the websites of the universities are presented. As mentioned, these cases are defined based on the ideal types of Humboldt university (Case A), international research university (Case B) and entrepreneurial university (Case C). Continuities and ruptures in their missions and strategies in the last two decades in the given context is investigated focusing on the deviances from the ideal types.

5.2.1. CASE A: A classical comprehensive university (Humboldt university)

As presented in section 3.5., the Humboldtian university emerged as a German model for the modern research university in the early 19th century. As it has developed in the context of formation of nation-states; nation building, national language and national development was at the core of this university model. The main characteristics of its ideal type include;

- freedom in teaching, learning, and research,
- the unity of research and teaching,
- aim of university education not as narrow vocational training, but as cultivation of the person, as Bildung,
- Collegiality in university governance,
- Institutional autonomy and academic freedom safeguarded by a civilized state valuing artistic and intellectual freedom.

As pointed earlier, ideal types are logical constructs to be used as analytical tools for classification and comparison. The objective is not to compare the empirical situation with the ideal type, but to compare several empirical cases by using the ideal type for investigating deviations. Thus, the Humboldt University as such that have realized all of the characteristics listed above may not exist historically and empirically – it is also discussed as 'Humboldtian myth' (Hanuš&Fasora 2020). However, as a university model, the legacy of Humboldt University as an ideal construct is at the center of the debates on the transformation of higher education in comparison with the characteristics of the neoliberal university, for example.

In the context of Turkish higher education, Case A is one of the universities that is rooted in the early Republican era, that considers itself as 'the University of the Republic' with a Humboldtian tradition, that have contributed to the formation of the Turkish nation-state. After providing the current information on the profile of the university, the findings from the interviews with its top-level administrators are presented for investigating the shifts in the university's policies in the last decades.

5.2.1.1. The profile of the university

This comprehensive university has 19 faculties and 14 institutes. The numbers of its students based on the levels of study in the 2022-2023 academic year are as follows: 9923 students in associate degree programs, 48271 students in 146 undergraduate programs, 5751 students in 400 master's degree programs and 6276 students in 239 Ph.D. programs. The university has 3853 teaching staff in total (1125 professors, 364 associate professors, and 280 assistant professors).[15]

On the website of the university, the mission of the university is defined as;

> *"The University, with the responsibility of being a University of the Republic of Turkey; aims to raise creative individuals who can think critically and solve problems, constantly renew themselves in the personal and professional field, sensitive to nature, respecting differences. To support the conduct of interdisciplinary research that contributes to science and art at a universal level, observing ethical values, with the awareness of social responsibility, it is committed to providing services that are sensitive to the problems of the country, consider the public interest, and contribute to the sustainable development goals."*

And the goals of the university are listed as follows:

1. *To be a University that produces and disseminates knowledge.*
2. *To give qualified graduates by increasing the quality of education.*
3. *To produce solutions to social problems in cooperation with different segments of society.*
4. *To provide effective health services by establishing tertiary high-level centers that emphasize patient satisfaction with its institutional structure that has achieved national and international competence.*
5. *To meet the needs of students, employees, and other stakeholders and to increase their quality of life in all campuses of the University.*
6. *Developing the institutional structure that will enable the University to adapt to changing conditions and to realize its goals and objectives.*

5.2.1.2. Findings from the interviews

5.2.1.2.1. The impact of the foundation of the CoHE in 1981

As the foundation of the CoHE in 1981 has created challenges for those universities that already existed, it is important to listen to the experiences of the witnesses of

[15] https://www.studyinturkey.gov.tr

such transformation and their observations on the impact of the CoHE on their university.

The first issue mentioned is the emergence of dependency on the CoHE and pressures on the university administrations:

> *"The transformation at the university became dependent on the CoHE. Totally on the rules introduced by the CoHE. An administration style occurred as asking for the view of the CoHE. When you did not do this, you fall out with the CoHE…the CoHE created such pressure on the administration of the university." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).*

A second point is on the diminishing autonomy of the university and emphasis on the growing careerism of Ph.D. candidates and faculty members:

> *"Before the CoHE, I worked as a research assistant, expert, or instructor and as a recent associate professor till 1982. In that period there was autonomy. A rector never would give instructions to the faculties like you will do this and that. I did not witness such a case. At the times (70s-80s) you know, there were big political events…happens now, too. At that time the university did not fear political structures and political figures. Could openly express their evaluation or personal opinions. With the CoHE this started to be blocked, for sure. This was a process starting with the appointment of İhsan Doğramacı as the president of the CoHE and after that, the CoHE wanted to intervene in everything…this led the universities into shallowness. Research diminished, and introversion occurred. To me, this was the most important thing and those entering the university started to have one aim; how can I become an associate professor, how can I complete my Ph.D. so on." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).*

The ways of appointing or selecting rectors have always been controversial in Turkish higher education, especially after the foundation of the CoHE. The election system came after the CoHE has been criticized for corrupting the faculty member as it turned into a trade of stories.

> *"There is not a better system for Türkiye, but I will call it one of the most important misdoings of the CoHE; the election system (of rectors). The election system corrupted the faculty members, research assistants, and administrative staff. It turned into a trade-off story. It is definitely like that. 'If you vote for me I can create such opportunities for you'. It can be in the context of a department or faculty, as well as a personal request. Like 'I can support your professorship' etc. I have deeply experienced this at my university." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).*

While the CoHE pushed universities into uniformity in many aspects as discussed in the findings at the national level, some universities like Case B, tried to find ways

for sustaining their institutional culture of collegial management. TLA 1.2. has criticized his university for not being as successful as Case B in that:

> *"The function of the CoHE was to turn the universities into uniform, likeminded and obedient institutions. But some universities maintained their culture (talking about case B). I tell this and colleagues get angry about it: We are the Humboldt University, and we defend collegial management, but our (institutional) culture is much backward compared to theirs. They organize the elections much better." (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M).*

Finally, the role of the CoHE in increasing the number of students in the 1980s and its impact on the physical infrastructure of the university is beautifully put as follows:

> *"...And there is a huge increase in the number of universities compared to the past. This is related to the CoHE. I experienced the first years of the CoHE, they were defending themselves with the increase in student numbers showing some tables, with an approach giving priority to quantity against quality…the architecture of our faculty building is German, and it is quite a nice one, I love there…since the 1980s we keep destructing the interior of these buildings. Because they started giving 60 students to classrooms for 25-30 students…we ruined those beautiful buildings…massification came up as a necessity and as a demand. A phenomenon rose from the demand for the qualified labor force, thus university graduates." (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M).*

To sum up, the foundation of the CoHE had obvious negative impacts on institutional autonomy, academic freedoms and collegiality at this university. It also gave way to rise of academic careerism -i.e. giving priority to fulfilling the criteria for getting the next title and position in the academic ladder; contrary to the academic identity related with being 'public intellectuals'.

5.2.1.2.2. The mission of the institution

Case A is one of the universities that played a significant role in the early decades of the Turkish Republic in terms of nation-building and the development of many critical areas of expertise for the young Republic. This aspect fits into the function of "shaping the mind and character of a ruling class and preparation for elite roles" Trow (1973) defined as a characteristic of elite higher education. The university was also among those that accepted German professors into their faculties. As a result, the university has developed a strong tradition of the Humboldt model:

"The university was established by uniting five faculties already founded in the city. Indeed, the university is gathering the higher education institutions established by the Republic with big hopes and new experiences in the city under a single roof. It has always been in a relationship with the state…our professors easily visit the ministries, they kind of fear them. There was a relationship between them…like guiding the ministry and providing relevant knowledge to them… these were the conditions of that time. But Humboldt University is in fact the university of the nation-state, right? It is the university of the nation-state. It is pro-German for example. Berlin is like that for example…our university is the university of the newly founded nation-state. And enlightenment is the biggest social transformation project of the new state. There was a need for institutions with the mission of being the beacon light in this social transformation project of the 20th century, and our university was chief among them. And I think it had such a mission, it was the case in the first years. However, universities shape in their own context in every period." (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M).

Having such traditions, however, does not mean that the University will not adapt to the dominant trends of today's higher education landscape on innovation and entrepreneurship.

"It is a deep-rooted university. Its roots are the foundations of the Republic. We call it the first university of the Republic. As a consequence, it has experienced all the milestone processes like the education reforms in Türkiye. Almost all of its faculties are established before the university, like political sciences, veterinary, and agriculture. These were established as institutes in the beginning. So, the university design in the first years of the Republic and at the point reached today is different. Because its own concepts have emerged now. Even the CoHE calls 'itself' as the 'new CoHE'. Thus, innovation and entrepreneurship were not talked about at those times." (TLA.1.3., 2012-2017, M)

Being the University of the Republic is a strong aspect of the identity of this university. And it includes the responsibility of solving the fundamental problems of the country. Throughout the interviews with the top-level administrations of this university from different periods, this strong sense of social and political responsibilities of the universities was always there. This mission cannot be observed under the typical definition of the missions of universities as teaching, research, and service for society in the last decades. It has the tone of the emphasis on universities as the 'engines of social transformation' in modernizing societies. Or simply the character of the 'University of the Enlightenment'.

"It is referred to as the University of the Republic, but this should not remain unfulfilled, it should be filled in. I think this is not the case in recent times. You can find it right that the university is a place where only teaching and education are

done. However, the university has other duties as well. They have duties against the country beyond teaching and education. Solving the fundamental problems of the country is the duty of all universities. It is the case in the world. In Türkiye, it is pulled away from that. For example, during our administration we were frequently told to do our own business and not to meddle in politics. We were not meddling in politics; we were meddling in fundamental issues. How should higher education be, the primary education, the secondary education…the politicians of that time never welcomed this. They said, politics is our job, and mind your own business. They even tried to restrain us in a way that, it is the business of the elected." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).

The top-level administrators interviewed were quite clear about the mission of the university in its early years as a Humboldtian university. However, when it comes to recent debates on the new missions for the universities around innovation, entrepreneurship, service for society, etc. the ways they talked about such transformation were kind of confusing. On the one hand, they provided arguments that such transformation is inevitable for the survival and the success of the institution in today's higher education world. On the other hand, there are tensions between the social responsibilities of the university and its new economic activities and protecting the institutional traditions of Humboldtian University. This reminded me of the conceptualization of 'multiversity' by Kerr (1963): "The multiversity as an institution is inconsistent internally but is consistently productive as what is central to the university is the protection and enhancement of the prestige of the name." This argument seems to be relevant both for Case A and Case B at different degrees. Here is an example of the tension mentioned:

"Let's say we chose to become an entrepreneurial university. But that's not a single path. You cannot ignore other aspects. We cannot as this university…sure we also want to be an internationally recognized university. But we also contribute to rural development…it is gathering with the society, the 'university of kids' and our activities for the elderly are all about that." (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M).

New institutional policies emphasizing research, performance indicators, and entrepreneurship were reacted differently at different faculties of the University which is a sign of internal diversity:

"At the university, the life sciences and the medical sciences adapted to our policy easily, but there was a huge reaction from the social sciences. There were refusals with slogans like 'commercial university' etc. But these are the facts of this world. Now, you need to be an entrepreneurial university, innovative university. If you do not become these the universities turn into history institutions. Taking the form of a lycée explaining what has been discovered in the past. The university exists when

you can discover a tiny thing, and add something to the global scientific community through new research; it can be in the field of law, sciences, or medical sciences. Otherwise, the other one is called a university, but it is empty inside. Thus, we had to do all that. But the degree of it should be handled with care. Some of the faculty members prioritized the economic side and directed themselves totally to that side…this should be disciplined. Not everything should be commercialized at the university. Yes, the university should gain revenues from its works, there is no issue there for me and all the world universities work like that." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).

The University is among the selected research universities under the specialization program of the CoHE. As an institutional strategy for being a research university, the university pays special attention to increasing the number of doctoral students.

"You can claim a vision but more important is to sustain the necessary infrastructure. Because, to become a research university the ratio of the doctoral students to the total student number should be high. We see that in the latest URAP rankings. Our university is in third place there. This is not unexpected. It is an outcome of internationalization. It also impacts the quality…so it is not enough to increase the incoming student numbers, you need to increase the quality of that as well. Thus, we have an increase in the number of doctoral students. There is also an increase in the number of doctoral programs." (TLA.1.3., 2012-2017, M).

To sum up, given the dominant global discourses on entrepreneurialism and university industry linkages, and the impact of national and global rankings the university feels the necessity to adopt these new trends by incorporating new missions. A motivation behind this seems to be sustaining its elite position within Turkish higher education and remain competitive. This, however, creates significant challenges for the Humboldtian character of this university. As commonly experienced in such transformations from Humboldt University to the neoliberal university, as an implication of internal diversity, the faculties of social sciences and humanities try to resist new forms of organizational and academic culture imposed by such shift.

5.2.1.2.3. Governance of the institution

One specific characteristic of this university is that most of its faculties are older than the university as the university was founded by the unification of those faculties. Thus, these faculties have their own traditions and institutional cultures which is an important aspect of internal diversity. As a result, the autonomy of the

faculties is important for the governance of this university, although there raise tensions with the central administration of the university.

> *"We were the ones giving the biggest importance to the maintenance of this tradition (autonomy of the faculties against the central administration of the university). If you look at it today, it is not like that…as they are founded before the university, and due to their physical distance…they have their own identity. In time, of course, the university became important as an upper identity. There should be a belongingness to the identity of the university concurrent with enlightenment and the Republic. But under that, every institution has its own culture and opportunities. It is important that they realize their own understanding. I always care about that." (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M).*

TLA. 1.2. also provides ways to combine strategic planning and collegial management:

> *"Sure, we must be accountable if we use public money. Unfortunately, autonomy is sometimes considered as a lack of control, doing whatever you want…university is not such a place, it should not be. Thus, the strategic planning processes are very good. As the saying; no wind can help you if you don't know where to go. You need to decide where you want to go. We tried to do this the right way. For example, we created a commission at the Senate on internationalization policies…our works on women's studies, and we brought it to the Senate, too, for collegial management. You know, senates are nowadays the senate of the Rector. It does not have any value in most places. We tried to value it there. So, I think, these new things (strategic plan, etc.) should be used in accordance with the structure in a beneficial way." (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M).*

There are clear differences in the perspectives of the top-level administrators of consecutive periods. Despite the steps taken for corporate managerialism and academic performance systems in 2000-2008, TLA 1.2. is more eager to sustain the Humboldtian character of the university through collegiality and the emphasis on the Republican identity of the university.

5.2.1.2.4. Academic life

The impact of changes in the academic profession with research assessment and performance evaluations is embraced in this category. TLA 1.1. explains how they were reacted when they pushed the academic staff for publishing in international journals for the first time:

"Can we argue that a paper staying on the shelves of the library with no citation is scientific? We cannot. The criteria introduced by the CoHE served for this. We were among the first to apply them at the university. There was a big shock at the beginning, but they started adapting. Especially life sciences and the medical sciences adapted immediately. The social sciences resisted. 'We think and write in Turkish'. There is nothing against that. You can write in Turkish, which can be valuable too, but you need to publish in foreign languages too. If you could understand the concept of the university exactly, as it is the window to the world for Türkiye, an academic from the US should be able to read your work and benefit from it. When you publish in Turkish, this chance disappears." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).

TLA 1.2. on the other hand, criticizes the awarding system as it does not value education or the contribution of research to society.

"This something I say believingly. Of course, the criteria and monitoring the performance of the academics is very important for us. But the awarding system is unfortunately quite wrong. It is related to the number of research -I am underlying the number here. I have passed many juries reaching this point as all professors did; I was never asked about the contributions of that research to society! And in recent years I hear about Congress that nobody attends…someone goes into the room, tells that it is fine and that's it…we were discussing these issues with a Dutch colleague and when I argued that we have neglected education too much, he said it has become something done with the left hand in their university, too. Thus, the awarding system works like the academic should earn money, should conduct research, etc. There is no place for the quality time the academic spends for the students and the labor behind that preparation in the awarding system, I mean promotion and others, it has no contribution there. This system is wrong. That's why I wanted to include those." (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M)

And TLA. 1.3. adds product-oriented works and patent applications to publications in considering the awarding system.

"In the history of our university, the process of awarding the publications or evaluation of performance indicators and awarding the performance started in the 2000s. But there the main concern was the number of publications; the quality can even be discussed…at the point reached today, we do not find the number of production-oriented, product-oriented works sufficient. We see that in the patent applications…they started looking like publications, in the sense that there few among them registered and got a license. The professor has an original idea but does not know how to turn it into a product." (TLA.1.3., 2012-2017, M)

As can be seen, three members of the top-level administration in consecutive periods have radically different perspectives on a significant topic of the academic awarding system.

5.2.1.2.5. University-industry cooperation and entrepreneurship

Since the TLA 1.3. was actively involved in the coordination of research activities and governance of the Teknopark at various commissions, in this section his ideas on the university-industry cooperation and entrepreneurship are presented. For him, there does not seem to be an alternative to the commercialization of knowledge:

> *"Thus, our universities are not at the intended level in the economic value produced from the research for science, let's say in a commercial phrase, turning knowledge into money. Still, they are using it for ranking higher in the rankings. Be the Humboldt model classical university or…think of a huge person that cannot move and a fit one. We are trying to reach the performance of a fit person with that structure. But still, we deserve appreciation, I can say this comfortably because it is said by the external (evaluations), we take our place in those indexes." (TLA.1.3., 2012-2017, M)*

He provides examples of industrial doctorates in Germany for increasing university-industry cooperation.

> *"talking as an academic from a Humboldt University model, we are not aware enough about turning research into products…this is our weak point. You know how it is in Germany, the student does her/his doctorate for Bosch or Siemens. Bosch lists their research topics, then the professors, and researchers from the universities come and say this is in our field we take this topic. And the door is open for those doctorates when they complete their degree. That person might not stay in academia and contribute there. Here, the pyramid is vice versa. There are professors all around. There is only one expert and one research assistant. It is all professors, even a few associate professors! This structure is quite unhealthy. It should be vice versa for research and production." (TLA.1.3., 2012-2017, M).*

Finally, he points out the role of technology transfer offices:

> *"The technology transfer office (TTO) integrated with the teknokent gives support to the faculty members for project and patent applications. As we are a big university, the numbers increase accordingly. But we need to consider support mechanisms beyond the applications. Because they are long processes. We need to think of TTO and the teknokent as part of the research." (TLA.1.3., 2012-2017, M).*

5.2.1.2.6. Impact of rankings

As mentioned in section 3.3.4, the rise of global rankings in the 2000s has influenced the national and institutional policies orienting them towards research performance. TLA. 1.1. points that their policies on promoting international research

publications have increased their performance in the rankings, but this policy was not furthered by the following administrations. He also emphasized that this should be demanded by the faculty members instead of the CoHE or university administrations forcing it:

> *"Our university was in 14th place in scientific research among Turkish universities. At the end of our period, it was in the 3rd and 5th ranks according to different evaluations. But after our period, the criteria for the promotion and appointment were softened, and as a result, there was a decline. Now there is a recovery. The CoHE is also asking for this, but it should not be the CoHE wanting it; the universities and the faculty members should demand it by themselves." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).*

He continues by showing the significance of the universities' place in the rankings for being selected by the students, which is related to the 'reputation race' discussed in the literature section. Also, in between, he recalls the lack of autonomy in deciding on the student numbers:

> *"If you are improving your position in such institutional rankings your university becomes a leading and well-recognized one. Otherwise, it is forgotten. Our university had 45.000 students at our time, it is 60.000 now. We have been trying to decrease it, but it is totally under the authority of the CoHE. They can send you double the number of the students you demanded… but despite such big numbers, all of the faculties of our university fill their quota." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).*

Finally, TLA. 1.3. criticizes the unfair advantage in the ranking measurements regarding the size of the universities and the absence of 'service for society' activities in most of them:

> *"There is something called 'unfair advantage' in the literature on the rankings. It is not a fair competition. You cannot compare a 3xl university with a medium size university. But when we look at the indicators, it is all like comparing apples and oranges. As the number of publications, and citations are calculated per faculty member, we face the disadvantage of being a big university there. But despite that we are in the 800 range in the QS and 700-800 in THE…as we are among the first universities in Türkiye, our mission, and vision are updated according to the necessities of the current age. Our latest strategic plan is for 2014-2018. As you can see there, the vision section ends with 'becoming an innovative university'…this might sound like classic discourses but there is something really important; service for society! I will relate this to the rankings. Our university is at the top in the service for society. It is not our argument, it is in the U-metrics…we saw in the evaluation there on the service for society that, there is a section there on the regional impact, our university is at the top in Türkiye for the first time. Some universities put forward their successes in the rankings in their advertisements. This*

is debatable, it might not be that fair. We do not prefer that." (TLA.1.3., 2012-2017, M).

5.2.1.2.7. Remarks on the national level

In this section, the findings from the interviews with the top-level administrators of Case A that were related to the national level rather than the institutional level are presented. They are also helpful in connecting the national expert interviews with cases.

The first remark is on the governance of higher education. In Türkiye, since its establishment, abolishing the CoHE has been in the programs of most of the political parties. And there is an ongoing debate on whether the country needs such a central authority over the universities or should its function be limited to coordination and so on. TLA. 1.1. argues for the necessity of such a structure given that most of the universities in Türkiye do not have 'well-established university cultures' compared to their counterparts in Europe:

> *"One of the biggest arguments of this government was to abolish the CoHE when they were elected. However, they have institutionalized it even more. So I do not know what another (political) would do in power now, but the CoHE cannot be closed. Not under the current conditions of Türkiye. They also argue that it needs to be reduced and there should be more autonomy for universities…but till where? I have concerns about, or I think that in Türkiye there can emerge new absurd programs if there is no need for the approval of the CoHE for opening new departments, or faculties…thus there should be a CoHE. Its mission is done by the ministries in some cases in the US and Europe…they do not interfere in the universities but there is a well-established university culture in those countries. We need to constitute the university culture first. But this is not something buyable, thus the most difficult part. If we establish the university culture, then the issues on the need for the CoHE and its structure will all be dissolved." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).*

The second remark is on rapid massification and allocation of limited resources:

> *"I want to note at this point that compared to the income model of the universities in the American model, the only income from the state in Türkiye is insufficient. The other 2/3 is missing…and there have been too many universities in Türkiye. Around 180, maybe there are new ones. Does Türkiye need this many universities? Maybe yes, but you cannot open even 80 kindergartens in a day. Even that has certain things. With legislation, they established a university in every city, in a day. The point is not about whether they should be established or not; but we are not in the 1915s or 1920s, not in the early years of the Republic. Türkiye is at a certain level*

of development. It should have been done by taking into consideration the minimum conditions for establishing a university". (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).

A third remark is on the type of universities in Türkiye, in line with the demands presented at the national level for distinguishing non-profit foundation universities and for-profit universities:

> *"Except for certain upbringing styles and the directions by the family, the students do not choose the universities except the public ones. The ones that cannot get into a public university choose the foundation universities. I think we need to divide the universities into three in Türkiye: public, foundation, and the foundation universities should be divided into two as part of them are like private universities now… I separate them from the for-profit ones. In appearance, they do not aim for profits but they do that. There are audit reports of the CoHE on that... and there are foundation universities established as actual universities. These need to be distinguished from others. Bilkent, Başkent, Koç, Sabancı are among them. These should have a separate status because they have strong holdings behind them. These holdings transfer income to these universities and probably spend two-three times more than the income from student fees. The number of such (foundation) universities should increase. On the other hand, looking at the state universities, there are state universities that are far behind these (foundation) universities." (TLA.1.1., 2000-2008, M).*

And the final note is on the irony that it has been the American model universities in Türkiye demanding to become an international research university rather than the Humboldtian ones, as the main characteristic of this tradition has been its emphasis on the primacy of research:

> *"There was this issue of diversity in the first years of the CoHE. The birth of Humboldt University is the articulation of research into the mission of the university. Ironically, in Türkiye, it is the universities with the Anglo-Saxonian tradition that consistently demanded becoming such an international research university rather than the ones with the Humboldt tradition. There always was an idea for a separate status and funding for research universities. (TLA.1.2., 2008-2012, M).*

It was not presented in the quotes from the interviews for keeping the anonymity of the institution, but the university has implemented policies for strengthening its international dimension (for becoming an international research university) by opening around ten international research centers and focusing on increasing its number of international students, especially at the graduate level.

To conclude, as a university with the Humboldtian tradition, a move towards becoming an international research university and even including certain elements of entrepreneurial activities is evident in the policies of Case A. Continuity in the legacy of its Humboldtian elements are rather observed in its emphasis on the 'service for society' activities. Living with such a combination of contradictory aspects at once reminds the conceptualization of multiversity as a university of inconsistency and plurality.

5.2.1.3. Summary for Case A

To sum up Case A; the institutional identity of this university is highly characterized by its historical mission and role in nation-building and national development since the early years of the new Republic. In due course, the university has developed as an example of Humboldt model in Turkish higher education. In the 2000s, the impact of global trends and the policies in Türkiye led the university to incorporate various aspects of the neoliberal university at different degrees in terms of 'publish or perish' culture in academic performance, quality assurance mechanisms, the impact of rankings, becoming a research university in Türkiye and entrepreneurial activities at the Technopark and the technology transfer office. This transition is legitimized with a 'there is no alternative' perspective so that the university could compete and keep its reputation alive in this new national and global higher education landscape. This is an example of the isomorphic and homogenizing impact of the dominant global trends in higher education discussed in the literature.

As Hohendahl (2011:196) notes, the recent dominant model of American research university or neoliberal ‘excellence university’ is a threat to fundamental characteristics of the Humboldtian model creating tensions between entrepreneurial ambitions and its older identity:

> *“The trajectory of the contemporary American research university is anti-Humboldtian…To succeed, today's research university has to live with the tension between its own entrepreneurial ambitions, including its numerous links to the commercial world, and its older identity as an institution dedicated to learning and scientific exploration. But the threat does not stop there. The recent evolution of the American research university puts pressure on the understanding of its educational mission as well. This becomes clear in the tenor of the Spellings report: its emphasis*

on skills and testing reflects a situation in which the academy has become part of a larger system in which the university is no longer clearly separated from industry and commerce. Higher education therefore is already perceived in terms of the needs of the corporate world. In this context, Humboldt's vision cannot be more than a faint echo from a distant past."

However, it would be unjust to argue that the university has totally lost its Humboldtian character. Being responsible for the country and its modern development is still a strong motive in the university's activities under service for society. As mentioned, the contradictions between social responsibility and entrepreneurship as the third mission of the university, for this Case, can be discussed under the 'idea of multiversity'.

One difficulty in making generalizations about this university is that its faculties have their own institutional histories, and they are worth investigating as a matter of internal diversity in their response to these shifts at the university level. In line with the debates in the literature, for example, the humanities and social sciences faculties at Case A have been more resistant to the neoliberal transformation, while faculties like medicine were eager to adapt to such changes. Thus, the impact of neoliberal transformation of the university, the responses against it needs to be further investigated at the faculty and departmental levels for a deeper understanding of higher education as a 'differentiating society par excellence with its varied types of academic tribes' that Clark (2008) noted.

A final point is on the continuities and ruptures in the university governance in terms of developing long-term institutional strategies. There is a focus on research quality and publications in 2000-2008 with a strong administrative intervention, followed by a rather soft governance in 2008-2012 with an emphasis on social responsibility, collegiality, and internal autonomy of faculties and later on a governance model around strategic planning and quality assurance mechanisms.

This is significant in researching institutional policies because there are always continuities and ruptures. And due to the fact that these university administrations are in office for a period of 4 years, developing and implementing long-term strategies are not usually the case, as that needs a wider consensus of the members of the university. Theoretically, the introduction of strategic plans and quality

assurance mechanisms are expected to provide such long-term consistent strategies and implementations. There are two reservations here, first on how those strategic plans are prepared and to what extent they represent a consensus and reflect the variety of academic cultures within the institution. Second, for Türkiye, governing with strategic plans is quite new to reaching a conclusion. Their impact on organizational culture and outcomes for achieving long-term strategies needs to be studied in time.

5.2.2. CASE B: An international research university

The international research university is developed as a model with the success of the American research university in the California system and became the dominant global all over the world with the impact of global rankings since 2000s. As an ideal type, international research university differs from Humboldt University in its international orientation, its entrepreneurial activities with the industry, dominance of English language in teaching and other activities, emphasis in recruiting international academic staff and students.

In the context of Turkish higher education, Case B is well-known as a pioneer of American research university model in Türkiye. As the CoHE has implemented polices towards 'Americanization' of the higher education system since 1980s, certain implementations at this universities were copied by younger universities. Thus, it has a special position within the system.

After providing the current information on the profile of the university, the findings from the interviews with its top-level administrators are presented for investigating the shifts in the university's policies in the last decades.

5.2.2.1. The profile of the university

Case B is a public university established to serve the development of Türkiye and the region by educating internationally competitive engineers, architects, and administrators with a global outlook from the beginning. As an example of the American university model, the university is a campus university hosting over

28.000 students and around 800 faculty members. These students, study at 41 undergraduate programs in five faculties and 107 graduate and 69 doctorate programs. The language of instruction is English. The university considers itself an international research university since its foundation and is among the leading universities in Türkiye in terms of international research partnerships and funds generated from international research projects. (University website).

The first strategic plan of the university was prepared in 2005 to determine the university's joint vision, outcome expectations, and priorities for the next ten years. In this document (strategic plan 2005-2010), the university is described as one which;

- is internationally recognized
- educates the future leaders of the community
- creates interdisciplinary synergy
- is research-oriented
- is innovative and creative
- assumes leadership in the development of the community
- is successful in improving administrative and institutional structures
- is rich in its resources
- has effective communication and collaboration networks with its stakeholders.

The current mission and the vision of the university are given on the university website as follows:

> *"Mission: to attain excellence in research, education and public service for society, humanity and nature by nurturing creative and critical thinking, innovation and leadership within a framework of universal values."*
>
> *"Vision: A pioneer university at the international level, which transforms its region and the world."*

The first aspect to distinguish Case B from Case A is its direct emphasis on being an international research university and having a global outlook (beyond the national) since its foundation.

5.2.2.2. Findings from the interviews

5.2.2.2.1. Impact of the foundation of the CoHE in 1981

Enjoying relative autonomy before 1981 this university had the chance to develop its academic and institutional culture. The foundation of the CoHE in 1981 as the central body governing the higher education system in Türkiye was a big challenge. For a better understanding of this shift in the history of the institution and its outcomes for current debates, the interviewees were asked about the impact of Higher Education Law (No:2547) on institutional policies.

In general, three points come forward here; first is the discontentment with the implementations of the CoHE against the university autonomy, second is, a rather welcoming of the aspects of the 'Americanization of the system' at the national level and third is the impact of newly established American model foundation universities that emerged as 'new competitors'.

By negotiating with the CoHE the university tried to create ways to maintain its institutional culture and minimize the damage caused by the CoHE:

> *"Institutions do not adapt in 24 hours, it takes time. We tried to protect our model while adapting and we did. After a while, we did not feel any damage from the Law. We started doing what we know. This is a characteristic of our university, we want to do what we know. If they object to our ideas, we explain why is it so, and we debate on it but people get convinced in the end. They did not close upon us. Frankly, the university did not get big damage, that's how I see it." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).*

An important issue was persisting on the collegial governance at the university by organizing ‘unofficial’ primary elections for the deans:

> *“The fact that the first rectors were appointed naturally kicked up a fuss at the university. But as a result of our pressures, they brought this election issue…when the CoHE was not appointing the rectors, it softened its position. Because it was said that the rector should propose the deans to CoHE. We decided to have unofficial primary elections. The rector was sending the name elected there but was not mentioning any electing, saying that she/he chose this person as the dean. And the CoHE unsaw this practice. We did the same for the departments. So finally did what we wanted.” (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).*

But there have been topics that were not under the control of the university, like deciding on the curriculum. Moreover, it is difficult for a research university to

function in a system designed mainly for undergraduate teaching, without a real framework for research and graduate studies:

> *"During the first years of the CoHE, they have sent the curriculum to the departments saying what courses would be taught and so on. Thus, a shift toward a common model. At that point, at the beginning of the 1980s, CoHE foresaw the university as one which teaches at the undergraduate level. Research university was not on the agenda at all. It was not used in the terminology. Secondly, the structure for master's and doctoral programs and graduate schools was even developed later. Research is there as a concept, but there is no mechanism for it. I think the mechanism for research as a mission is still missing in Law 2547. They are trying to develop it in the last years." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M)*

And as was the case in Case A, the increase in student numbers decided by the CoHE caused new problems:

> *"Did CoHE intervene in our university? Symbolically sometimes. The most disturbing was the incredible increase in the student quota. In our term, there was a 25% increase. There is nothing to be proud of in this. The capacity of the classrooms at our department of industrial engineering is 50 and it is fixed. You send there 80. What will they do? We faced a lot of problems and begged them not to increase the numbers. They have increased other departments as well. We were writing them to decrease the quota, but they were adding another ten instead. This felt really discomfortable." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).*

The rather 'welcomed' aspects were the introduction of 'assistant professorship' as a new academic position and the primacy of the department system against the chair system of the Humboldt tradition:

> *"We had difficulties in the first year because there were articles in the law totally against our system. However, there were similar ones, too. For example, assistant professorship existed only at our university. This was included in the law, and it was a good one. There was a shift towards the American system." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).*
>
> *"Except for our university, the classical universities had the chair system. The head of the department did not even have an office. the chair was like a kingdom…The head of the department and the rector were not influential. I find the gradual shift towards the department structure also an achievement with the CoHE." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).*

Finally, as Law no:2547 allowed the establishment of foundation universities and it promoted the American model, there emerged new universities similar to Case B causing competition in attracting academic staff and students:

> *"Apparently Doğramacı was dreaming of an American model foundation university during his presidency at CoHE. He established that. This was discomfortable for us because they started transferring our best academics. This caused tensions. We had meetings with this foundation university and told them not to transfer our faculty members, this is damaging our institution. (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M)."*

There was also a shift in the socio-economic profile of its students:

> *"The emergence of the foundation universities created a competition for sure. Where? First of all, for the faculty members. Not that much for the students, but these universities used scholarships for recruiting successful students...third point for competition, the standards of the new and foundation universities for campus life, accommodation, food etc., were higher…these led to segmentation inevitably. In time, part of the successful students who graduated from (private) colleges went to foundation universities. Earlier most of these were coming to our university. Thus, there is a shift in the socioeconomic profile of our students in the last 20 years. I cannot say it has been bad. In a sense, maybe the students who are in higher need of being successful are coming. I am talking about their academic background. Although their family backgrounds are different socially, they are feeling obliged to succeed. Let's say "hungrier" students are coming. College students are so to say, well-off students. So there has been such a change. Also, the fact that foundation universities consider students as customers…we could not reach there. We are still in a Humboldt-like state university position, a culture saying we are doing good, enriching you, do not expect too much." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M.).*

This university has also suffered from the foundation of the CoHE in terms of institutional autonomy. However, it tried to keep some of its main characteristics by negotiating with the CoHE and has been successful to an extent. Besides, it has supported certain implementations of the CoHE towards Americanization of the system.

5.2.2.2.2. The mission of the institution

The international and regional outlook that the university has had since its foundation is summarized as follows:

> *"In the establishment of the university, as it is known, the UN has a plan to support a university in Egypt or Türkiye…the initial mission is to educate the technical personnel needed by Türkiye and the Middle East; primarily the city and regional planners then engineers and administrators. To educate the staff that is competitive and can take responsibilities at the international level" (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M.)*

The university has become a successful example of the American model university in Türkiye that was followed by newly established universities:

"Our model has been successful in Türkiye. It has reflections on other universities. If you look at it, we see that the American model is widening at newly established universities; department system, course system, semester system, grading, curriculum, etc. you can observe tracks of the curriculum we have developed at many of the new universities, if not the curriculum itself. There are universities copying our promotion and appointment system, and printing it as a booklet. So, our model is different in a way, like being different is the biggest compliment. Fine, after all this model is not one that we created. It is more Anglo-Saxon model as an alternative to continental Europe." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M.).

Despite such international orientation, becoming an international research university became a strong premise in the 2000s:

"During our term at the Rector's Office, our most important premise was to make this university an international research university!" (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

The aspects of the international research university are given as having a significant number of international faculty members and international undergraduate and graduate students. In addition, this ambition is accepted as a mission for serving the economic development and the competitiveness of the country (in line with the global trends):

"When you look at the leading universities in the world they have a common characteristic; being international and research-oriented. Whoever you ask the best universities in the world like Oxford, Cambridge, MIT, Stanford, Berlin Technical, Humboldt, or Zürich Technical will be listed. We see commonalities in these. A significant part of their faculty members is from other countries, other nations. We look at their undergraduate students, many of them are international students. We look at graduate students a high percentage is foreign students…the countries with such international universities are the most developed ones. So we can draw an analogy there. The countries that have many international research universities are the most developed and the richest countries. Their GDP is at the highest level and they are the leading countries in technology. Then, for the development of Türkiye, there should be many international and research-oriented universities. And for that, we need to increase the number of our international students, especially at the graduate level. We need to have many foreign faculty members and our faculty members should teach at the leading universities for short or long terms. It is that simple indeed. What else? Here is the significance of the Teknokent. With the high success of the companies we give an opportunity here, their high technology products should be marketed to the world…then our country can join the list of the developed countries." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

However, in the discussions for the preparations of the new strategic plan 2017, a clearer perspective is defined on the difference between an international research

university and an entrepreneurial university, so that, the 'third generation activities' would not gain priority against the existing strength in research and teaching missions:

> *"If we look at it from the mission differentiation perspective, the university considers itself a research university. But, if we look at the outputs of the research universities there might not be an expectation let's say for contributing to the economy. We call them third-generation universities, where such expectations (economic outputs) are intense. We discussed this a lot. We do not want to put ourselves in a pattern like third generation university. However, we think that the research university should have a higher emphasis on research. Higher according to what? We are of the same opinion that we need to go further than our past research activities and success. What will happen to education? There is no chance for going backward in education, we debated on this a lot, too. It is not the case that by putting more emphasis on research education will become less important. On the contrary, if we want to be assertive and successful in research, we are the best to educate our researchers. That's why, we want to maintain our strength and leadership that has been proven in education, but do better in having innovative, creative, and critical graduates." (TLA.2.3., 2016-2017, F).*

And contributing to local and regional development has been added to its global outlook:

> *"In this period we, once again, questioned our mission and vision. There is no big change in the mission. We have three main headings: teaching, research, and service to society. We tried to put a more assertive vision, like going beyond "we can change the world", we can transform it. We kept the emphasis on the region and the world. There is always an emphasis on the world, on the universal but being more active in the region, contributing more on the local development in the region seems prominent in this process." (TLA.2.3., 2016-2017, F).*

Although this university was established as an American university, its emphasis on becoming an international research university gained significance in the 2000s. This corresponds to the era that global trends of 'higher education for global knowledge economy' and the American research university as a global model have risen. Case A was ambitious in being the pioneer of this model in Türkiye through its emphasis in university-industry cooperation and recruitment of international researchers and (graduate) students.

5.2.2.2.3. Governance of the institution

The university was among the first state universities in Türkiye to develop a strategic plan. This has caused a second shift in the governance of the institution after the impact of the foundation of the CoHE.

The first strategic plan was prepared in 2005 for deciding on the strategic position of the university in the coming decade(s). TLA 2.2. who took part in the preparations of this document tells the background of its story. It is interesting to hear that the bottom-up approach taken in the process was also designed as an internal communication strategy for increasing its impact on the institutional culture:

> *"With strategy, I am talking about the external world and a document that determines how we are positioning ourselves externally in the long run -not 3-5 months a year or two years- and what technologies we will be using…this is important to point out but there was a strategy since the 1990s it was not shared publicly which was a shortcoming. Because in our university, and I cannot say it is different in other universities check Stanford or Caltech, these plans are prepared but are known and discussed in very limited circles. When you do this centrally and in a restricted way, you decrease the chances of its impact on the institutional culture. For the 2005 strategic plan, the efforts started in 2003 by discussing it with the university in a participatory way. It is not only a matter of democracy, it has a more pragmatic side: because the more people participate the more chances we have to share the content and the responsibilities of the strategy. Thus, in a sense, it is a communication strategy and we initiated it bottom-up from the departments - our building blocks." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).*

Another participant in the strategic planning process, however, pointed out that this process, especially of data collection for the first time, was too tiring and unusual for the institution:

> *"This university is perhaps among the first few universities to prepare a strategic plan. At the time I was in the support team and we had long debates on the model. We did not have a guideline on our hands…It took 2-3 years. We followed a bottom-up and top-down approach. We wiped the institution out. We were too tired too. The institution collected a big amount of data. We forced the institution to do a lot of things it is not used to and not part of its culture…this was a huge experience and a good investment. But how did the institution respond? It was contrary to its nature, so it got angry. It said, "does it worth all that time and effort we put in? What will be the outcome?". It was tiring and we needed to slow down." (TLA.2.3., 2016-2017, F)*

As an outcome the following period of 2011-2016 was taken rather smoothly; trusting more to the strength of the peer-control culture at the university instead of further quantification:

> *"During 2005-2010 and the following 2011-2016 period we kept an eye on the adjustment of the institution to the strategy as much as it can. But, using software to monitor the spending, outputs, etc. is exaggerated in a university environment…I think it is overkill for two reasons. First, auditing with software is too much quantification. Second, it might be less necessary for us compared to "university x" because, despite our shortcomings or success, we have a well-functioning mechanism: instead of a central auditing, on-site supervision which is derived from peer control based on academic values. To me, it is critical to find a balance between peer control and central control." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).*

The context of the strategic planning process in 2017 appears as another shift. First, this was the first occasion that I heard an emphasis on Case B as "a public institution and state university that has to follow the guidelines prepared by the ministry". Members of earlier administrations were keen on sustaining a distance from the bureaucracy and defending a position that finds ways to do things as they know it - giving the sense of the university autonomy. Second, the previous skepticism on quantification was left aside with a defense of 'operations research' as the best way of governing companies and thus, universities:

> *"In this (2017) strategic plan, different than the previous ones, there is a guideline prepared by the Ministry of Development. As a public institution, a state university we are obviously expected to use that. We elaborated on the guidelines, and it was reflecting common sense." (TLA.2.3., 2016-2017, F).*

In conformity with the understanding of strategic planning by the state officials detailed performance indicators for each unit are planned to be listed in 'goal cards' so that the responsible person and the administrators could follow the improvements immediately:

> *"In the previous plans, there were no "goal cards". The details like performance indicators for each year and the responsible person/unit for each task is not listed. We did this for 2017-2021. And lack of such details was criticized by the Turkish Court of Accounts. They said that our actions are not related to the strategic plan. Because according to the model in the mind of the state, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Development; there is a strategic plan, there are goals and indicators in it and these are detailed for each year. And when demanding a budget, for example, the institution says, "We are expecting improvements in these indicators for next year, thus we demand this amount of money". And then, during the accounting "We used this amount of money and reached these of our goals". In our first two strategic plans, this aspect was weak." (TLA.2.3., 2016-2017, F).*

This way of management with a goal card is justified as an implementation of fact-based management at the university:

"One of my professors was among the founders of the operations research in Türkiye. He developed a learning management system. As a person believing in this system and having successfully worked with this professor, I am trying to apply this system to our university…this is called managing by the numbers. To me, fact-based management is a requisite but that is not enough. Now what do the numbers provide us? They provide objectivity. Settles the debates on an objective ground but it is not enough. There are informal data and knowledge that cannot be expressed by numbers…so, what kind of a mechanism do we need? We will do revisions every six months. These can be individual and institutional. Let me talk about the institutional. The administrator can say that she/he wants to see in her/his cockpit, on the corner of her/his screen these indicators. There are universities doing this, world-class universities that we benchmark ourselves." (TLA.2.3., 2016-2017, F).

Applying fact-based management as a decision-making process is not only a case of isomorphism with some of the world-class universities but also with the companies and institutions that won the European Quality Award, against the critiques that such quality management approaches are not applicable for universities as specific scientific institutions:

"This is a cultural approach. I personally do not agree with the argument that the companies do it and we cannot do it as a public university. This fact-based management is highly beneficial for running healthier discussions and getting effective results, independent of the sector. The proof of that is here; there are institutions from different sectors that applied for the European Quality Award. There has been a study on the common characteristics of the winners and one of the most important characteristics is fact-based management." (TLA.2.3., 2016-2017, F).

A final note on the governance of the university and the institutional strategies is on the external obstacles faced in the implementation process. One example is on increasing the number of graduate students/undergraduate students ratio and increasing the number of international faculty members and international students as part of the strategy for becoming an international research university:

"All our effort was to exponentially increase the number of master's and doctoral students. This was crucial for us and we never supported any offer for opening new undergraduate programs. Fortunately, that is also the common approach at our university…also we should go for the foreign students but we could not achieve our goal there. Our biggest deficit was, we could not increase the number of foreign faculty members because of the quota the Ministry of Finance put for our university…we could not reach our goals for the number of foreign students either… there is nothing the CoHE or our university could do about it, you cannot convince the Ministry of Finance. They say let's do it but later they do not." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

The second point is broader, and related to the aspects of financial and staffing autonomy. Moreover, there seems a deeper problem in the country in general for making long-term plans. In such an external environment, the university's strategic plan cannot be realized in coherence with other public or private institutions the university has to cooperate with:

> *"When a new idea or field emerges, we have been discussing three questions: Is there a demand for it, if we decide to do it can we do it as well as the others -do we have a competitive advantage here and third, would we like to do something like that? Does that fit into our university mission, in a sense, to our path? Now you move by asking these three questions but there is a problem that neither the state nor the private sector, at least today, think about the next ten years. Such a mission or approach does not exist. Not at CoHE, not at the Ministry of Finance, not at the Ministry of Development. Thus the demands from the university are evaluated in some way but how it is evaluated is anybody's guess. As I mentioned, you depend on CoHE for staffing, the Ministry of Finance for the operating budget, and the Ministry of Development for the investment budget. And they are all debatable issues. As a result, we as the university put into our strategic plan that we want to improve in these areas and we have these priority areas, etc. but there is no mechanism for maintaining such coherence." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).*

5.2.2.2.4. Academic life

In the 2000s publishing in international journals became a stricter criterion for promotion and appointment processes. A similar development was the case for Case A in the same years:

> *"We really worked hard on this. There was already an incentive premium for publishing international articles established by the previous rectors (in the 1980s). As young researchers, we enjoyed this at the time…Later when I become an administrator, we clarified the rules and controlled promotion and appointment processes more firmly…closer to the end of my period in the administration we were adding the number of citations below the tables without giving any points for them. So, we managed this process very slowly. Because if you do it quickly and there are not so many people successful according to the rules that's not fair, won't you promote anyone? As I said, when you establish new rules you need to give it some time and flexibility, then make it more strict little by little…and institutions like this do not respond fast. As there are so many people the responses take some time." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).*

The promotion and appointment criteria are reacted differently at different departments and by different generations of academics:

> *"there are disciplinary differences and their potential for research and application are not the same. The concerns about third-generation (university activities) are*

grounded in this. And there is a generation gap. There is a huge change of scene at the university in the last 8-10 years and this was a crucial topic during our administration. Each year 30-40 people are retiring, meaning 68 generation is deactivated. The elder ones, which started in the 60s 70s are more teaching-oriented because that was the concept of the university at the time. Thus, it is not possible to say that everybody equally agrees with the prominence of research and the framework introduced by the promotion and appointment criteria." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).

Another point on academic careers is about inbreeding. As part of its strategy on becoming an international university, the Ph.D. holders from this university are not hired unless they have at least post-doc experience abroad:

"At classical universities (in Türkiye) the biggest goal of the PhD's was to become a professor at their university. Unfortunately, in such institutions, the closer you are to the influential professors the more chances you would have to work there. And this is inbreeding…however, there is a need for renewal. This is one of the successes of the U.S. By not hiring your Ph.D. graduates, trying to get the best from other universities, and from the world, you become successful. This is what we tried to do at our university. We said, our PhD graduates should leave at least for post-doc and we can evaluate them when they return. And it is not logical to expect to hire our Ph.D. graduates. Let's say there are around 3.000 doctoral students. We have around 750 faculty members. Where will you employ them anyways?" (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

Another significant point to pay attention to from this quote in on the employment of Ph.D. graduates. The expected career path for PhDs is to become an academic. However, with increasing numbers of doctoral students and limited academic positions available for them at universities creates unemployment in a specialized group of people. This is a growing policy concern for Europe and Türkiye.

5.2.2.2.5. University-industry cooperation and entrepreneurship

Establishing one of the first Teknoparks in Türkiye is among the aspects that this university has been proud of being in the leading role as part of its reputation. The entrepreneurial activities at Teknopark are seen as a big contribution to the economic development of the country and as a new income source for funding research. It is also supported by the opportunities it creates for (entrepreneurial) students through incubators. At the same time there have been students protests against the corporatization of the university as such:

"We really paid too much attention to that. Because, entrepreneurship and innovation, teknopark...I believe this is the biggest issue that will develop Türkiye. For sure, we got a lot of criticism on teknopark. Students were protesting us for opening companies there. In fact, think about companies this way; we do not have the budget for research as the university, but the company (coming to teknopark) does R&D activities there with their own money including our professors and students as partners. And a synergy rises out of it. It can turn out as a patent and revenue in future. This is not the case for everyone, but our students start working there, learn how things work and found her/his company, go to an incubator. The companies come there from outside benefit from the expertise of our professors and students. Do much more than they could at their factory in a shorter period and convert it into money. The revenue from the export from teknoparks is billions of dollars and these are high-tech products…the biggest advantage of the teknoparks for the countries is producing high-tech products, making use of it in defense and medicine sectors first, and then introducing them to the use of the society. This is the reason why we saw teknopark as very valuable for the development of our university. At the same time, there thesis, scientific papers, and patents coming out of the activities there. That's why it is so important." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

As a motto of the time everybody could become an entrepreneur regardless of their academic discipline. Accordingly, entrepreneurship courses were provided open to all of its students:

"We did one more thing at the time. Opened entrepreneurship courses in Türkiye for the first time. In the beginning, it was supported by the Ministry of Industry, later we started financing it with our own resources, it does not cost much anyways. Later we provided it as a course open to all of our students and established a center for entrepreneurship. Because you cannot develop technologies without entrepreneurs. All the big companies in the world now are the ones founded by young people with ideas and little money. Microsoft, Amazon, Google, Twitter, Facebook so on… Türkiye has the same potential. I have always believed that our young people can acquire the same knowledge simultaneously as the ones in the most developed countries. As long as they have Google and the Internet, there are no different than students of MIT or Harvard. We just need to support them. Türkiye has a big potential now with its huge young population. This opportunity should be used well." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

5.2.2.2.6. Impact of rankings

TLA 2.1. explains his first impressions of the first rankings as follows:

"As you know the first university rankings came out in 2003 in China as Shanghai Ranking, which is named as ARWU now. They ranked the first 500. We woke up one morning as administrators and saw that someone listed the best universities in the world, and we are not on the list. There were some other universities from Türkiye…many people criticized this ranking, but I did not see it that way, honestly. I thought that was correct, but it was limited. Because it limits to 500, a special group, when there are 18-20 thousand universities in the world…and it covered 39 countries…and if you ask the kids on the streets to count the top ten universities in

the world, even the primary school kids can count them now. How many people are there that do not know Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, MIT, Stanford? What is the point in listing something already known?" (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

His enthusiasm, competitiveness, and conformity to rankings have directly impacted the institutional policies, even by pushing the departments to publish in international journals. And there is an interesting tension here between publishing articles and writing books as the main academic activity:

"We were not in THE-QS because we were not subscribed to the journal. We were not in ARWU because we do not have a Nobel laureate. İstanbul had huge numbers of articles compared to us. We had smaller numbers. We put a lot of effort into meetings with the deans, and departments. I was calling for increasing the international articles, I even argued for a compulsory journal article from each doctoral thesis in coming years at our meetings with the departments. This caused a lot of reactions…that we are putting everything into numbers. But, I was believing that I was doing the right thing. Because it is not important how you see yourself, what matters is the perception outside. It has no value when you say you are good, if people say you are not so…If there are rules, you have to obey them. If the rules say that the international articles are important, so as I believe. Not only as a rule. I always believed in the significance of the international article during my academic life. Because, when you write a book you address a few thousand people. When you publish an article, it reaches libraries all around the world. And people in that field read it after 10,20, 40 years. Book is not like that." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).

The following administration, however, took easier on rankings having an eye on them but not turning them into a goal of the university or a beauty contest:

"Briefly, during our period, I always said we just need to keep an eye on the rankings but should not focus too much on them. Ok, it is part of the reality. The world of universities is increasingly international and this is a fact of that world. Thus, we cannot say that we are ignoring it and we will stay out of it. Harvard can do that. But, I never made any decision to perform better at the rankings. I always said that we have a mission and if we realize that mission, which is our goal, and if we are appreciated for that, that's great. But, being at the top of the rankings can never be our goal. This should not turn into a beauty contest. That is my point." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).

A crucial argument was about why rankings became so popular in Türkiye, bringing the internal decision-making processes and 'self-consciousness' of the institutions into question. Like, 'if you don't know what you are doing, and why you are doing it, you become dependent on external confirmation'.

"We never paid any money for the rankings…I do not know the impact of this, and I do not care much about it. The gap in rankings in Türkiye is that; since we do not

have an objective, trustworthy and sustainable system free of any kind of pressures, somehow, our agenda develops dependently on the external." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).

5.2.2.2.7. Remarks on the national level

As in the findings of Case A, there are issues raised by the top-level administrators of Case B on the national level.

The first issue is on the uniformity caused by the CoHE against diversification:

> *"The (higher education) law no 2547 and the regulations afterward created a process transforming universities into a unified model. There has been an inevitable shift in the university culture. There used to be a decentralized structure. This has weakened and starting from academic titles a more centralized structure has developed. At the top of it is, of course, the CoHE. With these, innovations the university could achieve in different fields were cut off, because everything was set under certain rules and schemes. In time it has softened a bit, but even today there is no such green light given to university diversification. As you know, there have been talks on diversity and autonomy since 2011, all easy on the ear, but we cannot talk about any increase in autonomy since then." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).*

Second is on the 'necessity of the CoHE' for coordination and preventing the universities from weird (political or religious) groups -with a warning on it is boundaries for autonomy:

> *"Many people are against the CoHE, I also had problems with the CoHE all the time, and I have highly criticized some of their decisions, however, I find an institution like the CoHE necessary. But it is not right when they interfere in the internal affairs of the universities this much. It should work on general coordination, direction, and improvement. If you leave the universities alone, it does not work well, either. Especially the weird structures we have seen in recent years show that we need a structure like the CoHE. They establish a university by themselves, what they are doing, what they want to do, and who they hired is anybody's guess. Thus, there is such need." (TLA.2.1., 2000-2008, M).*

In the following quote on autonomy and the control mechanisms for universities TLA 2.2. lists four dimensions of funding, central regulations, censorship, and lack of a merit system. He also emphasizes that the universities are not trusted by the CoHE to give them institutional autonomy, as was pointed also in the national interviews:

"There are four main mechanisms for controlling the university. The first is funding; with this, I also mean resource allocation. For Turkish state universities, staffing can be as important as money. Thus, the political power transfers the money and resources to the fields they want to develop. The second intervention mechanism is about the fact that all the procedures of the university administration are determined centrally…and, accordingly, the position and the responsibility of the university is only to abide by the rules. And, there is no responsibility for being successful or not as long as you obey the rules. Third is the limitations on the research and the teaching activities of the university. This can be censorship. Türkiye is not experiencing censorship for the first time. It existed in the past, also in the US and in the Soviets and it has degrees. But self-censorship should be included here. In times of oppression, the academicians and the university administrators might do this censorship by themselves. Fourth, which is the most problematic and the most difficult one to recover from for me, is the determination, appointment, and promotion of the staff at the university by external and political interventions, out of the merit system…considering these four mechanisms, although arguing for the contrary frequently, the CoHE cannot give up and keep doing this; we cannot give administrative and organizational autonomy to the university because we do not trust them. Thus, we will what should be done and how, and the universities will apply these formulas and we will all reach a happy end. It is obvious with the examples that this is not the case." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).

The final remark is on the increase in the diversity of the universities' activities, in its scale, in the interaction within and between the academic units and the administrative units, and increasing uncertainty that are related to the supercomplexity and the idea of multiversity discussed in the literature. Such a complex structure cannot be governed centrally:

"Now there is also an issue of first generation, second generation, and third and CoHE is even talking about fourth generation. If you look at it, the first does education only. The second is research and education and the third is commercialization… now the mission of the universities is getting more and more complex. First of all, the diversity of its activities is increasing…second the scales are increasing; the number of students, projects, etc., and the complexities increase with the increase in scale. Third, the interaction within and between the academic units and the administrative units is increasing because of the need for interdisciplinary research and improving the relations with the external environment. Fourth, uncertainty is increasing. The higher education system is already in a continuous process of change, but how to say, on the other hand, the universities have to compete with others for funding, for students and have to work in more than one environment. Thus, the relations with the external environment are at a much more complex level, and instead of an environment where the university gets its position from the state and teaches, it is in an uncertain environment that is highly different from the one for the first generation where the university enters into an international competition for multilateral activities, is in need of getting projects from the private sector, etc. ...so, for today's university when we move to a university trying to succeed in three missions, there is a much complex structure compared to the teaching-only (first generation) universities. It is impossible to govern such a complex structure centrally." (TLA.2.2., 2008-2016, M).

5.2.2.3. Summary of Case B

This university with an international outlook since its foundation in its mission and by teaching in English, has put more emphasis on becoming an international research university in the 2000s. Being among the top universities in Türkiye, it benchmarks itself rather with world-class universities. As such it has certain mimetic behaviors in becoming similar to those global research universities on one hand. On the other hand, especially after the Americanization of Turkish higher education after the establishment of the CoHE, the university has become a model for newly established universities as a successful example of an American model university in Türkiye. Such a leading position was kind of challenged by the emergence of new American model (foundation) universities creating competition for 'best' faculty members and students.

The university has a problematic culture of 'excellence' and 'innovativeness': It enjoys 'being the first' in many aspects of higher education in Türkiye and it wants to be good in everything it does in teaching, research, service to society, regional development, entrepreneurial activities at Technopark, etc. Obviously, given the limited resources and problems in cooperation with external stakeholders achieving such complex functions at the same is highly challenging.

On the governance of the university, compared to case A, there is more consistency in institutional strategies in 2000-2016, as each administration worked for 8 years in this period and some of the members of the previous administration were in office at the latter too. However, there are differences as well, especially in the way they approached the impact of the rankings and the implementation of the strategic plan.

A final note is on the change in the discourse, by aligning more to a language of ‘being a public institution and state university’. This point is interesting as the university has been finding ways to protect and sustain its peculiarities ‘by doing things as they know it’ against the uniformity caused by the CoHE. The implications

of such a shift in the discourse of the top-level administration of the university on the organizational culture in time need to be further analyzed.

5.2.3. CASE C: An entrepreneurial university

The characteristics of the ideal type entrepreneurial university are clearly defined in Wissema's (2009:8) typology of three generations of higher education as the third generation university that is presented in section 3.5.:

- Fundamental research was and will be the core activity of the university.
- Research is largely transdisciplinary or interdisciplinary.
- 3GUs are network universities, collaborating with industry, private research and development (R&D), financiers, professional service providers and other universities via their knowledge carousel.
- 3GUs operate in an internationally competitive market. They actively compete for the best academics, students and research contracts from industry.
- 3GU's are two-track universities. While they cannot in general escape from being mass universities, they create special facilities for the best and brightest students and academics.
- 3GUs embrace the concept of consilience and creativity as a driving force of similar importance to the rational scientific method.
- 3GUs are cosmopolitan; they operate in an international setting with a wide and diverse range of staff and students; in this respect, they are close to the Medieval Universities. They employ the English language for all courses as the new lingua franca.
- Exploitation of know-how becomes the third university objective as universities are seen as the cradle of new entrepreneurial activity in addition to the traditional tasks of research and education.
- 3GUs will be financed by output financing rather than input financing."

This university model is designed for the global knowledge economy, triple-helix of government-university-industry cooperation and commodification of knowledge through entrepreneurialism in an age of academic capitalism. These universities are usually smaller in their size compared to comprehensive universities. And they are firm-like organizations with corporate managerialism. As such, they are expected to adapt and respond much quicker to the conditions in the international market.

These entrepreneurial characteristics are obviously anti-Humboldtian. And the difference between the international research university and the entrepreneurial university was explicitly pointed in section 5.1.7. by Expert 10 as follows:

> *"and there are the ones we call entrepreneurial in the USA that emerged for competitiveness. They focus on innovativeness as they are not research-intense. Research is highly expensive. It is impossible to do it by yourself. You need partners, which can be companies or the state or other universities, always need partners…thus a group of universities that cannot do these improve their conditions with a rather entrepreneurial spirit. And they need a managerial model there because they need to act fast there. There is no place for long discussions…these are also called third-generation universities etc. All these are not very strong in research, don't have such links, they cannot earn money through education because that's something classical, and it is more difficult to be known for education and gain resources there. Thus, they moved in this direction to benefit from the opportunities quickly and made some money out of that." (Exp. 10, M)*

In the context of Turkish higher education the third generation university model is quite new and there are few universities that define themselves as entrepreneurial universities. Case C, which is a foundation university, is among them. The profile of this university and the findings from the interview on its characteristics are presented in the following section.

5.2.3.1. The profile of the university

Case C is a non-profit foundation university founded in 2003 by a union representing commerce and industry in Turkey. The university started admission of its first students with 3 faculties (Engineering, Economics and Administrative Sciences, Sciences and Arts) and 10 programs. Started accepting students for undergraduate programs in the 2004-2005 academic year with 270 students, as of the 2021-2022 academic year the university had 4923 undergraduates, 553 master's students, and 130 doctoral students (5606 in total). In the same period, the number of academic staff has increased from 45 (in 2005) to 340 (in 2022).

In the "Internal Evaluation Report" prepared by the university for the The Higher Education Quality Council of Turkey in 2017 the university defines its mission as:

> *…is founded with the mission of conducting theoretical and applied research, providing the qualified workforce needed by the business world, educating high-quality human force, responding to the needs of the country and the society through R&D activities, and contributing to the economic and social development of the country.*

In the same report, the vision of the university is defined as "*being a leading university shaping the future with ideas of technology and productivity*". With such vision the university is ambitious in becoming a well-known prestigious university in the world with its research activities at the global level, its graduates as entrepreneurs of the country, and as a university that transforms knowledge into technology and not only teaches technology but develops it.

As an example of innovation and diversification in the Turkish higher education system, the university offers a "cooperative education system" at the undergraduate level that enables students to gain work experience during their studies by working at actual jobs at contracted companies and institutions. For this system, undergraduate education is composed of 8 academic terms and 3 cooperative education terms. The members of the founding Union of the university and their network plays a key role in the functioning of this system.

The goals of the university in the 2017-2021 Strategic Plan

The SP 2017-2021 provides an overview of the developments in a. teaching in higher education, b. research in higher education, c. ICTs, d. international cooperation and internationalization e. local, regional, and global economy in Europe, North America, and Asia, and f. national education system and the regulations for the higher education institutions. From these remarks it is concluded that the criteria for evaluating the success of the universities will be:

- The quality of international scientific and applied research conducted in the competence areas of the universities,
- Number and impact ratio of the scientific publications,
- Number of patents, ideas turned into products, national/international projects,
- Number of supported entrepreneurs and added value created,
- Cooperation with the industry,
- Number and quality of study programs

Combined with the criteria given above, the performance indicators of one national (TÜBİTAK-Entrepreneurial and Innovative University Index) and one international (QS) ranking are used as external evaluation indicators for defining the aims of the university in the SP 2017-2021 as follows:

- Increasing intellectual property assets,
- Focusing on entrepreneurship in education

- Increasing new knowledge production in basic research for supporting R&D and entrepreneurship,
- Increasing applied research for solving societal problems and improving university-industry cooperation,
- Creating brand and market-oriented entrepreneurial businesses and the appropriate investment climate for them,
- Improving the interdisciplinary quality of education and research activities
- Developing research projects promoting national and international cooperation
- Increasing national and international reputation

These aims fit well into the third-generation universities defined above. Since it is a young and small size university, one top-level administrator that has been a member of the university's quality management mechanism for more than five years was interviewed.

5.2.3.2. Findings from the interviews

5.2.3.2.1. The mission of the university

The rationale behind the establishment of this foundation university by the Union mentioned above is summarized by TLA 3.1. as follows:

> *"The union that established the university, as a union representing commerce and industry, knows the currently required qualifications for graduate employment. Why are students unemployed? Because they do not satisfy the needs of the employer. Then, we worked on who might satisfy the needs of the employer, what should be the qualifications, etc., and decided to establish a university and educate these men by ourselves. Second, (the union) observes that the sector faces the biggest problems in its relationship with the state, and thus needs a relationship with the bureaucracy. It is incredibly difficult for a representative of the private sector to express its concerns at a state agency. Why? Because that protectionist structure of the people coming from state tradition so not allow that. Earlier they did not even find it ethical to negotiate with the private sector. This is gradually changing. So, this is the vision of the head of the union, we should educate the civil servants. If we graduate people who understand and know the private sector, and they become civil servants and bureaucrats Turkey would have bureaucrats that know the private sector well and they would understand us better. Indeed, that's the aim of founding this university; educating the statesman and the qualified employees needed by the sector at this university." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M).*

5.2.3.2.2. Type of the university: (non-profit) foundation or (for profit) private?

The debates on distinguishing the non-profit foundation universities and the for-profit private universities at the national level were also reflected in this case. TLA 3.1. proposes "the share of income from tuition fees in the total revenues of the university" as a criterion for such distinction. The case C is a non-profit foundation university as its biggest source of income is the subsidies made by the Union and guaranteed for the next 20 years:

> *"according to the current higher education law, there can be two types of university: state or foundation. There are lots of debates on whether foundation universities serve as foundations. The difference there is, does the institution serve as a foundation in truth or is it named as a foundation university because establishing private universities is not allowed? All have a foundation behind but we can differentiate a foundation university and a private university by looking at the services provided and their income model. If the tuition fees paid by students are the biggest budget item in the revenues of the university, then it is a for-profit institution. On the other hand, if the budget university spends for its students is more than the income collected from the students, then it serves as a foundation. In this sense, we are a foundation university, because tuition fees are the smallest budget item in our university's revenues. The biggest source of income is the subsidies by the Union. And the Union has a general assembly resolution to transfer a certain percentage of its revenues to the university for the next 20 years." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M.).*

5.2.3.2.3. Cooperative education system

An 'innovative education model' that this university has brought into the Turkish higher education system is its 'cooperative education system' providing job experience for the students during their studies thus increasing their 'employability':

> *"Cooperative education system is a very well-designed system with good examples in the world and we are the first and the only university applying it in Turkey. It is a unique opportunity at the undergraduate level. Because the student graduates with one year of job experience and there are at least three companies (the ones the students have worked at during 3 cooperative education terms) that the student can say "I am a graduate now, would you like to hire me?". And according to our statistics, 65% of our students get a job offer during their studies." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M).*

The support of the members of the Union is a big source for being able to implement this model. Another important point is the number of students -which has been problematic in the two cases of the bigger size of state universities. Case C has a defined strategy for the maximum number of students it will reach in time, and it enjoys relative autonomy from the CoHE in implementing it:

"Exactly we are at that level now. The total number of students, undergraduate and graduate, will not exceed 6500 and around 4000 of that will be undergraduates and around 2500 will be masters and doctorates. We are at 6000 now…the numbers will stay around this. Otherwise, it (cooperative education system) can be impossible to manage. It is not possible to do something like this system or tackle the graduates where there are 80000 students. But what was our aim? To have qualified graduates. Subject-specific graduates ready for employment with at least one year of job experience so that the employer can use that opportunity. This was our aim, and it is working." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M)

Adding a third semester to the education model was not welcomed by the CoHE and there had to convince it. Thus, the foundation universities might have relative autonomy compared to the state universities but, their 'innovative' ideas against the uniformity of the system are not easily accepted:

"This is highly difficult. There is an actor in higher education setting the rules and deciding how to play and who can join. The rules of the game can change, or it is strictly closed when a new rule is proposed. Our biggest problem was, as we offer three semesters, they said we do not have such a definition. There can be two semesters and summer school. We said this is not summer school, each semester is 3.5 months, and so on… In the end, they (CoHE) made an amendment to the law and give permission to our system. But it was a highly challenging process and caused lots of trouble for us. However, they (CoHE) were convinced in the end and indeed it became one of the most admirable models now. CoHE never regrets giving this permission because we educated very good graduates. They benefited from these graduates, too because we have graduates working at CoHE." (TLA.3.1., 2017).

The motto of "everybody can be an entrepreneur" is valid in the education program of this university as a must course for all departments:

"We are the only university offering entrepreneurship as a compulsory course. All the students must take the entrepreneurship and leadership course. We teach all of our students how to found a company, how to manage it, and how to bring it down, all of that. So that they can become entrepreneurs if they want to. There is an incubation area, in the garage. They grow up there till they incorporate. Then they found their own company and so on. Thus, entrepreneurship is already in our ecosystem here also as a necessity of the nature of the institution." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M).

5.2.3.2.4. Governance and university-industry cooperation

The research strategy of the university, the activities of the Technology Transfer Office, and the policy for hiring new academics are directly linked as part of the governance of the university:

"There is a university executive board composed of the rector, vice-rectors, deans, and the director of the technology transfer office (TTO). This board decides on the research strategy of the university and the priority fields for research. The TTO makes the preparations for this strategy. What can we aspire for with the capabilities we have and what capabilities do we need to acquire for the positions we aspire? Accordingly, when hiring academic staff, the TTO even tells the departments in which subject area should the candidate have research expertise. For example, at the Department of Electrical Engineering, there are three strategic areas that we determined. To serve in these areas you need to hire, for example, an experienced academic on MR, because the sector needs that. To become a university serving the sector and developing university-industry cooperation we should have intellectual capital here in that strategic area that the sector needs…to decide on these strategic areas we prepared a catalog of researchers by talking to each faculty member to analyze the areas they work on and where they want to direct their research area and to which company's interest area are they close to. Then we conducted a similar analysis on the industry side. Here, once again, the cooperative education program is one of our biggest advantages. Because when we send the student for the cooperative education program we visit them at work and gather information directly from the relevant person on the subject area. We also use that information for our curriculum." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M.)

5.2.3.2.5. Academic life

The 'performance' of the faculty members is measured by their service to their profession and to the university, the quality of teaching, and the quality of research:

"We are also a good research university because the number of courses taught by the faculty members is limited. A faculty member teaches four courses in three semesters. Thus she/he is expected to spend the rest of her/his time on research. And this is measured. With the performance system of the university, the performance of each faculty member is evaluated in three areas: first; her/his service to her/his profession and to the university, second; the quality of teaching and third the quality of research. The parameters for these are very easy…these evaluations are filtered, and the feedback is given to the faculty member each time. This is also stated in the contracts; it might lead to cancellation of the labor contract if the scores are below a certain level." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M.).

In Case C this performance has a direct impact on the salaries of the faculty members which makes them 'voluntarily' entering data into the performance system. Compared to the state universities, this is a 'motivation' factor to earn more on the one hand, and it is related to the fear of losing your job on the other hand:

"In our case, the faculty members enter the relevant information voluntarily on the performance system because it has a direct impact on their salary. Indeed, this is the most important thing separating the foundation universities and the state universities. There is also a performance system for the state universities, however, it only determines the little side income added to the standard salary. Thus, there

the faculty member can say that she/he does not want to put any effort into such a little amount. That is not the case for us. At our university, if the faculty member does not provide the data properly and does not increase her/his performance an assistant professor can earn more than a professor does. Or it might end up with the cancellation of the labor contract. The state universities do not have such an instrument, but we do. So we can say to someone that you cannot work here anymore because of your weak performance. Or we can say, you need to improve your performance in a given time. This is also not something that the academics would like but we have to do it to increase our level." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M.).

Expectedly there are differences between the departments in their approach to such 'measurability'. The solution provided at this university is to be more flexible in defining the indicators by asking the departments in arts and humanities what should be measured in their fields:

"Any type of work is measurable. It is not as hard as the faculty members argue. And it is measured all around the world. Generally, engineers are more prone to this, because they deal with calculations all the time and at the end of the day they say, "let's count it, let's have a look". Social scientists stay away from this, but their performance can be measured too…we worked for almost two years for establishing our performance system. While deciding on the performance of the departments we have, we determined how the performance should be measured and we did this by negotiating with the departments. We told them that your performance will be evaluated and you cannot have it your way. So tell us what should we be measuring. Then, for example, the faculty of law said that publishing in foreign languages is not common in their field. Issuing opinions is essential in our field and those issuing such opinions are accepted as doing competent work, so this should be included in the performance system. Fine, we elaborate on that. Or, a member of the faculty of fine arts says international exhibitions are very important for them. Then, that can be a performance criterion. Thus, the performance is not measured only by the same rules determined by the center that apply to everyone. That's the first thing. Second, primarily the faculty member responds to the head of the department. So, the people doing the same job talk about each other's performance. At the beginning of every year, the head of the department has a meeting with the faculty member, telling her/him her/his performance in the previous year and the expectation for the next year." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M.).

5.2.3.2.6. Impact of rankings

As mentioned in the Strategic Plan 2017-2021 the university seriously takes into consideration one national index and one international ranking as external evaluation and uses their performance indicators for defining the aims of the university. These two are considered trustworthy in their data collection compared to other rankings, and their analysis is used for evaluating the university's position at the national and international levels.

"(TÜBİTAK) Entrepreneurial and Innovative University Index at least has tangible data and the data is verified, a false statement is not possible there…so its more reliable. We base ourselves on THE rankings because we provide the data there. We take the feedback from THE seriously. But except for that, we don't have an effort for being at the top levels in all rankings. Because we know where we are at least in Turkey and in the region…this is a place without financial concerns and the personnel is chosen among the best. Inevitably we will be in a good place, we see that. But still, as an answer to how important it is, we look at what the serious ones say. We are pleased to be evaluated there on whatever rank we are at. Because their feedback is important for us." (TLA.3.1., 2017, M).

5.2.3.2.7. Remarks on the national level

As in Case A and Case B, there were comments on the national-level policy issues in our interview with TLA 3.1. The first is on the process that the CoHE selected research universities under its "research-oriented specialization program:

"Now there is a strategic shift in higher education. The CoHE aims to separate the universities as research universities and teaching universities. It received applications for that. Primarily it does this for state universities. It asks the universities whether they will be research universities or teaching universities. Of course, this question is something to be approached with fear when the consequences are not explained well. Why? Well, a university rector might think like, "if we say we will be a teaching university from now on, the allowance we get will be decreased and the research allowance will go to research universities. On the other hand, if we say we are a research university, then, they will say you don't need so many faculty members and cut the number of our academic staff" and so on. So they can reduce it to even simpler parameters and present a reflex accordingly. I am sure all of them can say that they will be both a research and a teaching university!" (TLA.3.1., 2017, M).

On academic drift and universities with diverse missions:

"We are a teaching university and a research university and a university organizing education together with the industry. Doing the research with the industry. Doing everything with the private sector. But, well, should every university be like this? The answer is not so clear, I don't think so. To me, one university can be a great teaching institution, doing only teaching. There can be places doing only research too, but this model did not work. For example, when İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü was established, Gebze Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü was established these were found as research-only places without undergraduate education. With certain political concerns and with a political decision they started accepting undergraduate students. And when you have undergraduate students, you have to teach. So maybe it is not that easy to separate" (TLA.3.1., 2017, M).

Finally, he questions the policy of expansion -opening universities in each city as a concern for resource management. Similar critics were made by some of the national experts:

> *"Now there is a government policy for having a university in every city. When you have a university in every city you need enough number of academic staff for fulfilling them. And you need resources for financing the research activities there. They think that we want to increase our R&D spending to 2% of the GDP. It increased to 1.2 from 0.8 and later to 1.4 but I think we are wasting our resources. We are really wasting our money. For example, there is a campaign for entrepreneurship programs. They want all universities to educate entrepreneurs. Who will be workers if everybody becomes entrepreneurs? And when there are universities in every city, if university graduates does everything who will clean the streets?" (TLA.3.1., 2017, M).*

5.2.3.3. Summary of Case C

Case C is a non-profit foundation university and a third-generation entrepreneurial university -as apparent in its strategic plan. Different than a typical entrepreneurial university, as given by Wissema (2009) the medium of instruction in Case C is Turkish (instead of English) and this aspect of being a national institution is also reflected in the academic programs, as there are departments like History and Turkish Literature, which are not directly linked to entrepreneurial activities.

As a young and compact university with its small size and governance structures, it looks much easier for this case to decide on their strategies and implement them, in comparison to the big size state universities. The university enjoys relative autonomy as such. For example, being able to decide on the maximum number of its students, is highly unimaginable for the state universities. As a result of such flexibility and relative autonomy, the foundation universities are expected to contribute to the higher education system with innovative or new practices that are difficult to try and implement in big-size state universities. The cooperative education model is an example of such contributions. Its outcomes and sustainability need to be analyzed in time. However, it looks as a specific advantage of this university based on the support it gets from the founding Union, to organize those job experience programs with relevant companies and institutions.

Corporate managerialism is evident in the university's governance and the performance system they apply to their faculty members. Apparently, there are diverse ways of implementing these managerial practices at universities; one is letting the faculty members negotiate on the criteria they are being evaluated.

To conclude, Case C is a compact entrepreneurial university incorporating entrepreneurialism in its research and education functions. As a foundation university, it brought certain innovative implementations into the higher education system, thus, contributing to the improvement of institutional diversity.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Managing the diverse demands and the needs of a variety of actors in the age of mass and universal higher education has become a major policy concern for governments. Türkiye is in a similar context since the 2000s parallel to the global trends. This thesis aims to understand the experiences and positions of three different types of universities in Türkiye in this period in the context of the developments at the national level. As such, it is a contribution in the sub-field of sociology of higher education, to the studies of the '*university as an institution'* from the institutionalist perspectives, combining the elements from institutional, national, and global levels. The findings presented in the previous Chapter at the national and institutional levels will be discussed in this chapter in relation to the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 3.

6.1. National level

- *Global trends in Turkish higher education*

Massification, internationalization, marketization, quality assurance mechanisms, university-industry linkages, new information and communication technologies, life-long learning, and student-centered learning approaches have been listed as 'global trends in higher education' shaping the national and institutional policy frameworks since the 2000s around the world. Türkiye is no exception to that especially due to its expansion policies resulting in an exponential growth of the system in 17 years and introduction of the quality assurance mechanisms (strategic planning, accreditation, foundation of the quality assurance council) as part of the implementations of the Bologna Process. Another result of the Bologna process, together with the Erasmus mobility programs, has been the institutionalization of

international cooperation offices at the universities and the inclusion of internationalization into institutional strategies (Erdoğan&Bulut-Şahin, 2022). On university-industry linkages; more than 60 Technoparks and Technology Transfer Offices under the coordination of the universities were established in this period. There have been developments in other global trends as well which are not focused on in the scope of this thesis.

- *Governance of higher education and the CoHE*

On the governance of higher education in Türkiye, as an early career researcher in the field of higher education research, I would expect the central governing body with such powers to have a strong capacity for data driven decision making processes with appropriate human resources that could develop long term comprehensive strategies in connection with other national policy areas like development policies, science and technology policies and youth policies among others. This weakness in its institutional capacity is surprising in a normative sense for policy making; however, it is not that confusing given the context that the CoHE was established (Chapter 4) and the primacy of its political role in controlling the higher education system, rather than designing or coordinating a well-functioning interconnected higher education ecosystem that satisfies the needs of the society and the demands of its constituents; students, researchers, academic and administrative staff etc. Such shortcomings of the CoHE in policy making should be kept in mind when evaluating its policies on massification and mission differentiation.

- *Massification*

Massification is a highly controversial issue in Turkish higher education. This can also be seen in the diverse views of the experts given above. First, there is a demographic concern. Given the young population of Türkiye -around 13 million at the age cohort 15-24 as of 2022 - there is high demand for higher education. For the central university entrance exam each year there are around 3 million applicants for 1 million available quotas. This is the main rationale behind the arguments in favor of further expansion. Its advocates give priority to responding to such demands despite quality concerns. High demand for higher education is also used for legitimizing the demands for for-profit universities and marketization of higher education. In such views, ‘higher education sector’ is considered as any free market

that needs to be run based on demand-supply equilibrium under the audit of quality assurance mechanisms.

Secondly, against this argument, other experts point the quality concerns for keeping the scientific standards of the universities and the weaknesses in the physical infrastructure of the newly established universities, which is a matter of resource allocation. They are critical about the inflation of foundation universities due to quality concerns, as well. Another fact against expansion is the rates of youth unemployment. According to Eurostat data in 2020 , the unemployment rate of university graduates (aged 20-64) is 12,7; which is almost same with that of graduates of primary school or less. This is highly contradictory as increasing the 'employability' of university graduates has been among the main discourses of the Bologna reforms. Thus, it rather looks as higher education itself has become an economic sector through marketization. In any case, the university education is losing one of its main premises, that of vertical mobility.

Thirdly, massification and expansion has certain positive outcomes as well. It has increased the number of first-generation university students. Also, it supports the social modernization of the less developed cities in different regions of Türkiye. This is kind of a de facto realization of the third mission of the university for social responsibility.

Overall, these points emphasize the necessity of multi-dimensional approaches to higher education policy interconnected with development policies, science and technology policies and youth policies. Specific to massification, the higher education system needs to be designed as an ecosystem with diverse institutions with diverse missions to respond to growing demands from wider sections of the society.

- *Mission differentiation and specialization program*

The growth in the size of the higher education system with massification and expansion policies brought up the problem of managing such big number of institutions under the authority of the CoHE. The response of the CoHE has been developing mission differentiation and specialization programs in 2015-2017, by

selecting research-oriented and regional development-oriented universities, which are still active. Compared to the California Master Plan, for example, this policy does not offer any design at the national level for the co-existence of elite and mass higher education institutions together, with their variety of institutional missions and histories. As the experts have pointed out, it works as a functional differentiation program for the government to benefit from universities' capacities for specific economic development areas at the national and regional levels. The outcomes of these programs for institutional diversity need to be assessed in the coming years. Because it is early to observe the impact of these programs on the institutional strategies and the transformation of the institutional culture and academic organization of these universities. That's also why these programs are not considered as creating new types of universities, yet.

- *Vertical diversity*

The selection of research universities based on the TÜBİTAK- Innovation and Entrepreneurship Index, is proof of the tendency towards the dominance of elements of the 'third generation' entrepreneurial university model in Türkiye. At the same time, it fosters another global trend related to the impact of global rankings and the discourse on the 'competitiveness in the global knowledge economy'. Comparable to its counterparts around the world that are known as 'excellence schemes', this group of research universities is expected to increase the reputation of Turkish higher education in the world and contribute to economic growth in the specific areas defined by the Ministry of Development. The official announcement of research universities, as such, creates institutional hierarchy and 'reputation race' reaffirming the primacy of research over teaching and other possible missions of the universities. As mentioned, both the national experts and some of the top-level administrators pointed out the importance of classifications for increasing the reputation and transparency of 'service for society' and regional development activities of universities. This could increase the horizontal diversity in the higher education system, instead of isomorphic strategies for becoming research universities.

- *Quality assurance, institutional autonomy, and institutional diversity*

Well-known for its role in establishing a uniform higher education system, the CoHE does not seem eager to delegate its main authorities and functions to the universities in the near future as can be seen in the comparison between the results for Türkiye, in the 2011-2023 EUA Autonomy Scorecards. Besides, as the top-level administrator at the CoHE in 2017 noted, the CoHE does not believe in the significance of institutional autonomy in the performance of the universities and the higher education system. This is exactly the point the paths of 'university autonomy' as an instrumental concept, and that of 'academic freedoms' as a moral or human rights concept diverge as (Matei &Iwinska, 2018) emphasized as a threat to the heritage of the fundamental values of the European universities.

In the arguments of the CoHE and some of the experts, the way for the CoHE to delegate its powers and to 'trust' in the organizational capacity of the universities rests in the successful implementation of the quality assurance mechanisms and the accreditation procedures. Thus, to gain autonomy from the state apparatus the universities need to adapt to the new managerial practices in their institutional culture by adapting to the 'quality culture' as such.

Contrary to such 'patronizing' approaches, the essence of institutional autonomy for universities in determining their missions, organizational structures, and academic practices as a prerequisite for institutional diversity is emphasized by many experts as well. When used as a transparency tool, and evaluation of the self-developed indicators for accountability the quality mechanisms can support diversity as well. As they are rather used as 'checklists' for predefined indicators they turn into instruments of coercive accountability and 'audit culture'.

- *Obstacles to institutional diversity*

As summarized earlier in the findings, the uniformity caused by the CoHE, the elements of coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism in the system, the experiences of academic drift and lack of autonomy and academic freedoms are given as the main obstacles for institutional diversity. With such deeply rooted factors against diversification, it is not realistic to expect improvements in favor of institutional diversity in near future.

A more interesting question would be, given the uniformity established by the CoHE in 40 years, and the mimetic behavior towards dominant models (national or global); to what extent are the universities capable of developing their unique organizational cultures? In other words, as Barnett (2011b) asks: *Where's the Imagination for the Idea of the University in the Twenty-First Century*? As mentioned, the global trends and the supercomplexity of our age are defined by uncertainty and crisis in many ways for humanity, and the earth necessities wider imaginations for the universities to fulfilling their responsibilities in creating better futures for our societies. The policy debates in Turkish higher education are, unfortunately, too narrow for coming to terms with such tectonic challenges of our times.

6.2. Institutional level

In this section, divergence and convergence between the types of universities and continuities and ruptures within the institutions are elaborated.

Overall, it can be argued that; case A has been founded and developed as a Humboldtian university and is moving towards institutional strategies for becoming an international research university incorporating some of the elements of the entrepreneurial activities in the third-generation university model in the last decades. But, it still feels the responsibility of keeping some of its Humboldtian characteristics which are reflected in its emphasis on (national) social responsibility. Case B, on the other hand, is founded and developed as an international research university. In the last decades, it takes part in the reputation race by benchmarking itself with world-class universities. At the same time, it has been highly involved in university-industry cooperation and entrepreneurial activities, which became a concern for its identity as a research university. This university also has a focus on social responsibility, but rather from a regional and global perspective compared to case A. All in all, both Case A and Case B can be called 'multiversities' as they are trying to handle complex demands from various parties through inconsistent but productive functions.

Case C is purely an entrepreneurial university compared to the first two. And being a small size foundation university, it enjoys relative autonomy in developing its

competitive institutional strategies and innovative practices for Turkish higher education. Thus, the elements of the entrepreneurial university as the dominant model of our times are evident in all of the cases. If one needs to rank them, C is the most, and A is the least entrepreneurial for now.

Rankings have also influenced institutional policies in all cases to a different degree. For Case C, it is clearly a policy written in the strategic plan. For Cases A and B the degree to it has impacted the policies changes depending on the perspective of the administration of the university. It was interesting that both TLA 1.1. and TLA 2.1, who were members of the administrations of their universities in the period of 2000-2008, took strong policies in pushing a 'publish or perish' culture as part of the criteria for promoting and appointing faculty members. And the administrators from the following period were rather soft on the issue. In Case A, teaching and social service were included in the criteria, and in Case B peer control was emphasized as a strength of the university culture. Both TLA 1.2 and 2.2. were more eager to sustain the tradition of collegial management, at least to some extent, to directly move towards new managerial practices. In this sense, the third period showed an open acceptance and belief in such quality assurance mechanisms at both universities. Once again, case C is a purer example of corporate management at universities with its strategic plan and performance evaluation mechanisms.

As a young university with its compact governance mechanisms Case C looks very consistent in its strategies for now. Case B has a consistent strategy for becoming a nationally and globally competitive international research university despite certain nuances that exist under different administrations. The weight of its entrepreneurial activities and social responsibility activities will be a matter of choice for deciding the missions of this university in the coming years. For Case A, there were major differences in the ways different administrations approached its Humboldtian character and transformation into an international research university. The internal diversity of this institution with the relative autonomy of its faculties makes it harder to develop an overall strategy at the top of the institution. The strategic planning mechanism is used in a stronger way for such purposes since 2016. Its impact on the internal homogenization of the institution and its position in the national higher education system needs to be further studied.

A final note here is on the third mission of the universities, in addition to teaching and research. Although it corresponds to the economic activities of the entrepreneurial university, there are occasions that it is also used for (non-economic) social responsibility activities of the universities for science communication, citizenship education, and so on. There seems to be a conceptual confusion here, which might be the result of the broader perspective in neoliberalism that formulates society as a market.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

To my perspective, the transformations in higher education are directly linked to the broader socio-economic transformations in human history, as presented in the typology of three generations of higher education (medieval, modern research and entrepreneurial). In modern times, the shifts in the university models emerge in relation to the shifts in the development paradigms at different stages of capitalist society. As such, Humboldt University is the university of the modern nation-state with the missions of nation-building and national development. And the American research university can be read through the emergence of post-industrial society after World War II. And the rise of the global knowledge economy since the 1990s gave way to the emergence of the entrepreneurial university. The emergent one seems to be 'universities for sustainable development goals' as 'even' THE Rankings has developed a special ranking for the impact of universities on SDGs[1], and increasingly research funds are linked to SDGs and climate change. Such simplification is just for analytical purposes to come to terms with the transitions in dominant higher education policy discourses at different stages of capitalism. The emergence of a new model does not necessarily mean total obsolescence of the elements of the previous dominant university model. And in each period, there are alternative models that coexist in the higher education system, even though they are less observable or paid lesser attention.

The higher education reform packages that were mentioned as the global trends in higher education since the 2000s for the global knowledge economy have caused a tectonic shift in the missions of the universities and the way they operate in a world of supercomplexity. In 2007, I was a member of the national Bologna experts team as a students' representative. That was the first time I heard of the discourses on higher education in/for the knowledge economy and society. Coming from a

political science background, I was thinking of the University in line with the Kantian Idea of the University as an Enlightenment project. So, the idea of reforming the University for the knowledge economy was quite shocking and unacceptable to me in the first encounter. Later, I decided to problematize this transformation academically and become a higher education researcher. And after a certain level of readings and experiences within the academic and administrative units at different universities, I frequently found myself in reflectively questioning, "where has the university that I admired and wanted a life has gone?" under the neoliberal and coercive practices at all aspects of the universities. This led me to investigate ways or spaces for the existence of a university as such, despite the dominant practices. Also, after a certain degree of readings on the Humboldt vs. Neoliberal University literature, I felt stuck. That led me to 'escape' to the conceptions of alternative universities as Ideas and forms. I still find contemplating and researching on alternative universities, like ecological university, sustainable university, feminist university etc., quite inspiring and imaginative for a future oriented higher education research. However, debates about these alternative discourses are rare in policy discourses in Turkish academia. Besides, the sociology of higher education and higher education research are relatively young fields in Türkiye, and there are quite a few sociological studies in the field. Thus, I wanted to start my journey in the field of sociology of higher education with a more comprehensive study touching upon global, national and institutional levels.

That's how "institutional diversity" emerged as a key concept. On the one hand, it allowed me to combine developments in higher education at global, national, and institutional levels providing a relatively comprehensive outlook on the dominant policies of higher education reforms. On the other hand, as an implicit motivation, it facilitated me for digging into the field in search of possibilities of alternative universities and the obstacles to their emergence (I have to admit that it has been a pessimistic journey in the Turkish case). At the same time, in the sociology of education and higher education, the term 'diversity' widely refers to class, race, and identity based inequalities in access to higher education. As discussed in the literature, institutional diversity and the existence of various types of higher education is better at serving the needs of wider groups in society. This connection is less focused on, and it is another reason for researching institutional diversity in

different higher education systems. Finally, researching institutional diversity as a key topic for mass higher education systems is significant for protecting the elite universities and their traditions within the massified national systems, as has been the case in the California Master Plan. This point is highly relevant for policy debates in Türkiye, as there are few well-established elite universities in the system, and they are facing the challenges of operating in a massified system under uniform regulations of the CoHE.

Once decided to work on institutional diversity in Turkish higher education, I had to decide whether I would conduct a quantitative analysis at the national level to provide a classification of 207 institutions or qualitative research for a deeper understanding of the experiences at the institutional level. The first would be a much better fit for policy development purposes, and I did not want that. Focusing so much on numbers does not touch upon more profound institutional experiences. Moreover, I wanted to learn how universities experience such global trends at the institutional level. This led me to research the experiences of three different types of universities in Türkiye. The universities are selected based on their position in the national higher education system, the variety of traditions they are rooted in (German and American), the variety of formal types of universities in Türkiye (state and foundation), and the variety of ideal types they represent (Humboldt, international research and entrepreneurial).

In the literature on institutional diversity, the sociological institutionalist perspective is widely used, accompanied by new institutionalism. I followed this path. This perspective worked well in the context of this study in explaining the impact of global trends and the institutional environment in the national higher education system, leading to isomorphism and convergence. And to investigate the divergences within and between the different types of institutions, I needed another analytical tool. Thus, the three types of universities i.e. Humboldt, international research and entrepreneurial, are constructed as Weberian ideal types.

The research questions on the national level focused on the impact of global trends on reforming Turkish higher education in the 2000s and the elements fostering and preventing institutional diversity. According to the findings of the study, the national

level policies in Türkiye in the 2000s comply with the policy agenda of the global trends, especially in terms of massification and expansion. However, this did not necessarily result in the diversification of the system. The challenges of governing a system with 207 universities with 8 million students through uniform regulations are among the main policy concerns of the CoHE since 2016. The mission differentiation and specialization programs are developed for such concerns, which include the selection of research universities and regional development-oriented universities. This policy might be successful in functional differentiation for serving to certain political and economic demands from the government. However, it does not define any new organizational and academic model that could be considered as a contribution to institutional diversity. Beyond that, the findings provide a list of obstacles to institutional diversity, such as; the uniformity caused by the CoHE, the elements of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism in the system, the experiences of academic drift and lack of autonomy and academic freedoms. As mentioned in Chapter 4, a certain level of institutional diversity existed before the CoHE was established in 1981. As creating a uniform higher education system was among the initial missions of the CoHE, institutional diversity has not been on the policy agenda. And the attempts to distinguish a number of elite universities from the mass system by giving them special status with institutional autonomy have failed since then. The recent list of research universities is not provided any exceptions for institutional autonomy either. Given the scores of Türkiye in the EUA Autonomy scorecards in 2011 and 2023, it is unrealistic to expect an increase in institutional autonomy. And without institutional autonomy, institutional diversity cannot exist.

The research questions on the institutional level focused on the institutional responses of three different types of universities to the implications of global trends on Turkish higher education in the 2000s. First of all, a lack of autonomy causes troubles for all cases in developing and sustaining their institutional strategies. Case C enjoys benefits of its relative autonomy as a small size foundation university. Second, all have corporate managerial practices and quality assurance mechanisms put in place as part of implementing the Bologna Process in Türkiye, as an agenda setter. Third, the elements of the dominant entrepreneurial model are found at each university at varying degrees; Case C being the most and Case A being the least

entrepreneurial ones. Coming from the Humboldtian tradition, Case A faces the biggest challenge in keeping its old identity and incorporating new contradictory missions in adapting to academic capitalism and the new world of the rankings. The discontinuities in the consecutive administrations' policies on the fundamental policy choices are implications of this challenge. Case B is relatively advantageous in this context, having an international orientation since its establishment and the common acceptance of its institutional strategy for becoming an international research university in the administrations since the 2000s. This university is rather in a position to decide to move further on its entrepreneurial characteristics or to strengthen what it has been doing successfully in research and teaching as an international research university. Finally, Case C is explicitly established as an entrepreneurial university and has its strategic plan in action for running its entrepreneurial activities in teaching and research. It enjoys the advantages of being a compact small-size university. A final note on Case A and Case B is that as they are big-size universities with diverse and contradictory functions serving various stakeholders, they can better be understood as 'multiversities' discussed in section 3.5.

As a suggestion for further research, I can note the need for a deeper understanding of the transformations within these institutions and the layers in their institutional history and organizational and academic culture deeper qualitative studies need to be conducted on the histories of the universities, faculties, and departments to cover the internal diversity of the institution. Also, especially for researchers working on institutional diversity, looking at the alternative universities with a variety of missions, organizational cultures, and pedagogies that are not usually realized in the policy documents and rankings might be more relevant for a better understanding of the scope of the diverse practices of higher education against paying too much attention on the dominant ones.

I want to conclude this thesis with two remarks from Bauman (1997) on welcoming the internal and external diversity of higher education institutions and emphasizing its necessity for facing the variety of challenges our societies experience today and the anxiety of an uncertain future:

“I submit that it is precisely the plurality and multi-vocality of the present day collection of the gatherings for the sake of the pursuit of higher learning’…that offer the universities, old and new altogether, emerging successfully from the present challenge. It is the good luck of the universities that there are so many of them, that there are no two exactly alike, and that inside every university there is a mind-boggling variety of departments, schools, styles of thoughts, styles of conversation, and even styles of stylistic concerns. It is the good luck of the universities that despite all the efforts of the self-proclaimed saviors, know-better and well-wishers to prove the contrary, they are not comparable, not measurable by the same yardstick and -most important of all- not speaking in unison.” (p.25).

"Only such universities have something of value to offer multivocal world of uncoordinated needs, self-procreating possibilities, and self-multiplying choices. In a world in which no one can anticipate the kind of expertise that may be needed tomorrow, the dialogues that may need mediation, and the beliefs that may need interpretation, here the recognition of many and varied ways to, and many and carried canons of, higher learning is the condition sine qua non of the university system capable of rising to the postmodern challenge." (p.25).

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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Sayı: 28620816 / 193

05 NİSAN 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz HOŞGÖR;

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız doktora öğrencisi Mete KURTOĞLU' nun ***"Türk Yükseköğretiminde Kurumsal Çeşitlilik"*** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2017-SOS-057** protokol numarası ile **05.04.2017 – 30.07.2017** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

B. CURRICULUM VITAE

Surname/Name: Kurtoğlu, Mete

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
Ph.D.	METU Sociology	2023
M.S.	METU Political Science and Public Administration	2009
B.A. (minor)	METU Philosophy (Applied Ethics)	2005
B.A.	METU Political Science and Public Administration	2005

EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2020-2024	COST-ReMO (CA19117)	MC Member
2013-2016	KTÜ Sociology	Research Assistant
2012-2013	Philipps-Universität Marburg	Guest Researcher
February- August 2012	Ordu Uni. -Public Administration	Research Assistant
2010-2011	METU-ÖGEM (administrative)	Research Assistant
2006-2010	METU-ICO (administrative)	Research Assistant

PUBLICATIONS

Book chapters

1. Kurtoğlu, M., Erdoğan, A. & Durman, M. (2022). Giriş: Bologna Süreci'nin Dünü, Bugünü ve Geleceği İdealler, Uygulamalar, Zorluklar. Kurtoğlu, M., Erdoğan, A. & Durman, M. (der.). 20. Yılında Bologna Süreci, Avrupa Yükseköğretim Alanı ve Türkiye (13-29), ISBN: 978-605-73130-1-0, TÜRKİYE: Beykoz Üniversitesi Yayınları

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LANGUAGES

Turkish: Native

English: Advanced

German: Basic

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Son yirmi yılda tüm dünyada yükseköğretimde büyük dönüşümler yaşandı. Kitleselleşme, uluslararasılaşma, piyasalaşma, kalite güvence mekanizmaları, üniversite-sanayi iş birliği, yeni bilgi ve iletişim teknolojileri, yaşam boyu öğrenme ve öğrenci merkezli öğrenme yaklaşımları bu dönemdeki yükseköğretim reformlarının; küresel, ulusal ve kurumsal düzeylerde temel boyutlarını oluşturmuştur. Bu küresel eğilimlere uygun olarak, Türk yükseköğretimi 2000'li yıllardan itibaren hızlı bir kitleselleşme ve genişleme süreci yaşamıştır. Bunun sonucu olarak, artan yükseköğretim kurumu ve öğrenci sayılarını yönetmek ve toplumun farklılaşan ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermek, Türk yükseköğretim sistemi için önemli bir politika gündemi haline gelmiştir. 'Kurumsal çeşitlilik'; yükseköğretim sosyolojisi ve yükseköğretim araştırmaları literatüründe, kitlesel yükseköğretim sistemlerini yönetme ve çeşitlendirme tartışmaları için anahtar bir kavramdır. Bu bağlamda, bu tez, -kitleselleşme, genişleme ve kurumsal çeşitliliğe odaklanarak- belirtilen küresel eğilimlerin Türk yükseköğretimi üzerindeki etkisini ulusal ve kurumsal düzeylerde analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ulusal düzeyde, kitleselleşme ve kurumsal çeşitlilik koşullarını analiz etmek için uzman görüşmeleri yapılmıştır. Kurumsal düzey içinse, bu dönüşümlere tepkilerini incelemek üzere üç farklı üniversite türü (yani Humboldt, uluslararası araştırma ve girişimci) belirlenmiş ve bu üniversitelerin misyonlarındaki ve kurumsal stratejilerindeki süreklilik ve kopuşlar irdelenmiştir. Tezin bulguları, bu farklı üniversite türlerinin belirtilen süreçteki benzeşme ve farklılaşmalarını ve Türkiye'de kurumsal çeşitliliğin önündeki engelleri tartışmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında üniversiteler ulusal bir yükseköğretim sistemi içerisinde örgütsel çevrelerinden etkilere açık ve kendi kurumsal stratejilerini belirleme özerkliğine sahip kurumlar olarak ele alınmıştır.

Çalışmanın temel araştırma soruları şöyle ifade edilmiştir:

1. Yükseköğretimde küresel eğilimlerin Türk yükseköğretim sistemine 2000-2017 yılları arasındaki yansımalarına Türkiye’de farklı tip üniversiteler nasıl yanıt vermiştir?

2. Küresel eğilimlerin Türk yükseköğretim sistemine yansımaları kurumsal çeşitlilik düzeyini nasıl etkilemiştir?

Çalışmanın amacına uygun şekilde ideal tip (Weber) olarak üç üniversite türü belirlenmiştir. Humboldt üniversitesi, uluslararası araştırma üniversitesi ve girişimci üniversite tipleri tarihsel olarak da farklı dönem ve bağlamlarda gelişen üniversite modellerine denk gelmektedir. Bu üniversitelerin belirtilen dönemdeki politika değişikliklerini ve ideal tiplerinden sapmalarını ele almak üzere seçilen üniversitelerin 2000-2017 yılları arasındaki üst yöneticileri ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ulusal düzeydeki politika tartışmalarını anlamak içinse yükseköğretim alanında farklı deneyim ve birikimlere sahip uzmanlarla yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar yapılmıştır.

- **Yükseköğretim sosyolojisi ve yükseköğretim araştırmaları**

Yükseköğretim sosyolojisi, sosyolojinin bir alt alanı olarak, yükseköğretimde 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrası yaşanan genişleme bağlamında 1960larda ortaya çıkmıştır. Amerika'da bu alanın kurucularından olan Burton Clark (1973) bu genişleme sonucunda yükseköğretimin yönetici elit, hükümetler ve genel toplum için daha önemli hale gelmesiyle birlikte sosyal araştırmacılar için de bir araştırma alanı haline geldiğini vurgulamaktadır. Böylece 1960larda iktisat, siyaset bilimi, tarih, örgüt çalışmaları ve sosyoloji alanlarında eğitim konusu yeniden önem kazanmıştır.

Hükümetler için ulusun güçlenmesi için dinamik ve gelişmiş bir ekonomi yaratılması eğitimin rasyonelleştirilmesini gerektiriyordu. Bu yönde politikaların önemli bir örneği 1960 California Master Plan'dır. Amerikan araştırma üniversitesinin gelişimi açısından önemli olan bu plan aynı zamanda kitleselleşen yükseköğretimini yönetilmesi açısından özel bir örnektir. Farklı misyonlar ve hedef gruplarla tanımlanmış farklı tür üniversitelerden oluşan bir sistemin tasarlandığı bu plan kurumsal çeşitlilik için ayrıcalıklı bir model oluşturmaktadır. Politika geliştirme açısından değerinin ötesinde bu Planın hazırlık süreci ve üzerine gelişen tartışmalar yükseköğretim sosyolojisi alanının sistematikleşmesi açısından değerli katkılar sağlamıştır. Clark Kerr'in "multiversite" modeli, Martin Trow'un elit, kitlesel ve evrensel yükseköğretim sistemleri sınıflandırması ve Burton Clark'ın bir

örgüt/kurum olarak üniversite üzerine çalışmaları bu dönemde ortaya çıkan katkılardır.

2000lerden itibaren gelişen yükseköğretimde küresel eğilimlerin oluşturduğu çok katmanlı ve çok boyutlu reform süreçleri ise yükseköğretim araştırmalarının uluslararası ve disiplinler arası bir alan olarak gelişimine yol açmıştır. 2018 itibarıyla bu alanda dünya genelinde 218 araştırma merkezi, 277 lisansüstü program ve 121 bilimsel dergi olduğu belirtilmektedir (Tight, 2018). Bu çalışmalarda yükseköğretimin erişim, çeşitlilik, yönetimi, finansman, öğrenci deneyimi, akademisyenlik vb. boyutları yönetim bilimleri, eğitim bilimleri ve sosyoloji gibi çeşitli alanlardan araştırmacılar tarafından incelenmektedir. Bu eğilim Türkiye'de de 2010 sonrası ortaya çıkmış ve çeşitli araştırma merkezleri ve bilimsel dergiler faaliyete geçmiştir (Kurtoğlu, 2019a).

- **Yükseköğretimde küresel eğilimler**

2000'lerden itibaren yükseköğretim alanında tüm dünyada öne çıkan kitleselleşme, uluslararasılaşma, piyasalaşma, kalite güvence mekanizmaları, üniversite-sanayi iş birliği, yeni bilgi ve iletişim teknolojileri, yaşam boyu öğrenme ve öğrenci merkezli öğrenme yaklaşımları gibi reform başlıkları küresel eğilimler olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu politika eğilimleri daha kapsamlı bir sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüme işaret eden küresel bilgi ekonomisine/toplumuna geçiş söylemleri etrafında şekillenmiştir. İçsel büyüme, beşeri sermaye ve yeni kamu işletmeciliği teorilerinin öncülüğünde yükseköğretime ilişkin neoliberal politikalar Dünya Bankası ve OECD raporlarında egemen hale gelmiştir. Yükseköğretimi ekonomik büyümenin ana motoru olarak tanımlayan bu politikalar ülkelerinin 'küresel rekabet edebilirliğini' artırmak amacıyla hükümetlerin yükseköğretim reformlarına olan ilgileri oldukça artmıştır. Bu durum birçok ülkede benzer reform paketlerini ortaya çıkartmıştır. Bu reform paketlerinin en kapsamlısı Avrupa'yı dünyanın en rekabetçi ve dinamik bilgi ekonomisi yapmayı hedefleyen Lizbon stratejisi ile bağlantılı olarak geliştirilen Bologna sürecidir.

Türkiye'de de 2000lerden itibaren Bologna sürecinin de etkisi ile bu küresel eğilimlerin yükseköğretimde kalite güvence sistemleri oluşturulması gibi birçok

boyutuna yönelik reform çalışmaları yürütülmüştür. Yine bilgi ekonomisine geçiş ve üniversite-sanayi işbirliği politikaları kapsamında birçok üniversitede teknoparklar ve teknoloji transfer ofisleri oluşturulmuştur. Tezin konusu açısından en önemli değişim ise yükseköğretimin hızlı bir şekilde kitleselleşmesi ve genişlemesi olmuştur. Öğrenci sayılarının ve yükseköğretim kurumu sayılarının katlanarak büyümesi ulusal düzeyde yükseköğretimin yönetimi konusunda çeşitli sorunlar ortaya çıkarmış ve YÖK'ü misyon farklılaştırması gibi yeni politikalara yönlendirmiştir. Bu tezin konusu YÖK'ün bu politika ile araştırma üniversiteleri ve bölgesel kalkınma odaklı üniversiteler belirleme sürecindeki tartışmalar ekseninde gelişmiştir. Katılımcılarla görüşmelerin gerçekleştiği 2017 yılında bu uygulamalar ilk kez geliştiriliyordu ve görüşme içeriklerine de etki eden canlı bir gündemdi. Araştırma üniversitelerin nasıl belirleneceği, vakıf üniversiteleri ile özel üniversitelere ayrıştırmak amacıyla kar amaçlı üniversitelere izin verilmesi için hazırlanan yasa taslağı ve bağımsız bir kalite kurulu oluşturulması bu dönemdeki ana politika tartışmalarıydı.

- **Kitleselleşme, genişleme ve kurumsal çeşitlilik**

Tarihsel bir eğilim olarak dünya genelinde genişlemekte olan yükseköğretime katılım oranları 1960'ta 13 milyon olan üniversite öğrenci sayısının 2005'te 137 milyona ulaşmasından ve katılım oranlarının 2018'de %38'e ulaşmasından anlaşılabilir (UNESCO). Bu, Trow'un sınıflandırmasına göre evrensel bir yükseköğretime doğru genel bir eğilimi göstermektedir. Bu sınıflandırmaya göre:

- *Elit yükseköğretim* yükseköğretime erişimin yüzde 15'ten az olması ve ana işlevinin yönetici sınıfın yetiştirilmesi ile tanımlıdır.
- *Kitlesel yükseköğretim* yükseköğretime erişimin yüzde 16-50 arası olması ve daha geniş teknik ve iktisadi roller için mezunlar yetiştirmesi ile tanımlıdır.
- *Evrensel yükseköğretim* yükseköğretime erişimin yüzde 50'nin üzerinde olması ve genel nüfusu hızlı toplumsal ve teknolojik değişimlere adapte etme rolü ile tanımlıdır.

Bu sınıflandırmadaki üç kategori basit tarihsel aşamalar olarak değerlendirilmemelidir. Yükseköğretim sistemleri içerisinde erişim açısından evrensel yükseköğretime erişildiğinde de elit ve kitlesel niteliklerde misyonlarını sürdüren yükseköğretim kurumları var olmaya devam etmektedirler. Bu farklı misyona sahip kurumların aynı sistemi içerinde yer alabilmeleri açısından kurumsal

çeşitlilik temel bir kavramdır. Kitleselleşen yükseköğretimin toplumun farklı kesimlerinin çeşitlenen taleplerine karşılık vermesi beklenir. Bu da ortaya yeni üniversite modelleri ve misyonları çıkması ile mümkündür. Bununla birlikte (genellikle eğitim ağırlıklı) kitlesel talebi karşılayan kurumlar olması mevcut elit üniversitelerin (araştırma yoğun) geleneksel faaliyetlerini sürdürmelerini kolaylaştırmaktadır. California Master Plan kapsamında gelişen model araştırma üniversiteleri ile kitlesel eğitim veren üniversiteleri ayrıştırarak bu konuda başarılı olmuştur. Sistem içerisinde farklı üniversite türleri arasında geçişlerin hangi koşullarda mümkün olduğu da tanımlıdır.

Bu açıdan, birçok hükümet toplumsal hareketlilik, esneklik, etkinlik ve yenilikçiliğe olası katkıları nedeniyle kurumsal çeşitliliği geliştiren politikalar uygulamaktadır. Kurumsal çeşitliliğin; farklı sosyo-ekonomik geçmişten öğrencilerin erişimini kolaylaştırması, farklı erişim yolları geliştirerek toplumsal hareketliliğe katkı sağlaması, istihdam piyasasında artan uzmanlık çeşitlerine yanıt verilmesi, elit ve kitlesel yüksek eğitimin bir arada var olması, uzmanlaşma yoluyla kurumların etkinliğinin artırılması, farklı kimliklerden farklı grupların yükseköğretime erişerek siyasal meşruiyet kazanmaları ve tüm kurumların yenilikçilik için alan bulması gibi çok boyutlu argümanlarla savunulmaktadır. (Birnbaum, 1983:44-45). Bununla birlikte bir yükseköğretim sisteminde kurum sayısının artması çeşitliliğin artacağı anlamına gelmemektedir. Yine, kapsamı ve iç çeşitliliği yüksek olan (program çeşitleri, diploma türleri vb.) üniversitelerin varlığı çeşitliliğe olan ihtiyacı azaltabilir. Örneğin, bir üniversitede ön lisans, lisans ve lisansüstü programların uzaktan ve örgün yöntemlerle sunulması gibi.

Yine literatürde, kurumsal özerkliği ve kurumların kendi profillerini geliştirmelerini önleyici kanun ve yönetmeliklerin çeşitlenmeye engel teşkil ettiği belirtilmektedir. Bununla birlikte ulusal ve uluslararası sıralamalar gibi dikey çeşitliliği teşvik eden (araştırma üniversiteleri tanımlamak gibi) modellerde üniversitelerin bu yarış içerisinde birbirleri ile benzeşmesi gibi sonuçlar yaratabilmektedir. Bu listelerde üst pozisyonlarda yer alan üniversitelerin prestij ve gelir ile ödüllendirildiği düşüncesi diğer üniversitelerin de stratejilerine bu listelerde yer almak üzere belirlemesine yol açmaktadır. Uluslararası sıralamaların araştırma çıktılarına ağırlık veriyor olması, eğitim ve toplumsal katkı misyonlarının ikinci plana itilmesine neden oluşturabilir.

Kurumsal çeşitlilik açısından da eğitim ya da toplumsal katkı misyonlarını ön planda tutmak isteyen üniversitelerin bu sıralamalarda kendilerine yere bulamamaları çabalarının değersiz olduğu fikrini yaratabilir, ya da bu üniversiteler öğrenciler tarafından daha az tercih edilebilirler. Bu açıdan sıralamalar yerine bir şeffaflık aracı olarak farklı misyonlara sahip üniversiteleri kategoriler altında sunan sınıflandırmalar tercih edilmelidir.

- **Türk yükseköğretiminde kurumsal çeşitlilik**

Türk yükseköğretiminde farklı kurum türleri denilince tarihsel olarak Cumhuriyetin ilk döneminden itibaren Alman, Fransız ve Amerikan modellerinin etkisi ile kurulmuş üniversitelerden söz edilebilir. Yine 1960ların görece özerklik döneminde akademiler, konservatuvarlar gibi farklı kurum tipleri çeşitliliğe katkı sağlamıştır. 1981'de YÖK'ün kuruluşu ile birlikte tüm yükseköğretim kurumlarının üniversite olarak tanımlanması ve tek bir çatı altında toplanması çeşitliğin azalmasına neden olmuştur ve YÖK tektipleştirici bir kurum olarak anılmaktadır.

1991'de belirli üniversitelere özel statü ile daha fazla özerklik sağlanması gibi girişimler başarılı olamamış, yüksek teknoloji enstitüsü gibi yeni kurum tipleri ise zaman içerisinde üniversiteye dönüştürülerek tektipleşme eğilimini sürdürmüştür. Türkiye'de yükseköğretim reformu üzerine çeşitli raporlarda kurumsal çeşitliliğin önemine değinilse de bunun politikalara yansıması olmamıştır. En somut olarak, 2012-13 yıllarında yürütülen kapsamlı çalışmalar sonucunda hazırlanan yükseköğretim reformu tasarısında kurumsal çeşitlilik temel beş ilke arasında yerini almış ancak bu tasarı yasalaşmadığı için uygulanmamıştır. Mevcut sistemde resmi olarak devlet ve vakıf üniversitelerinden oluşan iki tip bulunmaktadır. Özel üniversitelere izin verilmesi dönem dönem gündeme gelmekle birlikte resmileşmemiştir. Bu tartışmalar yukarıda belirtilen kurumsal çeşitlilik çerçevesinden uzak yaklaşımlardır.

Son olarak, 2016-2017'de YÖK misyon farklılaşması ve uzmanlaşma programlarını uygulamaya sokmuş ve araştırma üniversiteleri ve bölgesel kalkınma odaklı üniversiteleri belirlemeye başlamıştır. Bir tür iş bölümüne dayanan ekonomik yaklaşım merkezli bu uygulamanın kurumsal çeşitliliğe katkısı görüşmeler sırasında

uzmanlar tarafından eleştirel bir şekilde ele alınmıştır. Araştırma üniversiteleri belirleme ise dünya genelinde 'excellence initiative' olarak bilinen, sıralamalarda öne çıkarak ülkeyi temsil edecek ve bilgi ekonomisinde ülkenin rekabet edebilirliğini artıracak bir grup üniversite seçip teşvik etme politikalarının bir örneği olarak ele alınmaktadır.

- **Bulgular: Ulusal düzey**

Bu bölümde ana hatları ile ulusal düzeyde Yükseköğretim uzmanları ile gerçekleştirilen görüşmelerin içerik analizlerinden ortaya çıkan nihai bulgular özetlenmektedir.

Yükseköğretim yönetimi tezin ana başlıklarından biri olmamakla birlikte, YÖK'ün Türk yükseköğretimindeki merkezi konumu ve kitleselleşme ve kurumsal çeşitliliğe ilişkin politika süreçlerindeki belirleyici rolü nedeniyle görüşmelerde öne çıkan başlıklardan biri olmuştur. Bulgulara göre, aşırı yetkili olmasına karşın YÖK'ün uzun süreli kapsamlı politikalar tasarlayacak örgüt yapısına ve insan kaynağına sahip olmaması şaşırtıcı bir gerçek olarak vurgulanmıştır. Bu durum kitleselleşme ve kurumsal çeşitliliğe yönelik politikalarda da kendini göstermektedir. Böylesine büyük bir sistemin hükümetler, toplum ve ekonomiden gelen talepleri karşılayacak şekilde, ülkenin kalkınma, bilim ve teknoloji ve gençlik politikaları ile eşgüdümlü bir ekosistem olarak tasarlanması gerekmektedir. Bu ekosistem içerisinde kendi profil ve stratejilerini geliştirebilmeleri için yükseköğretim kurumlarının gerekli kurumsal özerkliğe ve kaynaklara sahip olması beklenir. Ancak EUA özerklik tablolarında 2011-2023 karşılaştırmasında görüleceği üzere Türkiye özerklik konusunda oldukça düşük puanlara sahiptir ve bu 12 yılda ilerleme kaydetmemiştir.

Ayrıca, 50 yıldan uzun tarihe sahip çok az sayıda üniversite bulunması güçlü ve sürdürülebilir kurum kimliği ve kültüründen söz etmeyi zorlaştırmaktadır. Bu durum üniversitelerin misyonlarını ve kurumsal stratejilerini belirletip uygulamalarını da zorlaştırmaktadır. Özerklik eksikliği de, kurumsal çeşitlilik yaklaşım açısından, üniversitelerin farklı örgütsel ve pedagojik modeller geliştirmesi, yeni deneyimlere açık olabilmesi ve yenilikçi olabilmesi açısından engeller oluşturmaktadır. Bu

noktada YÖK'ün halen özerklik konusunda üniversiteler güvenmiyor olduğu gerçeği uzmanlarca çeşitli şekillerde dile getirilmiştir.

Kitleselleşme konusunda ise hızla yükselen öğrenci sayıları ve kurum sayısı ile birlikte yükseköğretim sisteminin yönetilemez hale geldiği uzman görüşmeciler tarafından dile getirilmiştir. Misyon farklılaşması projesi YÖK'ün de bu sorunu kabul ettiği ve çözüm arayışında olduğunun bir göstergesidir. Uzman görüşmelerinde kitleselleşme üzerine üç ana yaklaşım ortaya çıkmıştır:

- Demografik yaklaşım, ülkenin genç nüfusu ve yükseköğretime olan talep nedeniyle, kalite eleştirilerine fazla aldırmadan genişlemenin devam etmesi gerektiğini iddia etmektedir.
- Kalite yaklaşımı ise, toplu şekilde yeni üniversiteler açılmadan önce fiziksel altyapıları ve akademisyen ihtiyacı için gerekli planlamanın yapılmasını önerirken; yerelleşme ve temel üniversite değerlerinden uzaklaşma riskine dikkat çekmektedir.
- Market yaklaşımı ise, yükseköğretim sektöründe arz-talep dengesi içerisinde farklı talep gruplarına yönelik üniversite çeşitliliğinin şeffaflık içerisinde sağlanmasını ve kalite güvence mekanizmaları ile kontrol edilmesini önermektedir.

Kurumsal çeşitlilik konusunda resmi olarak iki tip olduğu ve bu konudaki tartışma yaklaşımların sığ kaldığı belirtilmiştir. YÖK'ün tektipleştirici etkisi, sistem içerisinde benzeşmeyi (isomorphism) destekleyen unsurların yaygınlığı ve özerklik ve akademik özgürlük önündeki engeller kurumsal çeşitliliği olumsuz etkileyen faktörler olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Araştırma üniversitesi belirleme gibi dikey çeşitlenme yaratan uygulamalar da bu yarışa giren üniversiteler arasındaki benzeşmeyi artıran bir faktördür. Yeni kurulan üniversitelerin de bu sıralama yarışında yer almak istemesi bunun bir göstergesidir. Politika düzeyinde ise misyon farklılaşması programı bir adım olarak görülebilir. Ancak, orada da yükseköğretim sistemine bütüncül bir yaklaşımla farklı misyonlara, örgütsel yapılara ve akademik yaklaşımlara sahip üniversiteleri içeren kapsamlı bir politikadan bahsedilememektedir. Uzman görüşmeciler bu programı bir çeşitlendirme yaklaşımından çok hükümetin ekonomik yaklaşımla ortaya koyduğu taleplere yönelik bir işlevsel farklılaşma ve işbölümü olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu programın kurumsal çeşitliliğe olumlu olumsuz etkisi gelecek on yıllarda araştırılmalıdır.

- **Bulgular: Kurumsal düzey**

Bu bölümde ideal tip olarak belirlenen Humboldt üniversitesi, uluslararası araştırma üniversitesi ve girişimci üniversite modellerinde Türkiye'den üç üniversitenin üst düzey yöneticileri ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatların bulguları paylaşılmaktadır.

Humboldt üniversitesi niteliğindeki **Üniversite A** bu ideal tiple uyumlu olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluş yıllarından itibaren ulus inşasına ve ulusal kalkınmaya katkı sağlama misyonunu üstlenmiştir. Zaman içerisinde Türkiye'de Humboldt geleneğinin bir örneğini oluşturan bu üniversite yeni üniversitelerin gelişimine de katkı sağlamıştır. 2000lerde ise, yükseköğretimde küresel eğilimlerin Türkiye'deki yansımaları neticesinde neoliberal üniversitenin belirli özelliklerini bünyesine dahil etmek durumunda kalmıştır; akademik performans sistemleri, teknopark ve girişimci faaliyetler gibi. Bu dönüşüm "başka yol yok" yaklaşımıyla meşrulaştırılırken, üniversitenin sistem içerisindeki güçlü konumunu sürdürme ihtiyacı burada belirleyici etkenlerden biri olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu durum, egemen küresel eğilimlerin yükseköğretimde benzeşmeyi teşvik ettiği gerçeğinin bir örneğidir. En köklü kurumlar bile bu değişimi kaçınılmaz görmektedir. Bu açıdan Üniversite A, geleneksel özellikleri ile neoliberal üniversitenin değişim talepleri arasındaki uzlaşmaz çelişkilerin kimliksel çatışmalarını yaşamaktadır. Yine de, üniversitenin Humboldtçu karakterini tamamen yitirdiğini iddia etmek haksız bir yaklaşım olabilir. Ülkenin modernleşmesi için hissedilen sorumluluk üniversitenin üçüncü misyonu kapsamında yürüttüğü toplumsal sorumluluk faaliyetlerinde öne çıkmaktadır. Bu çelişik kimlik ve misyonların bir arada yürütülme durumu nedeniyle bu üniversiteyi bir 'multiversite' olarak tanımlamak mümkündür.

Bu üniversite hakkında genelleme yapmanın bir zorluğu fakültelerinin üniversite kimliğinin ötesinde kendi kimlik ve geleneklerine sahip olmasıdır. Bir iç çeşitlilik göstergesi olan bu durum nedeniyle kurumsal çeşitlilik çalışmalarına kurum içerisinde fakülte ve bölümler arası farklılıkların da dahil edilmesi önem taşımaktadır. Örneğin, bu üniversitede tıp ve mühendislik fakültelerinin neoliberal özellikleri içselleştirmekte pek zorlanmadığı, sosyal bilimler alanındaki fakültelerin ise önemli bir direnç gösterdiği belirtilmiştir. Üniversitenin farklı akademik

kültürlerden ‘akademik kabilelerden’ oluşan özü itibarıyla çeşitlilik üreten bir kurum olduğu göz ardı edilmemelidir.

Son olarak, bu üniversiteye ilişkin bulgularda birbirini takip eden yönetimler arasında üniversitenin bazı temel politikaları konusunda yaklaşım farklılıkları olmasının uzun süreli stratejiler geliştirme ve uygulama noktasında kopukluklar oluşturduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Stratejik planlamanın Türkiye için yeni bir uygulama olduğu düşünüldüğünde, bunun üniversitelerde politika geliştirme ve karar alma süreçlerine etkisi, nasıl bir kurum kültürü oluşturduğu zaman içerisinde değerlendirilmelidir.

Üniversite B, bir uluslararası araştırma üniversitesi ve İngilizce eğitim veren bir kurum olarak kuruluşundan itibaren uluslararası bir yaklaşıma sahiptir. 2000li yıllarda uluslararası araştırma üniversitesi olma konusunda politikalara ağırlık veren bu üniversite, kendisini daha çok ‘world-class’ üniversitelerle kıyaslayarak politikalarını belirleme eğilimindedir. Türkiye’de Amerikan modeli bir örneği olarak YÖK sonrasında kurulan birçok Amerikan modeli üniversiteye rol model oluşturmuştur. Bir yandan da bu dönemde Amerikan modelinde kurulan vakıf üniversiteleri ile akademisyen ve öğrenci çekme yarışına girmek durumunda kalması, yükseköğretim sistemi içerisindeki öncü konumunu sürdürmek açısından bu üniversite için temel bir zorluk oluşturmuştur. Birçok konuda Türkiye’de ilk olmaktan gurur duyan ve bunu fazlasıyla önemseyen bu üniversite için 2000lerde yeni atılımlar yapma gereği hissedilmiştir. Diğer yandan, göreci özerklik döneminde kurulup kendi geleneklerini oluşturan bir üniversite olarak YÖK’ün kurulması ile birlikte özerklik konusunda ciddi sıkıntılar yaşamıştır.

Kurumsal stratejiler açısından takip eden yönetimler arasında uluslararası araştırma üniversitesi olmak konusunda ortak bir vizyon olması ana politikalarda bir süreklilik sağlamıştır. Yine de stratejik plan uygulamaları, uluslararası sıralamaların etkisi gibi bazı konularda yaklaşım farklılıkları bulunmaktadır. 2017’deki yönetimde ise bir söylem değişikliği dikkat çekicidir. Önceki yönetimler ‘YÖK’e rağmen kurum geleneklerini sürdürme, işleri kendi bildikleri gibi yapabilme’ ve bu amaçla YÖK ile müzakereler yürütme yaklaşımındayken, bu son yönetim ilk kez ‘üniversitenin de bir kamu kurumu olduğu ve bakanlıktan gelen uygulamalara uymak durumunda

olduğu' şeklinde bir dile geçmiştir. Bu durum, Türkiye'de özerklik ve yükseköğretim siyaseti açısından da önemli bir dönüşümün işaretidir.

Son olarak, girişimci üniversite olarak ele alınan **Üniversite C**, küçük ölçekli bir vakıf üniversitesidir. Bu durumun avantajı ile kuruluşundan itibaren girişimci bir üniversite modeline uygun olarak kurumsal organizasyonunu ve stratejilerini şekillendirebilmiştir. Üniversite, eğitim dilinin Türkçe olması dışında girişimci üniversitenin tipik özelliklerini (Wissema 2009) taşımaktadır.

Genellikle küçük üniversitelerin büyük üniversitelere göre ve vakıf üniversitelerinin devlet üniversitelerine göre kendi politikalarını geliştirmekte daha özerk olduğu değerlendirilir. Bu açıdan vakıf üniversitelerinin yükseköğretim sistemi içerisinde daha fazla yenilikçi uygulama geliştirmesi kurumsal çeşitlik açısından da beklenen bir durumdur. Bunun bir örneği olarak Üniversite C geliştirdiği ortak eğitim modeli ile öğrencilerine mezuniyet öncesinde iş deneyimi sunarak farklı bir eğitim yaklaşımı sunmaktadır. Girişimciler yetiştirmeyi hedefleyen bir üniversite için bu yaklaşım uyumlu gözükmektedir. Üniversite, stratejik planlama, akademik performans ölçümü gibi neoliberal üniversite özellikleri açısından da kompakt bir kurumsal yaklaşım içerisinde gözükmektedir.

- **Tartışma ve sonuç**

Yaklaşım olarak yükseköğretimdeki temel dönüşümlerin insanlık tarihindeki daha kapsamlı sosyo-ekonomik dönüşümlerle birlikte ele alınması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Üniversiteleri üç kuşak (ortaçağ, modern araştırma ve girişimci) olarak ele alan tipolojiler de bu yaklaşıma uymaktadır. Modern zamanlarda ise yükseköğretim reformlarının kapitalizmin farklı aşamalarındaki kalkınma paradigmaları ile ilişkili olarak tartışılması gerekiyor. Bu açıdan, Humboldt üniversitesi ulus inşası ve ulusal kalkınma misyonuna sahip bir modern ulus-devlet üniversitesi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Amerikan araştırma üniversitesi ise 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında gelişen sanayi-sonrası toplum tartışmaları bağlamında ele alınabilir. Bu model küreselleşme ve uluslararası sıralamaların etkisiyle tüm dünyaya yayılmıştır. Son olarak girişimci üniversite bilgi ekonomisine geçiş politikaları kapsamında ortaya çıkan akademik kapitalizme dayalı özel bir üniversite

tipi olarak incelenebilir. Güncel gelişmelere bakıldığında öne çıkan yeni paradigmanın sürdürülebilir kalkınma için üniversitelere yüklenen misyonlar olması beklenebilir. Ekolojik kriz ve iklim değişikliği nedeniyle birçok araştırma fonu bu alanlara öncelik vermekte ve hatta THE Rankings sürdürülebilir kalkınma hedefleri doğrultusunda bir toplumsal etki sıralamasını uygulamaya geçirmiştir. Burada her dönem için egemen modellerle birlikte daha az görünür olan, farklı misyonlar yüklenmiş ve farklı pedagojiler uygulayan alternatif üniversitelerin varlığı göz ardı edilmemelidir. Özellikle kurumsal çeşitlilik çalışmaları açısından bu boyut önem taşımaktadır. Ayrıca yeni bir modelin çıkması daha önceki modellerin ortadan kalkması anlamına gelmemektedir. Kitlesel yükseköğretim ve kurumsal çeşitlilik ilişkisinde vurgulandığı üzere, elit, kitlesel ve evrensel yükseköğretim misyonlarına sahip yükseköğretim kurumlarını bir arada işlediği yükseköğretim ekosistemlerinin tasarımına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Bu çerçevede bu tezde hem Humboldt, uluslararası araştırma ve girişimci üniversite modellerinin; hem de küresel, ulusal ve kurumsal düzeylerin ilişkisel bir şekilde ele alınması Türkiye'de yükseköğretim sosyolojisi çalışmaları için değerli bir katkı sunmaktadır. Ayrıca, çalışma kapsamında görüşülen uzmanların yükseköğretim politikaları alanında kurumsal, ulusal ve uluslararası uzmanlardan oluşması ve 2000-2017 dönemin aktif olarak Türkiye'deki politika tartışmalarına katılmış olmaları teze yükseköğretim tarihi çalışmaları açısından da değer katmaktadır.

Tezin araştırma sorularına dönersek, ulusal düzeye yönelik soru küresel eğilimlerin 2000lerde Türkiye'de yükseköğretim reformlarına etkisine, ulusal düzeyde kurumsal çeşitliliği olumlu ve olumsuz olarak etkileyen faktörlere odaklanmıştı. Bulgulara göre, Türkiye'nin 2000 sonrası politikaları küresel eğilimlerle özellikle kitleselleşme ve genişleme açısından uyumluluk göstermektedir. Ancak bu sayısal artış sistemin çeşitlendiği anlamına gelmemektedir. 207 üniversite ve 8 milyon öğrencisi olan bir sistemi tek tip yönetmeliklerle yönetmenin zorluklarını kabul eden YÖK de bu sorunları aşmak için 2016 yılından itibaren misyon farklılaşması ve ihtisaslaşma programını yürürlüğe koymuştur. Araştırma üniversiteleri ve bölgesel kalkınma üniversiteleri belirlemeye yönelik bu program işlevsel farklılaşma açısından etkili gözükmekle birlikte, tezde tartışılan bağlamda bir kurumsal çeşitlenme sunmamaktadır. Ayrıca, YÖK'ün tektipleştirici etkisi, kurumsal özerklik ve

akademik özgürlükte yaşanan sorunlar kurumsal çeşitliliğin önünde engeller oluşturmaya devam etmektedir. Kalite güvence mekanizmaları ile üniversitelerin kendi misyonlarını ve kurumsal stratejilerini belirledikleri ve bu öz-değerlendirmeler çerçevesinde değerlendirildikleri bir model öngörülmekle birlikte, mevcut özerklik sorunları ile bu çeşitlenmenin nasıl sağlanacağı soru işaretidir. Ayrıca, kalite güvence sistemlerinde de performans kriterleri bağlamında standartlaştırıcı bir dil olması nedeniyle üniversiteleri farklılaşmaya yönlendirip yönlendirmeyeceği zaman içerisinde görülecektir. Burada uzman görüşmeciler tarafından vurgulanan bir nokta YÖK'ün özerklik konusunda üniversitelere olan güvensizliğidir. Daha karamsar bir değerlendirme ise, kırk yıl boyunca YÖK kuralları yönetilmeye alışmış kurumların yenilikçi ve özgürlükçü kurumsal ve akademik kültürler inşa etmekteki zorluklarıdır. Başka bir ifadeyle, hayal gücünü kaybetmiş bir üniversite düzeninden yenilikçilik ve çeşitlilik beklemek çok gerçekçi gözükmemektedir.

Kurumsal düzeye ilişkin araştırma sorusu ise farklı türde üç üniversitenin küresel eğilimler etkisindeki ulusal politikalar karşısında geliştirdikleri kurumsal stratejilere odaklanıyordu. Öncellikle yukarıda belirtilen özerklik sorunun, farklı düzeylerde de olsa, üç kurum için de kurumsal stratejilerini geliştirme ve uygulamada zorluklar yarattığını belirtmek gerekiyor. Üniversite C, küçük ölçekli bir vakıf üniversitesi olarak bu konuda daha avantajlı gözüküyor. İkinci bir nokta olarak, stratejik planlama ve kalite güvencesi gibi şirketi-benzeri yönetim modelleri üç üniversitede de mevcut. Bu uygulamalar Bologna süreci kapsamında yürürlüğe sokulduğu için tüm üniversiteler için bir zorunluluk arz etmektedir. Yine de, Üniversite C'nin bir girişimci üniversite olarak bu uygulamalara en istekli kurum olduğu söylenebilir. Üniversite A ve Üniversite B ise kendi kurumsal geleneklerinin önce YÖK sistemi, sonra da neoliberal politikalar çerçevesinde dönüşmek zorunda kalmasının gerilimlerini deneyimlemektedir. Bu üniversitelerde hem takip eden yönetimler arasında hem de fakülteler arasındaki yaklaşım farklılıklarının reformların uygulanma düzeyini etkilediği söylenebilir. Üçüncü olarak, dönemin egemen modeli olarak girişimciliğin ve akademik kapitalizmin farklı düzeylerde tüm üniversitelerde yer aldığı söylenebilir. Bu açıdan Üniversite C en girişimci, Üniversite A ise en az girişimci olarak görülmektedir. Üniversite A için eski kimliği ve gelenekleri ile bu yeni uygulamaları örtüştürmek daha zorlayıcı gözükmektedir. Üniversite B ise uluslararası eğilimleri takip edebilen bir yapıda olduğu için bu değişimlere nispeten

daha kolay uyum sağlamıştır. Son olarak, Üniversite A ve Üniversite B'nin geleneksel kimlikleri ile girişimci özellikleri bir arada sürdürme durumlarının yarattığı çelişkiler, ve bu çelişkilerle birlikte tercih yapmak zorunda kalmadan farklı misyonları bir arada yürütme iddiaları nedeniyle birer multiversite olarak değerlendirilebilirler.

Sonuç olarak kitleselleşme ile birlikte farklı türlerdeki mevcut üniversitelerin sürdürülebilirliğinin sağlanması ve yeni toplumsal ihtiyaçlara göre yeni üniversite modellerinin gelişebilmesi için kurumsal çeşitlilik anahtar bir kavram haline gelmiştir. Kurumsal çeşitlilik ve kurumsal özerklik açısından mevcut karnesi zayıf olan ancak yoğun bir kitleselleşme dönemi deneyimlemiş olan Türk yükseköğretimi açısından bu politika gündemi öncelik taşımalıdır.

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Bölümü / Department : Sosyoloji / Sociology

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English):

TÜRK YÜKSEKÖĞRETİMİNDE KURUMSAL ÇEŞİTLİLİK: KÜRESEL EĞİLİMLERE KURUMSAL YANITLAR 2000-2017
INSTITUTIONAL DIVERSITY IN TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION: INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO GLOBAL TRENDS BETWEEN 2000-2017

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