

AT THE NEXUS OF INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND POLITICAL
NETWORKS:
THE CASE OF ACADEMIC HIRING IN NEWLY FOUNDED MANAGEMENT
DEPARTMENTS IN TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
TO THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATIONS

APRIL 2017

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ABSTRACT

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NETWORKS:
THE CASE OF ACADEMIC HIRING IN NEWLY FOUNDED MANAGEMENT
DEPARTMENTS IN TURKEY

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Ph.D., Management and Organizations

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Şükrü Özen

April 2017, 351 pages

Research on institutional complexity pointed to how individual and organizational identities that are constructed within a network of field-level actors associated with institutional logics drive individual and organizational responses to institutional complexity. This body of research, however, neglected that social networks to which individuals and organizations are linked can be independent from institutional logics, and can influence their behaviors through identities formed within the networks. This study is an attempt to extend research on institutional complexity by examining how individual and organizational identities emanated from political networks in which they are embedded may also shape organizational actors' interpretations of and responses to complexities in environment, depending on their alignment with those identities. The purpose of this study is to explore how individual embeddedness in multiple institutional logics at the field level and in political networks at the societal level shape managerial decisions within organizations.

Focusing on the institutional and political environments surrounding academic hiring

decisions of management departments of the universities founded between 2007 and 2014 in Turkey, this research proposes that the degrees of individual decision-makers' embeddedness in alternative institutional logics (single versus multiple) and in different political networks (open versus closed) interactively influence their decisions on hiring new academicians with varying identification with institutional logics and embeddedness in political networks. The findings reveal that resulting recruited academic staff have shown variations with regard to their embeddedness in prevailing institutional logics and political networks depending on several contingency factors pertaining to ownership structures, geographic location and political context.

Keywords: Institutional complexity, political networks, hiring decisions, management higher education, Turkey

ÖZET

KURUMSAL MANTIKLAR VE SİYASİ AĞLAR BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE’DE YENİ KURULAN İŞLETME BÖLÜMLERİNDE AKADEMİK İŞE ALMA

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Doktora, Yönetim ve Organizasyon

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Şükrü Özen

Nisan 2017, 351 sayfa

Kurumsal karmaşıklık alanındaki çalışmalar kurumsal mantıklarla ilintili olan alan düzeyindeki aktörlerin ağları içerisinde inşa edilen bireysel ve örgütsel kimliklerinin, kurumsal karmaşıklığa verdikleri tepkilerini nasıl biçimlendirdiği ile ilgilenir. Ancak bu yazın, bireylerin ve örgütlerin içinde yer aldıkları sosyal ağların kurumsal mantıklardan bağımsız bir şekilde kimlikler aracılığıyla davranışı şekillendirebileceğini dikkate almamaktadır. Bu çalışma siyasi ağ temelli bireysel ve örgütsel kimliklerin örgütsel aktörlerin çevredeki karmaşıklığı yorumlamalarını ve buna verdikleri tepkilerini inceleyerek kurumsal karmaşıklık yazınıni genişletmeyi amaçlayan bir çabayı yansıtmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda bu çalışma örgütsel aktörlerin alan düzeyindeki çoklu kurumsal mantıklar ile toplum düzeyindeki farklı siyasi ağlara yerleşikliğinin örgüt içindeki yönetsel kararlara nasıl etki ettiğini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Türkiye’de 2007 ve 2014 yılları arasında kurulmuş işletme bölümlerindeki akademik işe alma kararlarını çevreleyen kurumsal ve siyasal bağlama odaklanan bu araştırma, karar vericinin farklı kurumsal mantıklara (tekli veya çoklu) veya farklı siyasi ağlara (açık veya kapalı) yerleşiklik derecesinin, hangi kurumsal mantıklarla ve siyasi

ağlarla özdeşleşen akademisyenleri işe almaya karar vereceğini etkilediğini öne sürmektedir. Bulgular, işe alınan akademisyenlerin hakim kurumsal mantıklar ve siyasi ağlara yerleşiklik derecelerinin sahiplik yapısı, coğrafi konum ve siyasi bağlam gibi bir dizi koşulsal etmenlere bağlı olarak farklılık gösterdiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kurumsal karmaşıklık, siyasi ağlar, işe alma kararları, işletme yüksek öğretimi, Türkiye



To my beloved parents,
for their endless support and encouragement



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Prof. Dr. Şükrü Özen, for his academic guidance, caring, patience and providing me with excellent intellectual support for completing my dissertation. He greatly enriched my study with his constructive reviews and criticisms. Every single conversation with him illuminated my path in doing research. I will be always grateful to him for his supporting attitude, generously sharing his time and ideas.

I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Çetin Önder, who helped me a lot with the essential methodological issues of this dissertation. Always answering my questions, giving his best suggestions, he contributed to me no less than a second advisor. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Fuat Oğuz, Prof. Dr. Tuncer Asunakutlu, Associate Prof. Dr. R. Arzu Kalemci for guiding my research by taking part as my committee members and helping me in fine-tuning the empirical rigor of my study.

I also take this opportunity to record my sincere thanks to Michael Lounsbury for hosting me as a visiting PhD student at University of Alberta. Special thanks to Royston Greenwood and PhD fellows of Strategic Management and Organization program at University of Alberta who listened my work, provided me valuable insights for developing my theoretical background during my visiting research.

I owe a special thank you to family members for their love and support. My heartfelt thanks to my parents Meral and Salih Öztürk: from a very young age you instilled me the importance of education and joys of learning. Your unconditional support, encouragement and love were invaluable.

I also wish to acknowledge financial support given by YBU BAP (Project Number 2049), which enabled me in conducting my fieldwork spanning over many cities in Turkey. Finally, the financial support given by TÜBİTAK during PhD program is gratefully acknowledged.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASKON	Anatolian Tigers Businessmen Association
BAP	Scientific Research Project
BWL	Betriebswirtschaftslehre-Business Economics
FETÖ	Fethullah Terrorist Organization
HMG	Homogeneity Score
JDP	Justice and Development Party
KOSGEB	Small and Medium Enterprise Development Association
MED	Mean Euclidean Distance
MUSIAD	Independent Industrialist and Businessman Association
MYO	Vocational School
RPP	Republican's People Party
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SSCI	Social Science Citation Index
TUSKON	Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists
TÜBİTAK	The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey
TÜSİAD	Association of Businessmen and Industrialists
YÖK	Council of Higher Education
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The implications of how to incorporate multiple institutional demands within organizations resulting from the plurality of institutional environment have long been on the agenda. The scholarly interest in explaining how organizations incorporate multiple institutional demands has sprouted the concept of institutional logics; defined as material practices, assumptions, values and beliefs by which individuals provide meaning to their social reality, shape cognition and direct action in organizational fields (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). These “socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices” (Thornton et al., 2012: 2) that define what constitutes appropriate behavior provides an encompassing framework for understanding the interrelationships between institutional contexts and organizational responses (Greenwood, Jennings and Hinings, 2015). In this regard, recent scholarly work has particularly elucidated how organizations respond to competing or co-existing logics in an organizational field (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Purdy and Gray, 2009; Reay and Hinings, 2009; Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Dunn and Jones, 2010; Pache and Santos, 2010; Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta and Lounsbury, 2011; Goodrick and Reay, 2011). As organizations encounter multi-institutional settings, or institutional complexity, they respond this complexity in different ways depending on their contextual factors, which thereby embody different structures and practices (Greenwood, Diaz, Li and Lorente, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2011). Hence, the processes of how institutional complexity reflects itself to organizational practices vary; one logic may be dominant to overwhelm the others, or multiple logics may be blended to engender hybridized set of practices (Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache and Santos, 2010 and 2013a).

At the organizational level, institutional logics enable decision makers to focus on delimited set of issues and solutions; hence leading to logic consistent decisions that support existing organizational strategies (Thornton, 2002). When organizations are exposed to multiple institutional logics, actors have to deal with different interpretations of reality and different norms of appropriate behavior (Johansen, Olsen, Solstad and Torsteinsen, 2015). Institutional logics not only direct interests of social actors and their guidelines for action but also their identities (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Research on institutional complexity underlines how individual and organizational identities that are constructed within a network of field-level actors associated with institutional logics drive individual and organizational responses to institutional complexity. This line of work frames the development of identities and thereby creates a link between logics and individual behavior (Battilana and Lee, 2014) and advocates that logics can drive behavior only after a specific identity is introduced (Kraatz and Block, 2008). It maintains that institutional logics drive behavior by shaping identities that, in turn, filter possible responses of organizational actors to environmental changes. To put it differently, identity plays a role as a filter “for interpreting and responding to strategic issues and environmental changes” (Glynn, 2008: 408). According to Greenwood et al. (2011) being conceptualized both at institutional and organizational levels; the latter form of identity is about enduring characteristics that distinguish the focal organization from the others in the same social category. Organizational identity prioritizes certain institutional expectations and pressures and provides a repertoire of possible responses to them (Glynn, 2008). Hence, how organizational actors respond institutional complexity depends on the extent to which they are identified with the organizational identity. When they are strongly identified with the organizational identity, for instance, they will tend to resist alternative institutional logics that challenge the existing identity; otherwise, they will compromise or replace the existing organizational identity with new identities promoted by the institutional complexity (Greenwood et al. 2011).

This body of research, however, neglected that social networks to which individuals and organizations are linked can be independent from institutional logics and can influence their behaviors through identities formed within the networks. In this study, in contrast to the literature overwhelmed by viewing identity as a critical filter

in the assessment of appropriateness of alternative repertoires of responses (Greenwood et al., 2011: 348), I argue that institutional logics are not the sole factor that shape identities of decision-makers and organizations in influencing organizational decisions. Organizational behavior and more specifically organizational decisions can also be explained by networks in which individuals and their organizations are embedded in (Raider and Krackhardt, 2005). I suggest that in addition to institutional logics, networks in which decision-makers and organizations are embedded may also define their identities. In this vein, the basic premise of network perspective is that economic action is embedded in structures of social relationships (Granovetter, 1985). In its original formulation, embeddedness is presented as emphasizing the role of concrete personal relations and structures or networks of such relations in generating trust and discouraging malfeasance (Granovetter, 1985: 490). It bears two different conceptualizations namely relational embeddedness, which refers to the nature and the quality of dyadic relations between actors and structural embeddedness, which signifies the network architecture of exchange relationships between actors (Uzzi, 1997: 36). Although implicit in Granovetter's distinction, social structure indeed entails regularities in the patterns of relations among concrete entities.

On the other hand, a social network is defined as "set of nodes (e.g., persons, organizations) linked by a set of social relationships (e.g., friendship, transfer of funds, overlapping membership) of a specified type" (Laumann et al., 1978: 458). Social network is one of many possible sets of social relations of a specific content for example communicative, power or exchange relations that link actors within a larger social structure (Hess, 2004: 171). These network ties may be based on various sources such as friendship, work, advice, information transfer, hometown loyalties, ethnicities, religious views and political connections. Norms, expectations, and identities formed in the structure of social relations in which individuals are embedded in various degrees also shape their behaviors. Subsequent organization studies namely Zukin and DiMaggio (1990: 15-23) provided comprehensive overview of different kinds of embeddedness by classifying cognitive, cultural, structural and political embeddedness mechanisms. Political embeddedness refers to formal and informal, individual and organizational ties to the state (Michelson, 2007:

353). The idea of political embeddedness comes from looking at ties to the state from the embeddedness perspective (Okhmatovskiy, 2010: 1023). By considering political networks as a source of individual political identity, this study takes political form of embeddedness in at its core, which highlights the political framework of economic action and stresses the struggle for power that involves economic actors and non-market institutions alike. However in contrast to the extant literature (Uzzi, 1997) on embedded ties, this study has considered political embeddedness not in the form of formal and informal, individual and organizational ties to the state (Michelson, 2007), but rather political ties that intervene into and are significant in the hiring decisions of the academic staff. In other words, political network embeddedness is depicted through the political identities of individuals (i.e. decision-makers and recruited academics). Therefore it points to the political nature of these formal and informal ties to different political ideologies represented through political parties and social movements and also whether these political ties bring strong and cohesive relations.

The coming together of networks and institutional logics in explaining responses to environmental complexity has already been dealt in various studies. Still however, this stream of literature has mainly taken into account institutional logics and networks as interwoven (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Glynn, 2000; Greenwood et al., 2011; Smets, Morris and Greenwood, 2012; Besharov and Smith, 2014). They mostly argued that without institutional logics “it would be impossible to explain what kinds of social relationships have what kind of effect on the behavior of organizations and individuals” (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 225). In a similar vein, Owen-Smith and Powell (2008) have also mentioned that logics make networks meaningful features of social and economic worlds by disciplining the formation of relationships. Thus the extent of connections between various actors and level of resources that flow through those connections depend on the institutional logics that individuals are embedded in. Accordingly, individual and organizational identities are constructed within a network of field-level actors associated with institutional logics, and strong and weak ties with field actors drive individual and organizational responses to institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011; Besharov and Smith, 2014).

In this dissertation, I rather aim to extend research on institutional complexity by examining how individual and organizational identities emanated from political networks in which they are embedded may also shape organizational actors' interpretations of and responses to complexities in environment, depending on their alignment with those identities. In this regard, I develop a theoretical framework and conceptualize several exemplary cases where these networks are independent from institutional logics with which individuals are identified. On the one hand, individuals may have ties with others in terms of their common characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, hometown, political views, school graduation, or friendship. On the other hand, networks that organizations or individual actors are connected to can be formed around single or multiple logics within an organizational field. The new institutional studies have employed network perspective in such a way that networks are presented as social relations through which individual actors embody and enact field-level institutional logics (e.g., Besharov and Smith, 2014; Colyvas and Jonsson, 2011; Weber, Davis, and Lounsbury, 2009; Glynn, 2000; Greenwood et al., 2011; Smets et al., 2012). However, they have paid little attention to the issue of how organizational members' networks, and political identities, not related to organizational field or institutional logics, but their social sphere of life shape their organizational decisions in conjunction with institutional logics they enact.

In other words, it has been largely neglected that social networks to which individuals and organizations are linked can be *independent* from institutional logics, and can shape their behaviors through expectations, norms, and identities formed within the networks. For instance, in addition to the identities formed by the institutional logics at the field level, individuals and organizations may also acquire identities emanated from certain political, religious, or ethnic networks in which they are embedded. Inspired by Greenwood et al. (2011), I think that these political identities may also shape how organizational actors interpret and respond complexities in environment, depending on their alignment with those identities. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore how individual embeddedness in multiple institutional logics at the field level and in political networks at the societal level shape managerial decisions within organizations. This is particularly important to understand organizational behavior in an organizational field where institutional

logics at the field level and political ideologies at the societal level are both candidates for influencing organizational behavior, such as academic hiring decisions in the Turkish higher education field. Then, how organizational actors interplay between logic-based identities and political network identities in responding environmental complexity becomes a theoretically significant issue to study. As less is known about how actors reconcile multiple identities associated with institutional logics and political networks in their actions; in this study I basically adopt the former use of networks, i.e., social, particularly political, networks independent from logics, in developing and empirically testing the theoretical framework.

By taking individual-level as level of analysis, I posit and empirically test a conceptual framework that draws from both institutional logics and political networks in describing how organizational level decisions are formed. Therefore, my research question is; how is the decision-making at the organizational level mainly affected by the interplay between institutional logics that the actors are embedded in and the constraints or opportunities generated by the actor's political networks? More specifically, I explain how individual embeddedness in multiple institutional logics at the field level and in political networks at the societal level shape managerial decisions within organizations. Drawing on a multiple comparative case study of five management departments of the universities founded between 2007-2014 in Turkey, I investigate how decision makers' embeddedness in single versus multiple institutional logics and in close and open political networks affect their hiring decisions at the founding stage. In predicting managerial decisions, I also consider that organizational actors are informed by their organizations' identities with respect to institutional logics and political networks. I particularly propose that the interactions between the degree of individual decision-makers' embeddedness in alternative institutional logics (single versus multiple) and in their egocentric political network ties (closed versus open) result in decisions on hiring new organizational members with varying embeddedness in institutional logics and political networks.

The propositions of this dissertation are two-fold. On the one hand, I contend that interactions between the decision-makers' embeddedness in alternative institutional

logics and in political networks end up with decisions on hiring new organizational members with different levels of embeddedness in logics and networks. I particularly hypothesized that the embeddedness of decision-makers in a single logic and/or the closed political network drive them to hire academicians similar in terms of logic and/or political network identification (i.e. homophily) whereas the embeddedness of decision-makers in multiple logics and/or the open political networks lead them to hire academicians dissimilar in terms of logic and/or political network identification (i.e. heterophily). Hence the level of similarity between the decision-maker and each recruited academic is expected to show variations in line with different logic and network configurations. Furthermore, I extended these conceptualizations to departmental level homogeneity with respect to institutional logics and political networks and suggested that when the decision-makers are embedded in a single logic and/or closed political network, the level of homogeneity of the new faculty cadre is expected to be highest. In contrast, departmental level of homogeneity is expected to be lowest both in terms of logics and networks when the decision-makers are embedded in multiple logics and/or open political networks. However, the key findings of this study showed variations from the proposed typology stemming from several contingency factors namely; ownership structures of the universities (private versus public), location of the universities (center versus periphery), political contextual dynamics and influence of professional and social networks.

By adopting multiple comparative case study that relies heavily on qualitative research, I sought to shed light on this relationship. My research unfolded in two phases. First, I collected preliminary data through interviews with 34 decision-makers (i.e. founding deans and/or department heads) of 25 universities founded at this time period. This interview data was particularly useful for gaining unique insights into the first-hand experiences about the founding stages and invoked several contingency factors that needed to be further explicated. In the second phase of the research design, I selected five comparative cases, which deemed to represent embeddedness in various institutional logics and political identities. For these cases, I collected interview data from both decision-makers and academic staff of the management departments. This interview data is then supplemented with the

database of academic CVs of these academics, publicly available Twitter shares of both academics and universities and department-level data on mission statements and department head messages. Taken as a whole, this research design allowed me to deeply delve into the contingency factors that came to be apparent in the preliminary stage of this research.

Drawing on the argument of Thornton and Ocasio (2008) that, institutional logics is inherently cross-level which reflects the interplay between individuals, organizations and institutions; I take the enactment of field-level institutional logics by individual actors. In this way, it sheds light on how individuals are carriers of field level logics and how instantiation of these logics that actors are embedded in does influence organizational decisions. Shifting from individual to organizational level, the outcome of the staffing decisions by decision-makers is expected to further our understanding on how cadres with different levels of homogeneity are formed with regard to different institutional logics and political networks that actors are embedded in. By empirically showing this, I contribute to institutional complexity literature and mainly individual responses to multiple logics. I aim to extend this line of literature by integrating individual level embeddedness in political networks of conservative, religious community and secularist identities to different instantiations of prevailing scientization, vocational and entrepreneurial logics governing the higher education field.

Basically, two motivations drive this study. First, the theoretical motivation is to expand the literature on institutional complexity by including identities emanating from political networks into the analysis. Although individual (i.e. founder) identities have been elaborated at the nexus of institutional complexity, the emphasis was much on role and professional identities associated with prevalent institutional logics (Almandoz, 2014; Powell and Baker, 2014; Wry and York, 2015). In this regard, I aim to show how the decision-making at the organizational level is mainly affected by the interplay between institutional logics that the actors are embedded in and the constraints or opportunities generated by the actor's political networks. Varying degrees of embeddedness of decision-makers in institutional logics and networks will consequently shape the degree of similarity between decision-makers and hired staff with respect to their mental schemas. As an outcome, these varying

combinations of institutional logics and political network embeddedness are expected to display differing level of homogeneity of academic cadre at the departmental level. Second, the empirical motivation is to understand how academic hiring decisions are shaped in the Turkish management higher education field where both multiple institutional logics at the field-level and political ideologies at the societal level intervene (Üsdiken, 2004; Üsdiken and Wasti, 2009).

By developing a conceptual framework based on the Turkish higher education case, I suggest that, where an organizational field is a political arena in which rival political camps attempt to control resources, such as the higher education field in Turkey, decision-makers' embeddedness in political networks, in addition to their embeddedness in institutional logics, equally shape their hiring decisions. Moreover, I suggest that the embeddedness of decision-makers in a closed or open political network, and in a single or multiple institutional logics together influences to what extent decision-makers hire academicians similar to themselves in terms of political and logical embeddedness.

As I draw upon the arguments of two theoretical frameworks, namely institutional complexity and network perspectives, I aim to make theoretical contributions to both of these literatures. In terms of the former, core theoretical contribution of this study has been to take societal level political environment in understanding the responses to institutional complexity. Whereas the previous works (Glynn, 2008) have focused on institutional logics as the sole factor that form the individual identities, this research has shown that together with individual level manifestations of logics, political networks in which both individuals and organizations are embedded in delineate their identities. In this regard, I aimed to extend Greenwood et al.'s (2011) conceptualization by empirically showing how these political identities may also shape the way organizational actors interpret institutional complexity depending on their alignment with those identities.

Second and relatedly, in contrast to the conceptualization that institutional logics and networks are interwoven, this study presented one of the first attempts to carry ideas on logic independent networks and especially how identities formed around political networks have shaped responses to institutional complexity. Hence this study lends

empirical support to how political network embeddedness may not determine the way individuals enact prevailing institutional logics. Third, this study has provided a unique perspective by empirically showing cases where embeddedness in the societal level political networks surmounted the embeddedness in specific institutional logics guiding hiring decisions. In this regard, I challenge the institutional logics based perspective by showing how institutional logic embeddedness emerged to be the required albeit not the sufficient criterion in guiding economic action (i.e. hiring). Fourth theoretical contribution underlines the dynamic, unexpected character of the hiring process which leads to the reconstruction of organizational identity and enactment of prevailing logics on the basis of several contingencies, actors and networks. In this vein, ownership structures, center versus periphery, political contextual dynamics and the role of other source of networks (i.e. professional) have led to variations from the proposed typology.

In terms of the latter, my main theoretical contribution is to link institutions and organizational processes being anchored in wider polity arrangements with the individual and organizational identities emanated from political networks in which they are embedded. One intriguing contribution was to show how political network closure resulted in different configurations among departments embedded in a single logic but different in terms of the most prevalent logics and also between departments embedded in single versus multiple logics. For the former, being embedded in a specific logic may either enable or hinder the ability of decision-maker(s) to recruit from the pool of individuals affiliated to that political identity. For the latter argument, network closure in departments embedded in single or multiple logics did not yield any dominant pattern.

Empirically, one of the contributions of this study arises from the research context, which is set in Turkey. Turkish polity has been formed as a statist polity where a patrimonial state tradition and clientelistic state-society relations have prevailed (Heper, 1985; Sunar, 1974). Coexistence of patrimonial practices with the bureaucracy of Weber's legal-rational state have set the ground for the arbitrariness in the actions of the decision makers (Özen and Özen, 2009). This implies that state fails to be neutral and rational actor in maintaining institutional stability but quite the

contrary; it is the actor that creates instability in economic and social life through hiding and maintaining the politics of clientelistic relations. Relatedly, at different historical epochs since the founding of the Republic, cadrelization had always existed and had followed similar favoring patterns with different actors affiliated with different political ideologies. The political cleavages in the Turkish political economy have also reflected themselves in the higher education system. Since the higher education institutions were initially considered as the agents that would realize the modernization project of the ruling elite, academic staff, actually public servants, was largely recruited from those who were supposed to be loyal to the principles of the state ideology. Since the multi-party regime was established in 1945, this cadrelization pattern has also prevailed in academic staffing in a way that political parties with conflicting ideologies have tended to recruit and promote those with similar political identities when they are in power. As this dissertation is interested in academic hiring decisions of the last decade, we focus on the Justice and Development Party (JDP) government period where not only JDP but also religious communities as well as secularist groups have involved in cadrelization in higher education.

The empirical context for this dissertation takes the field of higher education in Turkey and more specifically academic hiring decisions in the newly founded management departments. Studying institutional logics and political networks in higher education context provides a very useful lens in understanding how decisions are reached in a field mostly influenced by different ideological battles at different historical epochs. Academic staffing is a tie at which decision makers of various professional and political backgrounds are required to discuss whom to hire and reach an agreement about. Hence, the nexus of several institutional backgrounds and micro processes by which these backgrounds were negotiated becomes an interesting issue in Turkish context where the use of religion and political ideology as a network resource very significant in understanding the formation of new faculty cadre as it may imply exclusion of others whom are not within these networks (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2010, 2014).

The time period that I take from 2007 to 2014 is also of critical importance for two reasons; first this period corresponds to proliferation of the JDP rule and more importantly it is the very start of the period marked by legislations on establishing a university in every province of Turkey. From 2002 elections onwards the clash between secular elites and conservative wing represented by the JDP has come to the forefront in diverse fields, higher education being one of the most prominent ones. It has been depicted that when a group that previously had less power and remained at the periphery gains political control, social forces should also be mobilized at the institutional, organizational and individual levels in order to solidify the newly established hierarchy which also means the inversion of the distribution of resources across social groups (Weber, 1968). Very similarly in Turkish context, group-based social hierarchy has been determinant in classifying people according to their views on the role of religion in society and politics. Whereas the Early Republican period and up until the JDP coming to power in 2002, advocates of secularism had been dominant over the politics, so called the tutelage regime, the conservative religious political groups which have internally proliferated further have increasingly become more powerful in politics during the last decade. Thus, not limiting only to the developments of the last decade, the historical trajectory of the modern Turkey has always embodied political dissidences and these clashes has reflected to every aspect of life, higher education being one of the most apparent one.

Twenty-first century Turkey has been characterized by a shift in the allocation of powerful positions in public institutions towards the supporters of the new government (Hoşgör, 2011), which led to installing a newly Islamist-leaning generation of managers in public sector (Toprak et al., 2009). This had also trickle-down effects in higher education whereby the JDP has incrementally implemented policies that would mobilize its own conservative democratic identity. Starting from 2007 with the creation of pro-JDP cadre at the Council of Higher Education and ending the prohibition of Islamic headscarf ban at universities in 2008 (Eligür, 2010: 263), the JDP has begun to ensure its prominent role in strengthening its networks based on its political ideology. Secondly, this period has been characterized with the gradual annihilation of the formerly preponderant religious community (i.e. Gülen) identity. The strong alliance between the Gülen Community and the ruling JDP

began to deteriorate after the Constitutional Referendum in 2010; in which the JDP has begun to think about the ways to break the power of Gülen Community as it believed that the community was running a parallel state inside Turkey's public institutions, i.e. higher education being one field. The most significant step in fighting with the Gülen Movement came in May 2016 when the Turkish government officially declared the movement as a terrorist organization in the National Security Council ("MGK, FETÖ için düğmeye bastı," 2016). The Turkish courts largely continued to appoint trustees to take over the control of companies, media outlets and education institutions. In this context, hundreds of high schools and fifteen universities linked to the movement have been controlled and began to be run by the trustees ("Trustees appointed to university, foundation over 'parallel state' links," 2016; "Turkish court assigns trustees to Gülen-linked Fatih University," 2016, and Tuna, 2016). Finally, the failed coup attempt on 15 July 2016 became a milestone in the eradication of Gülen Community. Hence the time span of this study covered an extraordinary period of political struggle while embodying the political identities (i.e. pro-JDP and Gülen) that had become antipodal in due time.

As much as the diversity with regard to societal level political networks, there has always been multiplicity of institutional logics in Turkish higher education field. More specifically, business education field has had multiple sources of foreign influence, namely French, German and the US. Continental European tradition which has continued to be influential until the post World War II period was manifested through vocational logic. The main premise of the vocational logic was to design business education that would equip students with necessary professional training and vocational skills. Even at our present time, this logic's premises were reflected in terms of teaching practical skills and providing practice-based competence to students. Scientization logic from 1950s onwards was the result of rapprochement with the US from 1950s onwards the transplantation of American models in Turkish higher education was realized through establishment of universities (i.e. METU, Boğaziçi and later several private-foundation ones) which became the exemplars of liberal cum professional degree in its original American form. In contrast to vocational logic, scientization logic emphasized advancement of scientific knowledge while adopting more liberalizing mission in terms of teaching.

Finally, from late 1980s onwards with the wave of neoliberalism, there happened to be a shift in the depiction of university from community producing knowledge as a public good to a market-led business producing knowledge as a private good. Came into existence through entrepreneurial logic, marketization of higher education in the way to respond to the needs of students and firms became very significant. Overall, current state of higher education embodies multiple coexistence of vocational, scientization and entrepreneurial logics. Given the institutional environment characterized by multiplicity of institutional logics on the one hand and diversity of political networks on the other, it makes it both empirically viable and appealing to study the association between these two different perspectives in Turkish business education field.

The remainder of this dissertation is organized in six chapters. The next chapter elaborates theoretical foundations of this research focusing in particular on the literature on institutional logics and networks. Chapter 3 delves into the Turkish business education field and the empirical setting with respect to prevailing institutional logics and political context. Chapter 4 outlines the research design and the methodology that was used. Chapter 5 details the results my research and subsequent analyses. Chapter 6 then follows with the discussion of the findings of the study, limitations and potential avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will review the relevant organizational literature which sets out the theoretical basis of the hypotheses of this study. After providing the broader framework of institutional logics and complexity research and recent debates, I will define and discuss the role of agency and role of individuals in responding to the institutional complexity. In the second section, I will move to political networks literature, which I believe, has significant contributions to the understanding of both organizational and individual level responses to institutional complexity. Afterwards, I am going to provide the link between political networks and organizational and individual identity by showing how the latter acts as a filtering mechanism between macro political environment and the individual. These political identities are indeed hinted by the embeddedness in societal level political ideologies. In this respect, institutional complexity, political identities and networks are going to be elaborated in tandem which I have developed my ideas regarding organizational level decision making.

2.1. Institutional Logics and Complexity

Earlier formulations of institutional theorizing have mainly focused on diffusion, homogeneity and isomorphism. It is argued that populations of organizations tend to become isomorphic over time as they incorporate templates for organizing from their organizational environments (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). However, one criticism towards this camp is mentioned by the study of Lounsbury (2007: 289) where he argued the dominance of this “contagion model” reinforces “misguided notion that neoinstitutionalism is a theory of stability.” In this vein, institutionalism has been criticized for two reasons: first its disregard of the role of interest and agency in shaping action (DiMaggio, 1988) was questioned as deterministic. Second, it has

also been depicted problematic in its explanations to organizations operating in pluralistic environments (Kraatz and Block, 2008). In case of organizations dealing with multiple expectations from different stakeholders, the quest for legitimacy becomes a conflicting issue. In line with these criticisms, more recent work has recognized that organizations are compelled to concede different rules of the game each emphasizing different, sometimes contradictory set of normative orders (Reay and Hinings, 2009; Greenwood et al., 2011).

In contrast to new institutionalism's focus on isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), institutional logics perspective opens up a new theoretical avenue. This perspective breaks with new institutionalism's focus on legitimization and homogeneity by proposing multiple sources of rationality provided by different institutional orders (Yu, 2015). It emphasizes the heterogeneous nature of institutional environments and the ability of organizations and individuals to respond to such an environment. Institutional logic as a concept was first coined by Friedland and Alford (1991: 248) as a set of material practices and symbolic constructions which constitute the organizing principles prescribing legitimate ends. Depicted as taken-for-granted rules that regulate action by furnishing "assumptions and values about how to interpret organizational reality", institutional logics provide actors with formal and informal rules of action, cultural norms and beliefs and principles about legitimate goals and the ways to achieve them (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Friedland and Alford's significant contribution to the development of institutional logics perspective is their theory of institutions at the societal level as they termed as "the inter-institutional system". Accordingly, they conceptualized society as an inter-institutional system consisting of theoretically distinct normative structures or societal sectors in which each sector mirrors a different set of expectations for individual and organizational behavior. Each of these orders is argued to have its own central logic that both guides its organizing principles and are constitutive of individuals, organizations and society. These societal sectors of the Western world have been recapped as capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family and Christian religion (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 232); or markets, corporations, professions, states, families and religions (Thornton, 2004). Very recently Thornton et al. (2012) added community as another institutional order with

associated logics. The community logic focuses on the social fitness of the organization as a member of a geographically based locale that emphasizes the ideology and value systems shared by the community and order economic activity (Glynn and Raffaelli, 2013). It further emphasizes non-instrumental ties that connect community members (Lounsbury and Marquis, 2007) to which these ties form the entity's "unity of will" and its members' "belief in trust and reciprocity" as key sources of legitimacy (Thornton et al., 2012: 73). Commitment to community values and ideology provides the sources of authority. Hence group membership rather than self-interest constitutes the normative basis of individual behavior that in turn highlights a common identity "allowing for practices of collaborative engagement" and "mutual monitoring and social ostracism as enforcing mechanisms" (Smets, Jarzabkowski, Burke, Spee, 2014: 6).

Institutional orders of their formulation should not be reduced to the dynamics of an organizational field but rather both organizations and individuals must be situated in the institutional structures of society to understand behavior. Thus organizational behavior is to be presented in the cultural institutions of different institutional orders. Their notion of institutional order, by taking culture into account, does not rule for isomorphism, instead each order is an institutionally specific cultural system for generating value (1991: 232-235). Hence individuals and organizations can transform inter-institutional system as they interpret symbols and practices thus contesting the contradictions between the institutions of different institutional orders (Thornton et al., 2012).

Their central argument is that; "these institutional logics are symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defended, and technically and materially constrained, and hence have specific historical limits (Friedland and Alford 1991: 248-49). Friedland and Alford's (1991: 240-241) emphasis on the relationship between three interdependent levels as institutional orders, organizations and individuals are depicted as; "Individuals competing and negotiating, organizations in conflict and coordination and institutions in contradiction and interdependency." Their integration at three levels of analysis offers the building blocks to integrate micro-processes of agency with higher-order level of analysis that relate to institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011). As institutional logics emphasize

multiple societal sectors that determine the individual cognition and behavior, it also integrates agency within a multi-level analysis (Thornton et al., 2012).

However, one of the criticisms regarding the institutional orders of Friedland and Alford (1991) is that these imply Western-centric formulation (Alford and Friedland, 1985), although the authors do not directly reference Weber's work on modernity and his notion of value-spheres. According to Friedland and Alford's framework, institutional logics are depicted as a theory of cultural heterogeneity in which the cultural content is determined according to institutional orders. However Friedland and Alford (1991) implicitly connotes culture with the forces of modernization through the professions and state. However as it is later mentioned by Thornton et al. (2012), focusing on the state and the professions as the institutional orders of modernism limits the application of this framework to the most of the world which is not modern (Greenwood et al., 2010) and important variations that are based in home culture. The typology of inter-institutional system implies progression toward modernity however societies may not fit a progressive trajectory of development. This may present a bias towards the Western world when in some societies the institutional orders of family and religion may be more salient. For instance, some modern Western societies may even retain traces of ancient institutions in their business practices (Greenwood et al., 2010). More specifically, although scope of authority of the family has declined over time in Western democracies, the family has been shown to be an influential institutional order in business. This point deserves further attention to be elaborated especially in non-Western yet developing contexts on how deviations from legal-rational authority manifested through the influence of political cleavages and political ties has actually in struggle with institutional orders of the West.

The notion of institutional logics has gained greater emphasis with the new definitions introduced by other scholars, a notable one by which Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 112) put forward; "the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality." Their conceptualization diverges from Friedland and Alford's societal focus by developing the institutional logics construct

at the level of industry. Subsequently, Thornton (2004) linked institutional logics at the level of the industry or field to the logics of the inter-institutional system in their study on higher education publishing industry.

Thornton and Ocasio (2008) on the other hand, posited that institutional logics reside at multiple levels, albeit linked overall to the logics of the inter-institutional system. They identified five elements in order to clarify the institutional logic construct. First, they argued that society should be understood as an inter-institutional system consisting distinct sectors of the society each having its own institutional logic. Each order embodies pattern of logics peculiar to itself and these orders provide individuals with the difficult choices of which values to follow because these values are often in irreconcilable conflict with each other. The conceptualization of society as an inter-institutional system enables to view context as potentially influenced by the contending logics of the different societal sectors. This would then permit individuals and organizations to interpret their world in heterogeneous ways (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). For example, institutional logics of bureaucracy and democracy are both complementary and conflicting. Although it is compatible with the democratic logic's premises of treating everyone equally, it also hinders the freedom that individuals would enjoy under democracy (Özen and Akkemik, 2012). Similar sort of tension also exists between logics of bureaucracy and market. The state does not let the market to become a hierarchy but rather it puts into effect regulations to monitor the functioning of the market mechanism. Second, their meta-theory refers to embedded agency such that dominant logics constrain action and maintain core principles for organizing interests. Embedded agency highlights how prevailing logics may restrict the interests, values and strategies of actors within fields and professions (Seo and Creed, 2002; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006). The third element highlights the assumption that each of the institutional orders of society has both material and cultural components. Fourth, institutional logics incorporate multiple levels of analysis. Accordingly, both multiple levels of society and different levels of analysis such as industries, inter-organizational networks and geographical communities are taken into consideration. In this regard, the logics perspective assumes that institutions operate at multiple levels of analysis and actors indeed are embedded in higher order levels. Final element of their framework is

historical contingency. The institutional logics provide space for agency and its material and cultural components are historically situated. In sum, key tenants of institutional logics perspective (Thornton et al., 2012) are that identities, values and interests are embedded in institutional logics that institutions are consisted of both material and symbolic elements, that institutions are historically contingent and that institutions are enacted at multiple levels.

In the very early formulations, Meyer and Rowan (1977: 356) emphasized that the pluralistic nature of institutional environments lead organizations to incorporate incompatible internal structural elements in order to have external support. Though at the very beginning, coexistence of multiple competing logics were depicted as temporary, recent scholarly work has proposed that pluralism and complexity are enduring characteristics of institutional fields. Many organizations confront “fragmented environments in which multiple independent groups and organizations make demands that are at best uncoordinated” (D’Aunno, Sutton and Price, 1991: 636-7). More recently there has been scholarly attention to understand how organizations reconcile such demands and come to encompass conflicting values, belief and practices. In institutionalism this endeavor is regarded as organizations with multiple institutional logics (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012). In multiple logics setting actors can draw on principles related with a variety of logics as they develop new organizational practices.

Similarly, Pache and Santos (2010) depicted contemporary society with “increasing prevalence of the phenomenon of conflicting institutional demands.” One way to respond to competing institutional demands is the multi-logic organizational form being defined as the incorporation of different logics within a single organization (Battilana and Lee, 2014). Organizations may encompass the goal of combining different logics available in the society under “the one organizational roof” (Jay, 2013: 138) Social enterprises that incorporate practices of market logic into non-profit enterprises are being given examples of such multi-logic forms (Battilana and Lee, 2014; Tracey, Philips and Jarvis, 2011). In multi-logic organizational forms, organizations feel the urge of getting confirmation from field-level advocates of each of the logics enacted within the organization. These field-level actors usually hold

“disparate values and conflicting beliefs” about how organizations should act (D’Aunno, et al., 1991: 636); and the expectations generated from these beliefs in turn affect the perceived legitimacy of “overarching goals” and of the appropriate “means” for achieving them (Pache and Santos, 2010).

As multiple logics and associated multi logic organizational forms are being considered, institutional theorists have started shifting their attention from isomorphic diffusion to understanding organizational variation through studying institutional complexity (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007). Institutional complexity is defined as the encounter of “incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics” that “provide guidelines on how to interpret and function in social situations” (Greenwood et al., 2011: 317). Institutional complexity emerges because actors are often exposed to multiple logics as they encounter social situations. Some of these even become institutionalized themselves such that the simultaneous existence of multiple logics becomes an ordinary part of organizational life (Kraatz and Block, 2008). As multiple logics co-exist in a given field, this generates different worldviews and organizing principles among actors (Purdy and Gray, 2009). Although earlier scholarly work has cited decisive shifts from one logic to another, main trend has been to unpack the ongoing interaction between two or more logics (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007; Reay and Hinings, 2009; Dunn and Jones, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2010), or a hybridization of multiple logics (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005; Mars and Lounsbury, 2009; Battilana and Dorado, 2010). Organizations straddle multiple domains that create jurisdictional overlap between logics hence generating institutional complexity (Smets et al., 2014). If institutional logics constitute the rules of the game, an organization playing “in two or more games at the same time” faces institutional complexity (Kraatz and Block; 2008: 2).

Organizational actors combine, compromise or decouple multiple institutional logics (Pache and Santos, 2013b; Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006). Enactment of multiple logics can be in several ways: (1) they may reconcile multiple logics by enacting a combination of practices drawn from each logic, i.e., combining, or (2) they may attempt to craft an acceptable balance between multiple logics in an altered form, i.e., compromising,

by, for instance, bargaining with institutional constituents so that they alter their demands, or (3) actors can symbolically endorse practices prescribed by one logic, but actually implement those promoted by another logic, i.e., decoupling (Pache and Santos, 2013b).

The most unbalanced case occurs either when actions are fully guided by one dominant logic (Thornton, 2002) or when a decoupling occurs. Organizations tend to decouple their formal structures from their actual activity and thereby conform only ceremonially and symbolically to institutional pressures. In an environment characterized by competing institutional logics, organizations may symbolically opt for one logic while actually implementing the practices promoted by another logic. Decoupling underlines instances in which organizations abide closely to the meaning defined by the environment but fail to implement them at the operational level (Scott, 2008: 279). In the very early formulations, Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggested that decoupling might be a response to two problems; contradictions with internal organizational efficiency and contradictions among multiple institutionalized pressures. Recent work more highlights decoupling being the result of heterogeneous organizational fields with multiple and contradictory pressures on organizations (Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008). For example, George, Chattopadhyay, Sitkin and Barden (2006) revealed that decision makers resort to decoupling when they encounter ambiguity in the environment. Hence they may respond to pressures for conformity by abiding to select institutional pressures and ignoring others. In a decoupling situation, organizations symbolically adopt the policy that is prescribed by external institutional referents but in reality implement the practice that fits with internal institutional demands (Pache and Santos, 2013a). Still, as organizations decouple they may find it hard to avoid the scrutiny of institutional referents (Pache and Santos, 2010). Hence, in the long term as organizations are exposed to institutional constituents, this situation may oblige the organizations to adopt prevalent practices. It has been argued that decoupling increases as an organizational field becomes more homogenous. This judgment was further supported by Westphal and Zajac's (1997) study showing how early adopters were more likely than late adopters to implement incentive plans. They showed that decoupling was more likely among later adopters that respond to normative pressure. Their subsequent

study (1998) also found that the market price of corporations increased when they adopted a legitimate practice, regardless of whether they implemented or not. On the other hand, several other work discussed decoupling as a strategic response. For instance, Elsbach and Sutton (1992) examined how radical social movement organizations gained legitimacy and constituent support. They revealed that spokespersons directed attention away from controversial actions to more socially desirable goals that were supported by broader constituents.

Second conceptualization refers to cases where, long-term conflict between multiple logics exists until one of them becomes the new template. For instance, in their study on Alberta health care system, Reay and Hinings (2005) concluded that new form of stability and re-institutionalization is achieved where the government tried to move the field from medical professionalism logic to a new business-like health care and encountered disagreement from physicians. In this vein, literature has formerly drawn attention to cases where having multiple co-existing logics within the same organization are revealed to be problematic. Especially, newly formed organizations combining multiple logics are viewed as “by nature arenas of contradictions” (Pache and Santos, 2013a: 973) in which commitment to different logics inevitably leads to “disharmony and factionalism” (Almandoz, 2012: 1382).

It has been argued that playing the rules of the game conveyed by one logic means losing legitimacy with the other audience embedded in the other competing logic (Purdy and Gray, 2009) and risking conflicts among actors representing competing logics (Almandoz, 2012; Pache and Santos, 2010). This stream of literature has viewed responses to complexity as a struggle as actors engage in conflicting institutional demands. In this vein several scholarly work has cited how competing logics may well be balanced hence hinting the ability of organizations in reconciling “discordant forces in their pluralistic milieu” (Kraatz and Block, 2008: 8). For instance, Pache and Santos (2010) illustrated how social welfare and commercial logics were put together in order to create a new organization that enabled more effective employment opportunities for unemployed people. Their results on how several organizational practices are guided by social welfare and some others by commercialism signal the tendency to segregate the effects of different logics from

each other. Similarly, Goodrick and Reay's (2011) study showed that some work practices of pharmacists are characterized by a professional logic while others are guided by corporate logic. Their study revealed that four different logics (i.e. profession, market, corporation and state) affected work practices in the pharmaceutical industry. They showed that logics are indeed consisted of decomposable parts that can be recombined in different ways. They cited the example of how professional logics was invoked in education in the form of professional standards simultaneously with corporate logics being dominant in individual pharmaceutical practices. On the same token, the study of Goodrick and Reay (2016) on accountable care organizations showed that three different aims of the system (i.e. to improve patient experience of care, to improve the health of populations and to reduce the per capita cost of health care) corresponded to different institutional logics; namely the professional, state and the market respectively.

Most of the scholarly work in this regard has linked conceptualization of institutional logics to conformity and stability. The studies showing contradictory logics have mostly ended up with showing the role that dominant institutional logics have in achieving conformity within fields and organizations. Even when logic change has been acknowledged, it has been reflected as a temporary instability (Reay and Hinings, 2009). In this vein, organizations are recognized as "entities reproducing a single coherent institutional template in order to gain legitimacy and secure support from external institutional referents (Pache and Santos, 2013a: 973). Hence, this scholarly work have mostly approached logic change as a replacement circumstance instead of a state of incoherence between multiple institutional pressures and enduring contestation between different individuals in the same organization (Dunn and Jones, 2010). In contrast to the studies that grasped how coexistence of multiple logics leads to a relatively stable situation, others have shown how fields embody floating of alternative logics (Vangestel and Hillebrand, 2011). This line of work argued that though a dominant logic may prevail in a field, this situation is temporary. As Reay and Hinings (2005: 377) mentioned, "although a new dominant logic may arise as a part of a change process, the previously dominant logic will continue to be an important factor in the field."

Third, more recent stream of work has suggested “coexisting and competing institutional logics do not always resolve” (Goodrick and Reay, 2011: 373). Though there is more work on conflicts between conflicting logics and their representatives, less attention is devoted about how they coexist. This lack of emphasis is noteworthy as Friedland and Alford (1991: 250) mentioned that coexisting logics can be “mutually dependent yet also contradictory.” On the contrary to the conceptualizations of institutional complexity being a problem for most of the organizations, Greenwood et al. (2011) argued “organizations experience institutional complexity to varying degrees, depending on their formal and informal characteristics.”

The literature has begun to focus on different configurations of multiple logics coexistence within the same field. This camp of scholars recognized that fields do not necessarily evolve towards convergence around a dominant logic but often reflect sites of prolonged contestation (Lounsbury, 2007; Meyer and Höllerer, 2010). Instead of dominance of one logic, there are actually multiple ways in which multiple logics can interact within an organizational field: “Logics may peacefully coexist, compete with one another, supersede each other, provide an opportunity for blending or hybridization or result in a compromise or temporary truce” (Meyer and Höllerer, 2010: 1251). This line of thought is more tended to view organizations as being exposed to different institutional demands at the same time (Kraatz and Block, 2008). For understanding variation, it has been argued that institutional logics establish the rules that guide decision-making and behavior and focus the attention of key decision-makers on a set of issues. For instance, Goodrick and Reay (2011) speak of dominant logic, competition and ongoing coexistence as three different conceptualizations of institutional complexity whereas Pache and Santos (2013a) have introduced selective coupling as a strategy deployed by hybrid organizations responding to multiple institutional pressures.

In line with this discussion, another formulation suggested by vanGestel and Hillebrand (2011) argued that instead of one dominant or multiple coexisting logics, outcomes may reflect ongoing change. They challenged the argument of one

dominant logic by saying that this may happen only temporarily whereby one change is then followed by another. This supports the prior argument of Reay and Hinings (2005: 377); where alternative logics may represent the legacies of previous change processes. They maintained, “Although a new dominant logic may arise as part of a change process, the previously dominant logic will continue to be an important factor in the field.”

In those cases, different logics are expected to remain connected with diverse actors (Greenwood et al., 2010) or they might initiate combination of activities embedded in multiple logics in order to attain legitimacy from range of actors (Pache and Santos, 2013a). Rather than assuming coexisting logics are inherently incompatible, recent work has challenged this notion. These studies showed that contradictory logics may coexist in a kind of creative tension so that their influences affect actors simultaneously (Lounsbury, 2007; Greenwood et al., 2010; Goodrick and Reay, 2011). Most of the studies on coexisting multiple institutional logics are situated at the field level by emphasizing the conditions that trigger the diffusion of multiple logics within a given field. For example, Dunn and Jones (2010) looked at the factors influencing the maintenance of the science and care logics within the medical profession. They revealed how the relative influence of the logics of science and care responded to external pressures from interest groups representing the government, the public and corporations. Lounsbury and Crumley (2007) revealed that two competing logics in US mutual fund industry were theorized in a way that both were deemed appropriate for specific investor groups. Similarly Purdy and Gray (2009) studied the field of dispute resolution and showed that competing logics can coexist under specific conditions. They unpacked conditions that help the diffusion of the judicial and bureaucratic logics in the emerging field of Alternative Dispute Resolution. However these studies being situated at the field level, do not address how the organizations internally deal with institutional complexity. Our study therefore aims to fill this gap by showing co-existence of multiple logics at the organizational level that does not evolve into a dominant logic or a prolonged contestation. From that discussion onwards, with more micro-level focus this dissertation will unpack individual instantiations of multiple logics. The following section will delve into organizational responses to institutional complexity by

providing detailed account of the extant literature and mere emphasis on the role of identity.

2.1.1. Organizational Responses to Institutional Complexity

Investigating the responses of organizations to competing institutional logics can be used as a starting point to understand individual responses. In line with the calls of Thornton and Ocasio (2008), there needs to be more scholarly work on responses of individuals to institutional complexity and how these responses help us understand the coexistence of multiple logics in a field. Before elaborating individual responses, this section reveals organizational responses to institutional complexity. There is extensive literature that delves into how organizations respond to institutional complexity (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Kraatz and Block, 2008; Greenwood et al., 2011). This line of research highlighted both how organizations deal with institutional pluralism and also how they manage tensions imposed by multiple institutional logics thereby achieve sustainability of multiple forms. This stream of literature mainly refers to the question of legitimacy. Competing institutional logics often put organizations in a situation which aims, actions and outcomes that are deemed to be legitimate by different logics are often presented as a dichotomy.

Early work on organizational responses to institutional complexity builds on studies of institutional pressures, in this regard these studies have developed their premises based on Oliver's typology of strategies namely acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance and manipulation and elaborated the contextual factors affecting organization's adoptions of these strategies (Goodstein, 1994; Greening and Gray, 1994). Later work has devoted itself toward an image of fields as both fragmented and contested; which also emphasized co-existence of multiple logics that influence organizational actors (Lounsbury, 2007). Organizational responses to institutional complexity have been elaborated with regard to two different streams of literature. Prior work has dissected the modification of structural components by emphasizing organizational filters, whereas very recently scholars have used institutional

ambidexterity and practice literatures in order to understand the dynamic nature of responses.

Though many studies on institutional complexity have shown contestation of field-specific logics; they are indeed underpinned by societal-level institutional orders but are customized in specific beliefs and values within their specific fields (Thornton et al., 2012). In terms of organizational responses to competing institutional logics, Kraatz and Block (2008) extended Oliver's (1991) typology and proposed that organizations adopt multiple ways during periods of institutional plurality. Organizations can eliminate pluralism by resisting the new institutional logic or by favoring the new institutional logic. Organizations may also attempt to balance the plurality of institutional demands by loosely coupling its institutional logics or trying to enhance the cooperation between them. The ways that organizations can combine different logics range from segregating the effects of different logic from each other by compartmentalizing responses to multiple logics to fully integrating or hybridizing different logics (Goodrick and Reay, 2016: 3). This was also supported by Greenwood et al.'s (2011: 354) study, where they referred to compartmentalizing which entails partitioning an organizational into different mindsets, normative orders, practices and processes through defining separate units that instantiate particular logics.

Greenwood et al. (2011) and Pache and Santos (2010) elaborated characteristics of institutional fields and those of organizational filters through which institutional demands permeate organizations. Main organizational filters are said to be structure, ownership and identity. Organizational structure shapes the ties that organizational members have with external referents who channel institutional demands into the organization. Ownership on the other hand is associated with intra-organizational distribution of power and ability of organizational actors to influence the rest of the organization. Lastly identity includes institutionally prescribed identities (Greenwood et al., 2011: 347). Pache and Santos (2010) on the other hand built on Oliver's (1991) work to argue that the nature of the conflict stemming from conflicting institutional pressures and the extent to which institutional demands are internally represented in the organization's power structure influence the likely

organizational response to conflicting institutional pressures. They elaborated that when there is conflict over organizational goals in association with conflicting demands and when both sides of the demands are internally represented in a balanced way, organizations may fall into a state of paralysis. They maintained that organizations may avoid pressures to accommodate multiple logics if there is an internal group favoring one of the competing logics and when these competing logics are influential in achieving the means employed for reaching goals.

In the context of responses to complexity, literature mostly refers to how organizations balance the demands of competing logics by managing individuals, practices and identities. This literature mainly focuses on how organizations deal with complexity internally, that is to say through their recruitment strategies, work practices and political skills. Battilana and Dorado (2010), for instance, in their work on micro-finance enterprises in Bolivia showed that hybrid organization develops a common organizational identity that strikes a balance between the logics it incorporates. In their Bolivian micro-finance setting, they showed providers succeeded in blending commercial and community logics by recruiting people with no previous attachment to either logic. Common identity hence curtails the emergence of subgroups whose different identities emphasize the tensions between the logics combined.

Although some scholarly work presents multiple logics in organizations with contestation and conflict (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Zilber, 2002), others associate with coexistence (McPherson and Sauder, 2013). Existing research does not offer insight into conditions under which these different outcomes emerge, except for two studies. First, Besharov and Smith (2014) argued that implications of logic multiplicity are determined based on how logics are instantiated within organizations. Describing organizations as either embodying multiple logics or not may lead to oversimplification since there is a wide variation in how logics are internally manifested. In this regard, the study of Besharov and Smith (2014) developed a framework for heterogeneity in which they have delineated the relationship between multiple logics in an organization on the basis of compatibility and centrality. Compatibility refers to the extent to which logic instantiations rule for

consistent organizational actions. Compatibility is high when logics provide compatible prescriptions for action. It is lower when logics provide contradictory prescriptions for action. Centrality refers to the extent to which more than one logic is core to organizational functioning. It is the degree to which multiple logics are each treated as equally valid and relevant in organizational functioning. It is high when multiple logics are core to organizational functioning. In their typology, these two dimensions result with four ideal types of organizations as contested, estranged, aligned and dominant. These four types also yield different implications for internal conflict. At the one extreme, extensive conflict is expected when organizations embody multiple logics with low compatibility and high centrality. As organizational actors confront divergent values, strategies and practices while having no one multiple logic vie for dominance; this would result with highest level of conflict. At the other extreme, no conflict is expected in organizations embodying multiple logics that have high compatibility and low centrality. Since centrality is low, no one logic can clearly dominate in organization's structures and practices. What is more, high level of compatibility enables multiple logics to peacefully coexist. The other two options as aligned and estranged ideal types bear minimal to moderate level of conflict. Besharov and Smith (2014) assumed that societal-level institutional logics manifest within organizations in a variety of ways depending on geographic, historical and cultural context. Their work laments organizational actors' influence on how multiple logics are put into practice within organizations and the extent to which logics co-exist can vary over time. They argued that high levels of conflict are characterized with cases where pluralism is central to the organization's functioning and logics are incompatible.

Second, Raynard (2016) argued that a fuller understanding of institutional complexity indeed requires unpacking how logics variously converge in shaping organizational landscapes. In light of this thinking, Raynard (2016) conceptualized three different ways that logics converge namely degree of their incompatibility, the extent to which there is a settled and widely accepted prioritization of the logics within the field and the level of jurisdictional overlap between logic claims. This nuanced conceptualization in return contributes to a more comprehensive account of various external and internal challenges confronting hybrid organizations.

Firstly, incompatibility refers to instances where the prescriptions of multiple logics are not easily combined, as argued by Pache and Santos (2010: 460) incompatibility is problematic when there are differences at the ideological level of goals because differences in goals acknowledge the recognition of misalignments in the “core system of values and references of organizational constituencies.” As shown by Dunn and Jones’ (2010) study in the field of medical education; where the logics of science and care co-exist in a tension stemming from dissent over means for treating patients.

Secondly, unsettled field-level prioritization refers to those fields characterized by the lack of well-recognized and agreed upon prioritization of logics. In this regard, Reay and Hinings’ (2009: 647) study in Alberta health care field has shown the tension between medical professionalism and business-like health care. Because there was no settled field level prioritization; both physicians and managers encountered the task of carrying out their work with “no dominant logic to guide them.” The lack of settled prioritization among field-level audiences hence creates uncertainty because there is no established framework for how an organization should prioritize their demands (Kraatz and Block, 2008).

Thirdly, jurisdictional overlap highlights situations where the demands of logics aim the same jurisdictional spaces such as industries, professions, and organizations. Raynard (2016) argued that overlaps trigger the potential for jurisdictional competition and disagreement among advocates of different logics. For instance, the interaction between logics of science and market within the field of academic sciences reveals how formerly opposed concepts referring to different kinds of activities have been made contingent upon each other through the concept of entrepreneurial university.

On the basis of these three variables, Raynard (2016) has developed four different configurations of institutional complexity; restrained complexity, volatile complexity, segregated complexity and aligned complexity. In the case of volatile complexity, Raynard (2016) argued that there is no field-level settlement of

jurisdictional boundaries, nor is there an agreed upon prioritization of incompatible logics. Although it resembles to an institutional war situation still, there is the possibility of an institutionalized accommodation of incompatible logics (Reay and Hinings, 2009). As opposed to a state of prolonged contestation, field level actors may negotiate a reciprocated tolerance of multiple logics which would entail the acceptance of only some of their demands. In other words, since the advocates of different logics do not possess dominant authority over their counterparts, the field is characterized more by the uneasy co-existence of multiple non-dominant logics (Raynard, 2016: 25). At the organizational level, lack of field level prioritization pushes organizations to contentious state where they are relatively freer in prioritizing among competing institutional demands. Similarly, organizations may experience greater flexibility over how they choose to respond to these demands since they do not encounter pressure from institutional audiences to prioritize logics in a particular manner. In this regard, Raynard (2016) argued that organizations tend to adopt idiosyncratic structures aligned with their own interests and constraints since there is no field-level coherence of institutionalized templates. While citing Binder's (2007) study on separate but yet interdependent service departments in a transitional housing organization, Raynard demonstrated that flexible structures in situations of volatile complexity may enable the organization to attend to multiple conflicting goals and different priorities.

Adoption of task-oriented or project-based arrangement is another mean for coping with volatile complexity. In their study on drug courts McPherson and Sauder (2013: 186) revealed that representative from various occupational backgrounds convene on a case-by-case basis, in solving the problems drug court professionals thereby use their own logics and invoke other logics to manage everyday work. Another means for coping with volatile complexity is the notion of selective coupling (Pache and Santos, 2013a). Organizations incorporate elements prescribed by different logics, they hint their compliance to multiple institutional demands. Organizations may choose from "a much broader repertoire of institutionalized templates that they can combine in unique ways... to craft a configuration of elements that fits well with the demands of their environment and helps them leverage a wider range of support (Pache and Santos, 2013a: 994). To summarize, Raynard (2016) proposed that on the

one hand organizations tend to adopt mix and match integration strategy incorporating different logics and on the other hand may resort to task-based structures or decentralized units as alternative means to accommodate the expectations of different field-level audiences and to cope with volatile complexity.

More recently in contrast to conflict-oriented perspective, scholars have adopted institutional ambidexterity as a theoretical framework in order to elaborate potential benefits of being able to incorporate coexisting, contradictory logics. It describes the ability of individuals and organizations to simultaneously perform contradictory processes when both are critical to organizational success (Jarzabkowski, Le and Van de Ven, 2013: 45). Institutional ambidexterity represents a different approach because it does not present multiple logics as fundamentally incompatible but rather focuses on the adaptation of organizational practices by actors to manage and benefit from the presence of multiple and potentially contradictory logics.

This understanding diverges from the previous conceptualizations that regarded institutional complexity problematic and looked for ways to resolve conflict through keeping apart individuals, practices that enacted contradictory logics (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006; Smets et al., 2012). This problem oriented perspective caused institutional theorists to ignore benefits that organizations may attain in operating across different logics. Hence, rather than having tension-based view, how organizations act on interdependencies between logics remains to be interesting. Institutional ambidexterity views complexity as a natural condition to be managed and one extension of this framework is adopting practice approach that leverages institutional complexity at the individual level (Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke and Spee, 2013). Scholarly work in this area has showed how organizations can develop capacity to engage in two or more predominant beliefs and practices associated with two or more institutional logics. However institutions cannot be ambidextrous rather people do institutional ambidexterity in their everyday actions as they enact multiple logics (Jarzabkowski et al., 2013: 48).

As opposed to predominant emphasis on incompatibility, institutional ambidexterity concept invokes attention to neglected interdependencies. The basic rationale of

ambidexterity is the ability to simultaneously perform contradictory processes when they are critical to organizational success (March, 1991; Jarzabkowski et al., 2013). In line with practice theory, people do ambidexterity in their everyday actions and interactions as they work within and enact multiple logics. More recently, several scholars have adopted practice approach in order to understand the nature of institutional complexity in its specific context. For instance, Smets and Jarzabkowski (2014) displayed that actors through their practice can construct the same two logics and related practices as contradictory and complementary. Jarzabkowski et al. (2013) argued that incompatibility between logics is always determined by the specific situated practice in which those logics assembled together. Hence different logics are not absolute in being either conflicting or complementary; rather they are interdependent according to the particular situated practice in which they are enacted.

In line with institutional ambidexterity work, literature on organizational responses to complexity has tended to shift from strategic to practice-oriented responses. In this regard, practice lens to institutional complexity has unpacked the activities of individuals and their experience of institutional complexity as part of the ordinary, everyday nature of work. This perspective also supports the dynamic understanding of how individuals balance competing logics within the organization which are part of the ordinary, everyday nature of work rather than exceptional phenomena (Smets et al., 2012). DiMaggio and Powell (1991) suggested that practice approach was needed in institutional theory because it would enable institutional theorists to develop a more balanced view of the relationship between actors and institutions. Recent research looked at how local actors interact with, construct and draw upon their context in their everyday activities. For example, Smets et al. (2012) through their analysis of English law firms in Germany, elaborated that organizations can address complexity by “situated improvising” as employees devise solutions to the challenges of complexity as part of their everyday practices. At times of urgency in meeting client expectations, lawyers are urged to respond in a localized manner to institutional complexity. These actions were actors’ practice-oriented efforts to eliminate obstacles in order to get the job done in an institutionally complex environment.

Similarly, the study by Smets et al. (2014) on reinsurance trading in Lloyd's of London showed how incompatible logics can be fruitfully combined; in everyday practices of reinsurance underwriters the authors showed that they balanced the seemingly irreconcilable demands of the financial market and their Lloyd's community. They contributed by extending studies of purposeful organizational responses to institutional complexity. They elaborated that organizational structures enable people to balance competing logics rather than separating them permanently by paying attention on frontline actors. This formulation was also a response to calls of understanding how institutional complexity is experienced at the institutional coalface (Thorton et al., 2012). The study diverged away from structural and relatively static organizational responses to institutional complexity and identified three balancing mechanisms such as segmenting, bridging and demarcating that would enable individuals to manage competing logics. Another thing that is striking in their work is that hybrid organizations integrate activities governed by conflicting logics and reap the benefits of logics that are conflicting yet complementary (Smets et al., 2014: 933). This conceptualization also goes beyond binary focus on logics as compatible or conflicting (Greenwood et al., 2011) and rather remarks complementarity.

On the same token, in their work on the introduction of private logic in a mature hospital previously governed by hybrid of professional and public logics in Italy Cappelarro, Tracey and Greenwood (2016) showed that accommodation between competing claims of logics is retained through deployment of political skills, which can drag organizations into internal conflict. Accordingly, literature mainly refers to how organizations separate competing logics and the practices of actors who enact them to minimize internal conflict and external legitimacy threats when they are confronted with incompatible prescriptions from multiple logics; more recently scholars have recognized that embracing institutional complexity may offer benefits of broader practices (Pache and Santos, 2013b; Smets, Morris and Greenwood 2015). So more emphasis is on logic integration rather than logic separation but still more work is needed on how it is achieved.

2.1.2. The Role of Agency in Understanding Institutional Complexity

One criticism against institutional theory is its deterministic depiction of the transfer of norms and values from organizational field to organizational structure with relatively minor emphasis on individual agency (Cooney, 2007). As DiMaggio and Powell (1991: 4) mention,

It is not that institutional theory denies the reality or importance of goal-directed behavior... Rather, institutional theory has no explicit or formal theory of the role that interests play in institutionalization and consequently de-focalizes and distracts attention from the ways in which variation in the strategies and practices of goal directed actors may be related to variation in organizational structures, practices and forms.

It has been depicted that neo-institutional research neglects “interpretation and subjectivity, which [...] offers considerable degrees of agency and freedom to reinterpret and even change institutional templates” (Bévort & Suddaby, 2015: 2). Similarly, Thornton et al. (2012: 82) theoretically responded to this stream where they elaborated a deeper understanding of the micro-foundations of the institutional logics perspective, the relationship between micro and meso-levels of analysis. Their emphasis on micro mechanisms may also account for the ways in which institutional logics both enable and constrain an actor’s agency hence undoing the paradox of embedded agency. Institutional theory has long discussed the paradox of embedded agency, how to understand change when the actions of actors are conditioned by the institutions that they aim to change. Embedded agency highlights how prevailing logics may restrict the interests, values and strategies of actors within fields and professions (Seo and Creed, 2002; Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006). The central mechanism that Thornton et al. (2012: 79-81) argued to undo this paradox is bounded intentionality. This refers to the ways in which an individual is culturally embedded in a social group which also grants them both an identity and a cognitive schema that enable them to focus their attention on particular features of organizations and their environments, shapes their goals and provides them a repertoire of practices. Because purposive actions also reflect social identity, value-laden aims and cognitive

limitations; institutional logics perspective recognizes that actors interpret institutional logics in a culturally embedded way.

In this regard, institutional logics perspective offers a framework that acknowledges potential of agency as well as structure in enacting, contesting and transforming institutions. Logics provide actors with set of assumptions, rules and beliefs to help them make sense of the world (Ocasio, Loewenstein and Nigam, 2015). They are defined as the rules of the game (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008: 112) in which actors are provided with cognitive maps that would guide their activities and give meaning to them (Scott, Ruef, Mendel and Caronna, 2000: 20). Still however, institutionalists have looked into what Smets et al. (2012: 878) called “hypermuscular” institutional entrepreneurship and the work of “heroic actors.” This issue was also mentioned by Powell and Colyvas (2008: 277), as “heroic actors and cultural dopes is a poor representation of the gamut of human behavior.” This framing has neglected everyday work of ordinary actors who actively adhere and enact various institutional logics. Rather than taking actors analytically separated from the institutions that constrain them, institutional logics perspective partakes with the argument of Meyer and Rowan (1977) that actors must be understood as constituted by institution. Thus it is these institutions that individuals experience; provide motivations, commitments and ideas that are to be revealed when they disseminate everyday routines and practices (Jonsson and Lounsbury, 2016).

Institutional logics capture how institutional influences stemming from societal-level institutional orders shape actions of organizations and individuals. While they encompass material practices that represent particular worldviews, ends and appropriate means to achieve those ends; they also symbolically embody belief systems. Institutional logics’ emphasis on how beliefs of different societal domains shape behavior hints more powerful theory of agency (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Since different logics are associated with different institutions, they represent different set of expectations for social relationships (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2014).

The field-level explanations of the phenomena has rendered institutional theory more macro thus giving less emphasis to the explanations of phenomena based on the

actions of individual actors in organizational settings. DiMaggio and Powell (1991: 16) observed “there has been little effort to make neoinstitutionalism’s micro foundations explicit.” The main premise has remained to understanding individuals whom are captured within norms and rules, without emphasizing the role that they may play in creating or transforming them. Hence, theory has paid limited attention to how institutions are transmitted and played out at the individual level. More individual level understanding is necessary and reflects a critique of institutional theory that the individuals as either cultural dopes or heroic change agents. At the individual level, micro analyses of the dynamics of actors within an institutionalized organization reveals that these groups of actors, although enacting and perpetuating the institutionalized structures imported from the organizational field, are also active agents, interacting with and reconstituting the structures that surround them (Cooney, 2007: 775).

Not only field level institutional logics shape individual action, but also logics are enacted through institutionalized practices that are produced locally within the field (Berman, 2012). The way by which institutional logics become interpreted and instantiated at lower levels of analysis is mentioned by Barley and Tolbert (1997) discussion of four-stage process. One of the stages is called enactment, which is a process by which social constructions become reified because “the external environment bends around the enactments of people and much of the activity of sense-making involves an effort to separate the externality from the action” (Weick, 1988: 188). Enactment is a process where the new knowledge is reflected in formal roles and behaviors but subsequently becomes taken-for-granted that it forms part of the identity of the individuals who enact it. Examining micro foundations entails both how individual agency is culturally embedded in institutional logics and how agency is involved in the reproduction and transformation of logics (Thornton et al., 2012). For instance, Leblebici, Salancik, Copay and King’s (1991) study on US broadcasting industry looked at the introduction of new conventions by fringe players and concluded that this had impact on both modifying dominant institutional practices and pushing these players into more important positions within the field. Moreover, Zilber’s (2002) study on feminist ideology in a rape crisis center in Israel has shown how the ideology was reshaped as a result of shifts in the number of

organizational actors imbued with therapeutic focus. Her results also confirm Oliver's (1991: 575) argument that; "new members with backgrounds that differ from existing members bring different interpretive frameworks and social definitions of behavior to the organization that act to diminish unquestioning adherence to taken- for-granted practices."

At the macro level, scholarly work on institutional complexity argued that multiple logics put constraints to organizations' and individuals' behavior. Much of this work has focused on organizational responses to conflicting institutional orders at the field level rather than explaining salience of institutional logics to organizational actors (Greenwood et al., 2011). Yet recently, understanding micro-level processes shaping institutional forms and how these forms and actions become taken-for-granted has gained momentum. (Thornton et al., 2012; McPherson and Sauder, 2013). In this regard, the theory has begun to incorporate the role of actor positions, power and conflict. In response to shortcomings of macro level emphasis, recent scholarly work has begun to consider micro level enactment of logics especially at day-to-day interactions of actors or as Barley (2008) mentions by individuals at the coalface. In the study of Powell and Colyvas (2008), the authors urged the scholarly community to examine how individuals locate themselves in social relations and interpret their context. As organizational members engage in daily practices, this may lead to the transformation of both logics and identities. In response to these calls, the literature has more delved into the individual level construction and transmission of logics since it is at the individual level that logics are translated into action, and that action in return either reinforces or reconstitutes the prevailing logics (McPherson and Sauder, 2013). The authors argued that the meanings of logics are not fixed and take a more practice-based view of their enactment. They perceived institutional logics as tools which can be "continuously combined, configured and manipulated to serve the purposes of actors" (McPherson and Sauder, 2013: 168).

Actions are influenced by individual identities and goals as well as the availability of logics to individual actors (Thornton et al., 2012: 91). Though recent empirical work has shown that actors invoke logics as tools to "direct attention and shape decisions" (McPherson and Sauder, 2013: 177), the exercise of choice and discretion is

restrained by social position and identity (Meyer and Höllerer, 2010; Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010; Currie and Spyridonidis, 2016). These studies demonstrated that as actors' responses are guided by social position, identities; creating new meaning from different logics necessitates reflexive spaces that allow boundary expansion (Yu, 2015). For instance, Zietsma and Lawrence's (2010) study on Canadian forestry sector showed that actors resolved contested practices by extending boundaries that would hide them from the sanctions to which they would otherwise be exposed. Meyer and Höllerer's (2010: 1241) study in Austria showed that actors created spaces in order to contend the logic of shareholder value and to create heterogeneity in meaning. Similarly Currie and Spyridonidis (2016) in their study on two hospitals in the English National Health Service examined actors' interpretation of multiple logics with a focus upon actors' social position and situational constraints that restrain this.

Institutional logics are influential in terms of what issues are attended to by decision makers and provide interpretive schemes that guide perception (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005). Hence they are often subject to mindful instantiations so that their enactment accentuates an issue to become salient, which ends to pursue, which means to employ (Smets et al., 2014). Thornton et al. (2012: 84) argued that not all social actors are equally embedded in prevailing institutional logics. They recognized that institutional logic provides a network of accessible structures to guide the individual's focus of attention. The applicability of knowledge structures to salient aspects of the situation enables the activation of institutional logics. Moreover they recognized the bottom-up attention which was before mentioned by Binder's (2007: 568) study; "logics are not purely top-down: real people, in real contexts, with consequential past experiences of their own, play with them, combine them with institutional logics from other domains and make them fit their needs." What is still missing is the coalescing of top-down effects of institutional logics and bottom-up effects of situational strains within organizations. Mere emphasis on top-down effects of logics has paved way to micro processes and how the consequences of logics instantiate through concrete interaction patterns in several contexts (Lok, 2010; McPherson and Sauder, 2013; Smets, Morris and Greenwood, 2015). Hence,

micro processes of institutional logics have helped to cultivate more powerful theory of agency.

2.1.3. Individual Responses to Institutional Complexity and their Antecedents

In this section, main emphasis is devoted on individual responses to institutional complexity. Discussions of institutional complexity have recognized the nested sets of influences at the field, organization and individual levels (Besharov and Smith, 2014). Micro level emphasis takes enactment of institutional logics by individuals at the coalface (Barley, 2008) in other words in the day-to-day interactions of actors in institutionalized fields. In this vein, scholars viewed that neo-institutional research overlooked “interpretation and subjectivity, which... offers considerable degrees of agency and freedom to reinterpret and even change institutional templates” (Bévort and Suddaby, 2015: 2).

More recently, there has been growing interest among institutionalists in the links between macro and micro phenomena. This interest has produced insights related to the micro-level building blocks of institutions (Powell and Colyvas, 2008). Institutional logics being at the core of these efforts elaborated how macro-level institutions influence organizational structures and practices through logics (Thornton et al., 2012). In this regard, this body of work has contributed to a better understanding of how individual-level practices are in fact embedded in logical frameworks. For instance, scholarly work has depicted how different logics within a field impact the organizational strategies and practices (Thornton, 2004) and how local situations influence the logics that decision makers enact within an organizational field (Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007). Although there has been efforts bring individual actor level to the forefront, still efforts for understanding how logics are actually used on the ground remained minimal. Hence emphasis on demonstrating how social actors enact logics into action as they engage in everyday organizational activities remained scant.

Moreover, institutional complexity literature is more attuned to focus on organizational responses to institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011). More

recently, scholarly work has begun to look at the micro-level determinants of institutional phenomena (Powell and Colyvas, 2008). This body of work suggested that multi logic forms are not only the product of field-level institutions but also “the ways divergent institutions are articulated, mediated and reconstituted through practices and strategies of micro-level actors” (Bishop and Waring, 2016: 2). Instead of organizational level of analysis, I argue that individual has to be brought to the forefront since competing demands are woven in their everyday work. In order to understand dynamics, in line with Greenwood et al. (2011: 334), we need to “delve deeper into dynamic patterns of complexity” to acknowledge how individuals struggle across multiple logics (Goodrick and Reay, 2011). In fact “institutions are not inert categories of meaning; rather they are populated with people whose social interactions suffuse institutions with local force and significance” (Hallett and Ventresca, 2006).

It has been shown that co-existence of multiple competing logics can be sustained through the actions of “micro-level actors” who develop “localized structures and systems that enabled day-to-day work” (Reay and Hinings, 2009: 630). In this regard they elaborated the structures employed by these actors that also enabled multiple logics to determine behaviors and strengthen the identities of different actors. The literature has also shown that organizational actors may manage the existence of multiple logics by instantiating incompatible logics that diverge from what is expected of their professional groups (McPherson and Sauder, 2013). Even so, individuals may also embrace institutional complexity rather than solving which would also entail additional resource opportunities and innovation (Smets et al., 2015). In order to “delve deeper into the dynamic patterns of complexity” (Greenwood et al., 2011: 334), we need to acknowledge the struggles of individuals operating across multiple logics. For that reason, we need to focus on daily practices by which individuals negotiate institutional complexity at the coalface.

Although there have been calls to make the micro-foundations of institutional theory more explicit, there has been limited progress in this endeavor (Powell and Colyvas, 2008). The relationship between micro events in which individuals are situated and macro level societal aspects are treated to be significant (Dacin et al., 2010).

However Villani and Philips (2013: 26) showed that the way organizational actors experience logics differ to the extent of individual experience and interaction; thus it is a reflection both at macro and local levels. The decisions of actors also influence the way in which institutional complexity is perceived and managed. Their findings showed that different ways organizations respond to multi-logics pressures are the result of actors' interactions, perceptions and decisions. So main aim was to return to coalface of institutional theory in order to shed light on the link between institutions and the person (Powell and Colyvas, 2008).

Values and beliefs associated with logics are materially instantiated in the practices and behaviors of actors who act as carriers of logics in particular contexts. Therefore, understanding the effects of logics requires looking at the actors and the contexts within which action occurs (Lounsbury and Boxenbaum, 2013; Almandoz, 2014). The role of actors is critical when understanding how organizations respond to conflicting institutional demands. As also argued by Pache and Santos (2010), internal representation of these demands involve exploring internal dynamics that are at stake. Organizations hence diverge in their extent to which competing institutional demands are internally presented and in the degree to which organizational actors embrace a given logic (Kim, Shin, Oh and Jeong, 2007). The literature has shown that internal representation of various institutional logics may be the result of hiring practices which brings different members who adhere to various templates (Lounsbury, 2001). Kim et al. (2007) demonstrated that pressure for changes in the presidential selection system in Korean universities is triggered by the presence or absence of internal groups committed to the old selection system.

The strategies that determine which logic elements that organizations enact are argued to be shaped by internal coalitions and internal balance of power between coalitions. For instance, Pache and Santos (2013b) studied strategic choices in institutionalized environments depending on the degree of adherence to competing logics. They showed that actors may be novice when they do not adhere to any of the logics or familiar with the logic when they comply with the logic in practice without adhering to its values. Alternatively, actors may be identified with the logic if there is high adherence. Authors argued that when institutional complexity creates tangible

pressures related to conflicting logics, organizational actors may act as bricoleurs to creatively combine elements from different logics into newly designed artifacts. Accordingly, the internal coalitions have emerged to be one of the underlying arguments that highlight internal challenges that arise when groups within the organization identify with different logics. This is argued to make organizations vulnerable to incoherence because advocates of different logics tend to impose their own normative beliefs (Battilana and Lee, 2014).

Building on the notion that individuals are carriers of competing logics, Almandoz's (2012) study has shown different conditions in which such multiple representations may lead to conflict in founding teams or on the contrary may contribute to the successful founding of an organization. Such internal representation of various logics in hybrid organizations has also demonstrated how relative power and political skills of each logic's proponents lead to influence the organization's strategy (Pache and Santos, 2010). However main criticism from Almandoz (2014) has revealed the lack of insight into the boundary conditions that define when internal representation of institutional logics translated into organizational practices. The study by Bertels and Lawrence's (2016) on Aboriginal education in Canada demonstrated how individuals in organizations influence organizational responses to institutional complexity; more specifically they showed how individuals' sense making and institutional biographies work together in affecting the kinds of action in which organizations engage and the scope of that action. Recent work on individual level instantiations of institutional logics have more looked at the inside organizations but more in terms of individual occupations and organizational roles (McPherson and Sauder, 2013; Pache and Santos, 2013b).

Recent scholarly work has shown that the work of different professionals within an organization may reflect different logics that is to say some aspects of their work may invoke attributes of one logic while other reflects attributes of another. For instance Nigam and Ocasio's (2010) study of Clinton's healthcare reform depicted that field level logic of managed care highlighted a combination of multiple societal logics of market, bureaucracy and professions. Thus field level actors' sense making processes contributed to the emergence of the logic of managed care. Similarly

Delbridge and Edwards' (2013) study echoed that professional logics of engineering and design interact with market logic to influence actor behavior. Still however we know relatively less about how professionals interpret and respond to constellations of logics. As also put forward by Arjailes, Kodeih and Raynard (2013); there is paucity of research on how professionals enact broader logics within organizations and how these enactments differ.

In understanding different constellation of logics, several studies underlined the high level autonomy of individuals in responding to institutional complexity. Greenwood et al. (2011) suggested that prescriptions of which logic prevail over others is a function of the influence of the logic's field-level proponents over resources. Very similarly, Bévort and Suddaby (2015: 3) maintained, "it is the differential ability of some individuals in the field to interpret phenomenological fragility of logics and to be somewhat immune to their totalizing cognitive influence." Somewhat in different terms, McPherson and Sauder (2013) showed that actors in a drug court enact relatively freely upon a shared toolkit of logics in pursuit of their interests, but some actors (i.e. probation officers) are positioned at a better place due to their relational position that enable them both the position of brokerage and accordingly privileged access to logics of others even though they do not have the status of other professional groups in the court.

Martin, Currie, Weaver, Finn and McDonald's (2016) study on English health care field bridged both macro and micro level responses to institutional complexity. More particularly, they challenged the notion that actor autonomy depended on mediating factors at the field level or status of individual actors. Instead they showed that a common constellation of institutional logics could lead to divergent outcomes in terms of practices (Waldroff et al., 2013). For instance whereas in several cases corporate logic was aligned with market logic, in others it represented a defense for the professional logic against the market logic. Yet, actors were not totally free in choosing from plurality of logics but rather influences at the organizational level which constituted a prism to transmit field-level institutional prescriptions into micro-level constraints significantly shaped their autonomy. Neither adopting the view of actors as heroic change agents or cultural dopes (Lawrence, Suddaby and

Leca, 2009), in this dissertation I embrace the view that availability of multiple logics within a field does not imply that individual actors have full discretion in choosing from their prescriptions. Due to prior socialization, the expectation of referent audiences and other structural determinants, actors continue to face the constraints presented by the need for legitimacy (Martin et al., 2016: 105-106).

How institutional logics influence organizational-level practices rests in the assumption that prior involvement with logics shape individuals' assumptions and values thus determine how they conceive and react to environmental stimuli. In this vein, scholarly work has demonstrated how organizational actors' institutional affiliations play critical role in shaping organizational practices (Glynn, 2000; Almandoz, 2012). Moreover this literature has regarded the degree to which different logics are represented within the organization by individuals with a cognitive affinity as an important factor that shapes organization's strategic direction (Pache and Santos, 2010; Tilcsik, 2010). On the contrary, prior socializations, expectations of referent audiences and other structural issues restrain actor autonomy. Even more, different settings may rule for different configuration of logics. For instance, Waldorff et al.'s (2013: 125) study showed that logics in healthcare field in Denmark and Canada have shown different constellations resulting from field-level dynamics such as incentive structures and regulations. The authors claimed that the "concept of constellation of logics offers a new way of understanding agency. It is the arrangement and relationship among logics that helps to explain how action can be both constrained and enabled." Together with the prior involvement of individual actors with different logics, in the following section I will elaborate how organizational and individual identities specifically political ones independent from logics influence responses to institutional complexity.

New institutionalism has expounded the distinction between institutional and task environment as imposing different and opposing demands on the organization (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The institutional perspective on organizational environments underlines the role of state, regulatory structures, government agencies, rules, laws and professions in an organization's institutional environment and their influence in shaping organization's legitimacy and performance (Meyer

and Rowan, 1977). This perspective was indeed a departure from the conception of task environment focusing on the scarcity of resources, exchange relations and competitive pressures (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). In this respect institutional conceptions of the environment argues that organizations strive for legitimacy and the institutional relations helps the organization to mobilize cultural support for its goals and activities and demonstrate its conformity with institutional rules, norms and regulations (Oliver, 1997: 100).

The environmental context for task environment is the market whereas for institutional environment it is political and legal context. Although very initial formulations of new institutionalism has emphasized political and legal contextual components of the institutional environment; institutional logics literature has more assumed that societal context that encircles both individuals and organizations are only guided by manifestations of different field-level institutional logics. However, I argue that this assumption is problematic in the sense that it disregards the interactions stemming from various ideologies, class-based, political and social identities. I deem it as very significant to institutionally contextualize institutional logics by bringing political environment more forward. More specifically, I think this is critical in contexts not characterized by Western modernity and rationality as inured in Friedland and Alford's conceptualization. Hence, as Turkish context as being characterized with statist polity, neo-patrimonialism and clientelistic relationships; I argue that political fragilities of the era may indeed contradict with principles of rationality and meritocracy reflected in organizational level decisions (i.e. academic hiring).

2.2. Political Networks

In the upcoming two subsections, networks formed around political ideologies are going to be discussed followed by the issue of organizational and individual identity as constituting a filter between macro political environment and individual level ideology. The institutionalist scholars mainly embraced that the identity forms an important link between institutional logics and behavior of individuals and organizations (Glynn, 2008; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). In this regard, identity is

conceptualized as a significant mechanism for understanding how micro-individual interpretations of macro social phenomenon such as institutional logics generate opportunities for individual agency in enacting institutional pressures (Bévort and Suddaby, 2015: 5). What is more, this line of work viewed identities being associated with different logics such that the social construction of an identity is particularly based on an institutional logic (Lok, 2010). It has been argued that taken-for-granted reproduction of an existing institutional logic conditions identity through naturalization of the logic which also generates cognitive legitimacy to the particular identities that constitute it. Moreover, theorization around new institutional logics can also condition identity by making existing identities less legitimate. Hence, the extant literature has put over emphasis on how organizational and/or individual identities and practices are predominantly shaped by institutional logics. In this regard, institutional logics furnish a frame for organizations to explain two critical questions: what we do (practices) and who we are (identity). As the answers to these questions define the organization's identity (Navis and Glynn, 2010), logics are more presented as significant in linking practices to identity to give a more coherent understanding of organization's identity.

To challenge the prevalent view that not only logics shape identity but logics are being shaped by organizational identity and the design instantiated to implement the practices associated with these logics (Glynn and Raffaelli, 2013); in this study I argue that different political networks and associated identities interact with institutional logics in influencing behavior of the organizations and/or individuals.

Dating back to Meyer and Rowan (1977), organizations are depicted to incorporate practices and procedures defined by widely prevalent, rationalized concepts in the larger society. They also underlined that all organizations are embedded in both relational and institutionalized contexts. In this regard, institutions are inherently ideological since they constitute social entities and categories that are at the foundation of any social order. In a similar manner, Meyer (1987: 29) argued that institutions and ideologies are very much interlinked because the concern for how institutional structures legitimate social entities as actors is similar to the question of how ideologies construct social agency. The socio-political embeddedness of agency points more the relevance of ideology for institutional theory (Fiss and Zajac, 2004).

Institutions are organized such that they legitimate power as control over persons and produce powers by authorizing practices that constitute subjects and objects through which the authority relation is organized (Friedland, 2009). As ideology refers to the set of beliefs that are used to justify or challenge a given socio-political order, ideology and more specifically political ideology is very interwoven with political networks. Networks formed around different ideologies implied different interpretations of the political world and in most cases solidarity among its adherents.

Networks in which organizations are embedded in are themselves embedded within broader institutional contexts (Granovetter, 1985; Vasudeva et al., 2013). However as argued by Powell, White, Koput and Owen-Smith (2005: 1133) “in the social sciences... analyses of [institutional] fields and networks have been oddly disconnected.” In order to fully understand the influences of network structures on organizational outcomes; institutional settings within which different network actors are situated must be taken into consideration. Social networks are depicted as important channels through which institutional pressures on individuals are exerted and institutional effects flow. The association between networks and institutions are rooted in social values and the structure of relations among societal actors (Granovetter, 1985). Since institutions entail both social values and related structures that bring them, social networks embedded in the institutional settings are likely to be impacted by behavioral expectations defined by the institutional domain (Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

The literature has been developed in three different trajectories; showing how networks modify institutions (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006), how institutions impact networks (Xiao and Tsui, 2007; Hernandez, Vasudeva and Zaheer, 2015; Vasudeva et al., 2013) and how both networks and institutions co-constitute each other (Powell et al., 2005; Owen-Smith and Powell, 2008). Institutionalists tend to view networks as constraints or as tools by which norms are diffused with result in convergence around common practices. However, different line of thinking takes networks as opportunity structures in which as Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) showed in their study on Big Five accounting firms that central actors of network of professional firms initiate change through institutional entrepreneurship. Those

organizations bridging structural holes become more aware of alternative conventions. Thus, a network position that bridges fields alleviates institutional embeddedness by subjecting actors to inter-institutional incompatibilities. However it might be impractical for network members to modify the institutions that they are embedded in (Kraatz and Block, 2008).

More recent work has emphasized how national institutions moderate the influence of inter-organizational networks. For instance, Vasudeva, Zaheer and Hernandez (2013) displayed that institutional perspective provides an useful lens to study the embedding of network interactions across institutional boundaries. Networks are not deterministic outcomes of institutions rather Vasudeva et al. (2013) emphasized that networks and institutions mutually affect firm innovation by displaying how the same network position can generate different outcomes depending on the materialization of different institutional logics governing exchange between partners. The role inherent in a given network positions is shown to depend upon the dominant institutional logic with which the focal firm or its partners are imprinted.

Powell et al. (2005) argued for the co-constitutive relationship between networks and institutions such that the link between networks and institutions will be apparent in situations where identities are vague, logics are multiple and/or conflicting and networks span diverse audiences. In this regard, they view networks as providing both conduits that channel resources and the lenses through which observers understand action. Accordingly, networks are essential in fields characterized by specific logics of action, with the “situated and often improvised performances of highly bounded, but nonetheless purposive, organizational and individual agents” having the potential over time to produce “a motor for evolution and change” (Owen-Smith and Powell, 2008: 618).

In the very early conceptualizations of institutional logics, Friedland and Alford (1991: 268) mentioned that without considering institutions “it will be impossible to explain what kinds of social relationships have what kind of effect on the behavior of organizations and individuals.” In revealing how networks are intrinsically connoted with institutional logics; Owen-Smith and Powell (2008) argued that logics offer a mechanism by which institutions guide the formation and mobilization of networks,

while they provide means for expectations and regulations to exert force upon field participants. The institutional norms get activated in organization's behavior in which they are carried into their network roles. It is argued that the institutional background of the organizations brings certain identities, goals and schemas that are intrinsic to the negotiations, interactions, exchange and communications in the inter-organizational relationships reflected in the network. Similarly, Thornton et al. (2012: 94) mentioned, "the effects of institutional logics are mediated through the cognition of social actors interacting with other social actors in negotiation and cooperation." Moreover, institutional logics may invoke a specific structural position in a network because it represents a legitimate way of interacting, exchanging knowledge and validating certain types of relationships. For example, Xiao and Tsui (2007) elaborated that open network structures in collectivist societies (i.e. China) are less legitimate than closed structures.

On the other hand, networks are conceptualized as essential components of the fields in two respects: they are both a circulatory system and a mechanism for sense making (Owen-Smith and Powell, 2008). Fields are formed by networks, which influence the formation of relationships. As fields are associated with particular logics of action, these logics also make networks viable by determining which sorts of relationships participants can engage with. Organizational fields are defined as populations of organizations that occupy the same or interrelated environmental niches (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this respect, prevailing logics in a field implicitly define which sorts of relationships will have what types of effects for different individual actors. Hence, the relational embeddedness of any action not only depends on networks but also logics that make these ties meaningful and determine the effects of structures. Gibbons (2004) showed that every organizational field develops unique networks shaped by regional constraints, structural characteristics of each network is expected to affect its capability to diffuse various kinds of innovations.

As already discussed, the new institutional studies, particularly diffusion and institutional logics literatures, have employed network perspective rather in this regard (e.g., Besharov and Smith, 2014; Colyvas and Jonsson, 2011; Weber et al., 2009; Glynn, 2000; Greenwood et al., 2011; Smets et al., 2012). However, they have

paid little attention to the issue of how organizational members' networks and identities formed, not related to organizational field or institutional logics, but their social sphere of life shape their organizational decisions in conjunction with institutional logics they enact. In other words, less is known about how actors reconcile multiple identities associated with institutional logics and social networks in their actions. Therefore, in this study I basically adopt the former use of networks, i.e., social, particularly political, networks independent from logics, in developing the theoretical framework.

The basic premise of network perspective is that economic action, in this case "hiring", is embedded in structures of social relations (Granovetter, 1985). Here, embeddedness refers to the quality and network architecture of exchange relationships, i.e., structural embeddedness (Uzzi, 1997: 36). Embeddedness portrays the ways in which prior relations between actors both enable and restrain subsequent exchanges (Barden and Mitchell, 2007). Also relevant to this study, political embeddedness refers to ongoing structural relations to the state and its actors that underline relations that are formal and informal, bureaucratic, instrumental and affective (Michelson, 2007: 353). The idea of political embeddedness comes from looking at ties to the state from the embeddedness perspective (Okhmatovskiy, 2010: 1023). Political embeddedness is defined as "involving business-government exchange relationships realized by a multitude of individual and institutional ties to the state" (Sun, Mellahi, Wright and Xu, 2015: 1039). According to this perspective, long-term relationships between two parties are not governed by arm's length transactions but rather with trust and mutual indebtedness. In this dissertation, I am basically interested in formal and informal ties of individuals and organizations not only to the state but also conventional (i.e., political parties) and non-conventional (i.e., social movement organizations) political entities.

The network research has mostly centered on organizational level of analysis and argued that these ties provide organizations with resources that would otherwise be difficult to attain (Burt, 1992; Uzzi, 1996). The network perspective claims that the complexity of social relations is characterized by enduring patterns of connectivity and cleavage. Hence not only the social ties between actors but also absence of ties

bear meaning. According to Kilduff and Brass (2010), four premises distinguish organizational social network research from other programs: emphasis on the relations between actors, acknowledgment of the embeddedness in social relations, a belief in structural patterning of social life and emphasis on the social utility of network connections. It is recognized that interaction between two people entails the following; they represent both themselves but also formal and informal groups of which they are members of (Galaskiewicz and Burt, 1991).

Another important premise of social network research deals with the strong belief that networks provide both opportunities and constraints that influence individual outcomes. Together with emphasis on social relations and embeddedness, researchers are more interested whether differences in social network patterns yield different outcomes for individual actors in organizational settings such as performance (Mehra, Kilduff and Brass, 2001) and promotions (Burt, 1992). In his theory of structural holes, Burt (1992: 47) argued that two different networks surround the focal actor; namely one involving holes and other involving closure. He posited that actors with closed networks are disadvantaged in terms of information and control benefits in relation to actors whose networks are rich in structural holes. In contrast to this perspective, Coleman (1990) remark on collectivity, that is to say groups of actors collectively build relationships that would provide benefits to their closed group. In line with this approach, network closure enables norms of trust and reciprocity. It confers the idea that location within a connected group helps forge a sense of personal belonging and creates a normative framework within which the individual's social identity emerges and is reinforced (Kilduff and Brass, 2010: 330).

The quality and network architecture of relationships vary according to the degree of strength and cohesiveness of ties (Gulati, Daldin and Wang, 2005). The strength of ties is related to the intensity of interactions between actors, strong in the case of high interactions and weak in the case of low, whereas the cohesiveness of ties refers to whether the focal actor is connected to others directly or indirectly through other actors, cohesive ties when they are direct, and bridging ties when they are indirect (Gulati et al., 2005).

In network research density is an indicator of cohesion; the denser the network the more redundancy there is in terms of paths along which information and influence can flow between any two actors. Redundancy refers to the extent to which two contacts “provide the same information benefits to the player” (Burt, 1992: 47). Highly dense networks are characterized with norms of behavior that are more “firmly held and easier to enforce” (Granovetter, 2005: 34). Structural perspective focuses on patterns of relationships however one problematic aspect is that its treatment of different kinds of relationships as more or less equivalent because of its emphasis on structure rather than the content of ties. Researchers criticizing this view have argued that different kinds of relationships have different effects; hence it is rather the content of relationships that cause variation on similar structural patterns (Podolny and Baron, 1997). A possible interpretation from Granovetter’s (1973) discussion of how friendships ties appear to be more dense than acquaintanceship, we can also infer that in certain cases political ties may entail more density compared to friendship ties.

Network research depicted that new information flows to people whose personal networks include weak ties that connect them to different social networks within which neither they themselves nor their friends tend to move (Granovetter, 2005). Strength of weak ties argument (Granovetter, 1973) confers that individuals may be densely connected to others within clusters despite relatively less connection across clusters. In such a context of lack of organization across clusters, the overall network structure may yet be fragile though each person experience denser within-cluster cohesion.

Podolny and Baron (1997: 689) argued that cohesive networks benefit those people occupying lower hierarchical levels in organizations, on the contrary structural holes benefit the members of senior management for whom “issues of organizational identity and belonging may no longer be salient for career advancement.” Both of the perspectives (i.e. cohesive and structural holes) agree on the constraining effect of densely connected networks; in terms of closure it facilitates the monitoring and enforcement of norms that generate identity and trust; whereas for structural-holes perspective it limits the novel information.

Although not necessarily, strong ties usually tend to be cohesive ties, and weak ties tend to be bridging ties (Burt, 1992). This overlapping between ties results in two basic structural configuration of egocentric networks: closed and open networks (Adler and Kwon, 2002). In a closed network, relationships are usually embedded in strong and cohesive (direct) ties. This network configuration promotes, and based on, trust, and reciprocity, and highlights the collective identity by developing internal relations only with those people whom are in the closed network. The actors in such network configuration tend to favor each other relatively more, solve common problems collaboratively, exchange information, and trust each other (Uzzi, 1996). On the other hand, in an open network, where weak and bridging ties usually dominate, actors are more likely to obtain new information and opportunities through their weak and indirect ties, filling the structural holes between disconnected actors (Burt, 1992 and 2007; Granovetter, 1973).

Closed and open network configurations have basically two implications for the academic staffing decisions. First, two configurations vary according to the degree of group pressures and obligations. In closed networks, the network implicitly dictates the importance of solidarity, compliance to norms and favoring the individuals from the same network in making hiring decisions. Hence, the actor feels the obligation and the responsibility to meet the expectations of the network members. In open network case, due to lower level network pressure and obligation, the decision-makers may enjoy greater agency in determining whom to recruit from members of different network encounters. Secondly, two configurations may also vary according to the redundancy of information they provide (Burt, 1992; Uzzi, 1997). In a closed network where highly redundant information circulates within the network, actors who seek new members for vacant academic positions in their organizations are more likely to meet applications of those jobseekers who are from their close network since the information about vacant position is quickly disseminated within the network. On the other hand, in an open network which provides more non-redundant and new information, actors who make hiring decisions are more likely to meet jobseekers who have not known decision-makers personally but obtain the information about the vacant positions through their indirect relations, or simply through the ads for vacant positions open to the public.

Above discussions indicate that academic staffing decisions can be influenced by both institutional logics with which decision-makers are identified and political networks in which they are embedded. One can simply think that decision-makers may tend to hire new members who are identified with the same logic as decision-makers are embedded, and those who are connected to decision-makers' own political networks, i.e., homophily assumption. Homophily refers to the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people (McPherson et al., 2001: 416). However, in the real life, we can also observe that decision-makers may decide to hire new members embedded in opposite logics and in different political networks; i.e., heterophily assumption. Thus, the question here is to what extent staffing decisions may vary depending on whether decision-makers are identified with single or multiple logics in the field, and whether they are embedded in closed or open political networks. After illustrating identity literature and the Turkish case below, I will attempt to develop a conceptual model to answer this question.

2.3. Organizational and Individual Identity

In this dissertation, I argue that the emphasis on individual level institutional complexity necessitates explicit understanding of organizations being composed of individuals with complex relationships to institutional logics that extend their formal organizational roles. In this regard, scholarly work on identity (Glynn, 2008; Creed, DeJordy and Lok, 2010; Leung, Zietsma and Peredo, 2014) has revealed the influence that individual identities have on their relationships to institutions and in their responses to institutional pressures. Prior research underlined the importance of identity "as a filter for interpreting and responding to strategic issues and environmental changes" (Glynn, 2008: 418). Hence I address the recent call for further exploration of the link between institutional theorizing and organizational identity (Raffaelli and Glynn, 2014). Yet, I diverge from the extant literature of logic-based identities through unpacking both individual and organizational identities formed that are independent from institutional logics. I argue that the variation in organizational responses to institutional complexity is on the one hand tied to different logics individuals encounter and the relationships among logics in

pluralistic environments and on the other hand societal level political identities. In other words, the identity conceptualization in the institutional complexity literature failed to consider identity as of being also rooted in political networks. Before delving into these social or political identities that shape how organizational actors respond to complexities in environment; the following discussion will highlight the linkage between organizational identities and institutional logics.

Organizational identity refers to “collective understanding of the features presumed to be central and relatively permanent and that distinguish the organization from other configurations” (Gioai, Schultz and Corley, 2000: 64). In other words, it is defined as an organization’s central and distinctive attributes that have continuity over time (Albert and Whetten, 1985). Scholars have empirically shown that the organizational identity acts as a filter for both interpreting and responding to strategic issues and environmental changes (Dutton and Dukerich, 1991; Elsbach and Kramer, 1996). Recent scholarly work has directed attention on how identity might filter institutional processes (Greenwood et al., 2011). One of the reasons that scholars of institutional logics and identity have particular interest about the link between these concepts is related to the association between micro-level agency and macro-level institutions. Institutional logics specify the boundaries of the field, the role identities and appropriate organizational forms (Thornton, 2004). They provide actors with vocabularies of motives and senses of self; in which “they not only direct what social actors want (interests) and how they are to proceed but also who and what they are (identity)” (Villani and Philips, 2013: 5). Identity enables us to understand how micro-individual interpretations of macro social phenomenon such as institutional logics create opportunities for individual agency and creativity in enacting institutional pressures (Bévort and Suddaby, 2015). In this vein, earlier studies focusing on internal elements of identity have paved way to linking identity to institutional logics (Glynn, 2008). Glynn (2008: 414) mentioned, “the link between institutional theorizing and organizational identity remains relatively unexplored.” Later work has emphasized the importance of interactions between institutional complexity and identities because different logics may provide alternative institutional identities and may be more or less align with particular organizational identities. As logics are instantiated through material and symbolic

elements; identities correspond to the symbolic aspects of logics. Moreover organizational identities are not only created from the cultural resources provided by particular logics (Wry, Lounsbury and Glynn, 2011) but also serve to instantiate logics (Lok, 2010).

Institutional theorists unpacked the relationship between organizational identities and field-level logics in the way that these identities resolve institutional complexities and enable actors in achieving legitimacy in organizational fields (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Lok, 2010; Kodeih and Greenwood, 2014). As identities are loosely coupled to logics (Thornton et al., 2012); organizations and actors utilize frames and practices related to their identities in order to resolve complexities generated from the introduction of new competing logics (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2014). Most of the studies in this regard have viewed identity as means for achieving organization's legitimacy vis-à-vis the field's dominant logic (Wry et al., 2011). Identities may also alleviate uncertainty over category membership by enabling actors to reconcile practices from conflicting logics (Battilana and Dorado, 2010). However as scholarly work recognized that fields are indeed composed of plural and competing logics; the notion that organizations strive for legitimacy with the dominant logic has begun to fade.

Combining both identity and logic perspectives provides better understanding of the ways in which organizations addresses its identity when encountered with institutional complexity. Based on the view that organizations often develop multiple identities (Albert and Whetten, 1985), Kraatz and Block (2008) suggested that institutional complexity generates problems for an organization's identity and that how organizations cope with complexity is in fact, how they cope with multiple identities. Kraatz and Block (2008) argued that the way organizations deal with multiple institutionally derived identities signals the contradictions of larger systems. Organizations may adopt particular strategies (Kraatz and Block; 2008) and structures (Battilana and Dorado, 2011) that may have implications for organizational identity. On the one hand, the organization may opt for eliminating pluralism by resisting the new institutional logic in order to preserve its identity. Alternatively, the organization could eradicate pluralism by favoring new

institutional logic hence denying its previous identity. A final option could be relating independently to various institutional constituencies by compartmentalizing identities.

Scholarly attention has been given to either individuals “doing” (practice perspective) or the individuals “being” (identity perspective). However as also mentioned by several other studies (Thornton et al., 2012: 134, Cappellaro, 2012: 2) the “mutual interplay of practices and identities remains an underdeveloped yet promising area of research.” The first perspective views individual actors’ practices as material enactment of field-level logics (Lounsbury, 2007). It further argues that institutional complexity is experienced and resolved as part of the “everyday nature of work” (Jarzabkowski, Matthiese, Van De Ven, 2009). Second perspective prioritizes organizational members’ social identities by relying on the argument that identity is an element of “situated, bounded, intentionality guiding social members’ actions and social interactions” (Thornton et al., 2012). For instance, Nag, Corley and Gioia (2007: 824) underlined the need to “account for identity’s relationship with the collective practices that characterize how organization members conduct their daily work.” Other studies have also highlighted the importance of collective identities in the everyday enactment of institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2011; Thornton et al., 2012). On the other hand, logics also play a crucial role in shaping the emergence of these identities (Goodrick and Reay, 2010; Wry et al., 2011). For this reason it has been argued that identity has a central place in theorizing the micro-foundations of institutional logics (Pouthier, Steele and Ocasio, 2013).

At the one end of the continuum scholars have argued that organizational identity is constrained by institutional forces; other scholars responded this by saying organizational members construct the content of organizational identity. Hence the former conceptualization refers to the socially constructed nature of an organization’s identity where the latter referring to its social actor nature. Yet, recent works by Greenwood et al. (2011) and Besharov and Brickson (2015) suggested that institutional forces act as filters influencing whether organizational identity is constrained by institutional forces or constructed by organizational members.

The first perspective assumes that institutional forces in organization's environment serve as organizational identity constraints. In this regard earlier work has depicted how organizational identity is determined by dominant logics in a field. For example Thornton's (2002) study showed that two editorial logics, i.e. professional and business logics, influenced changes in publishing house identities. These two approaches were later elaborated by Thornton et al. (2012: 130) arguing that organizational identity is on the one hand refers to intra-organizational dynamics where identities of individual organizations are understood by identifying "central, distinctive and enduring identity attributes." On the other hand organizational identity is viewed more relational highlighting how organizations resemble each other as being a part of common identity. Thus social actor view on organizational identity views organizations as being embedded in the field of meanings thereby categorizing organizations into different membership groups. This approach unpacks the existence of social categories that provide organizations with a consistent and legitimate label to construct the sense of self (Whetten and Mackey, 2002).

Some other scholars argued for actors' agentic role in creating organizational identity meanings. In this regard, organizational identity is seen a product of social construction process among members who draw on institutional forces as they craft their identities. Prior work has used sense-making processes to underline how collective understanding of organizational identity is negotiated. This approach has its roots both in Albert and Whetten (1985) and Glynn's (2000) arguments on how identity is a claim-making activity about the core features that describe the nature of the organization and the individual. In a similar vein, "organizational identity is conceived of as a set of categorical identity claims in reference to a specified set of institutionally standardized social categories" (Whetten and Mackey, 2002: 397). These claims are expected to impact members' perceptions of the features of the organization by providing them with legitimate frames. From this approach, organizations construct their identities by drawing on institutionalized expectations about appropriate categories of organizations (Besharov and Brickson, 2015). Hence "identity is less about unique features of the organization that about its claims to membership in a social category or collective identity at the field level" (Glynn, 2008: 416). This perspective views institutional forces as inputs into members'

interpretive processes hence individuals selectively draw several elements as they construct organizational identity. However this process may also encompass disagreement about the institutional expectations on which elements to draw, for instance Glynn's (2000) study on Atlanta Symphony Orchestra illustrated that musicians viewed orchestra artistic organization while administration imbued with market logic positioned it as an economic entity hence leading to a conflict over how to define organizational identity.

Third perspective treats organizational identity as a filter shaping how actors perceive and respond to institutional forces (Greenwood et al., 2011). The role of identity as a filter for interpreting and responding to strategic issues and environmental changes is of more recent vintage, it has been argued that institutional logics can trigger behavior only after a specific identity is brought into play (Glynn, 2008; Kraatz and Block, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012). Institutional logics drive behavior by shaping identities that, in turn, filter possible responses of organizational actors to institutional complexity (Battilana and Lee, 2014; Glynn, 2008). At the organizational level, identity is related with attributes that define the organization as unique from other organizations. Scholarly work at this level has shown how identity influenced the expectations and pressures that are being prioritized and how it shaped which repertoires of possible responses are assessed and chosen (Glynn, 2008). Greater alignment between institutional demands and organizational identity enhances members' awareness of and responsiveness to those demands. How organizational actors respond to institutional complexity depends on the extent to which organizational identity is strong, and whether they perceive the organizational identity positively or negatively (Greenwood et al., 2011). When organizational actors perceive the strong organizational identity positively, they will preserve the organizational identity by resisting the field-level pressures; otherwise, they will compromise or replace the existing organizational identity with new identities promoted by the institutional complexity (Greenwood et al. 2011). Similarly, Besharov and Brickson (2015) argued that in fields characterized by multiple competing logics, organizations with strong and coherent identities may be less responsive to develop hybridity. On the contrary, organizations with weak or

fractured identities may be more vulnerable to external pressures toward hybridization.

Different literatures have depicted that the identity of individuals is shaped by the social groups that they consider meaningful such as professions, religious institutions or business organizations (Almandoz, 2010). Few studies have examined the relationship between professional role identity and broader changes in the institutional environment. (Goodrick and Reay, 2011). In these studies professional identity was seen as an individual's self-definition as a member of a profession. The way that professionals perceive their role identity is key to their interpretations and actions in work situations. For example Glynn (2000), showed that professional identities of musicians and administrators in symphony orchestra led them to hold different approaches on how firm's resources should be distributed. Similarly, Lok (2010) revealed that identity work at the micro level showed how and why some logics are adhered to while others are contested or resisted. He elaborated that these varied responses in fact depended on the logics' alignment with an individual's professional attachments. Lok used identity theory to elaborate how financial professionals incorporate new and contradictory institutional logics in their professional identities which also resulted with a new way of looking at investment strategies and shareholder value.

Although both organizational and institutional identity (Glynn, 2008) has been argued to determine appropriate organizational behavior; more emphasis has been upon organizational identity at the neglect of institutional identity. Institutional identity conceptualizes identity as involving claims of similarity and difference in that organizations have both an institutional identity as a member of a social category and an organization identity comprised of central and distinctive claims of how the organization sees itself relative to others in that social category (Kodeih and Greenwood; 2014: 10). Accordingly, identity is viewed as an explanatory mechanism whereby organizations process institutional complexity such that organizational identity provides a guide for what an organization's members should do (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2014). Most of the studies have delved into how identity influences organizational responses to institutional demands without

unpacking the relationship between identity and institutional complexity. Kodeih (2014) in her study in French Grandes Ecoles showed how identity impacts organizational responses in the transition from single to complex institutional environments. She dealt with how organizational identity shapes the way organizations manage multiple logics; thereby identity is depicted as a filtering variable that translated institutional complexity and influences organizational response. They described how these schools' current and aspired organizational identities influenced the way they responded to external pressure to offer North American form of management education. When these schools aimed to raise their status, they adopted this external pressure as an opportunity to achieve aspired identity.

At the institutional level, identity is regarded as a set of claims to institutionally standardized social categories (Glynn, 2008; Kraatz and Block, 2008). Identity is more about membership in a social category or shows collectivism at field level rather than implying unique features of the organization itself. For instance, categories such as "an accounting firm" or "a bank" are derived from a socially prescribed category. Organizations make claims to membership in these categories, and, to the extent that they are successful, present themselves in particular ways (see Negro, Koçak and Hsu, 2010). Institutional identities influence organization's discretion when encountered with complexity. In this sense, certain alternatives are disregarded because they lack fit with a given social category. It has been argued that to the extent that an organization values its institutional identity and deems it taken for granted (e.g. we are a bank, we are a university), this would shape the way that organization will respond to institutional complexity. For instance, Delmestri (2006) argued that individuals are possible bearers of multiple institutionalized identities. He elaborated how managers can switch between different institutionalized modes of practice according to the way that different logics underpin their roles and identities. His study revealed that managers that were exposed to greater institutional complexity were able to maintain multiple professional modes of practice and apply them in different contexts.

Related literature has shown how institutional logics serve as a key mechanism in understanding the identities of organizations and individuals (Thornton, 2004; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999). Mainly this stream of literature has focused on the links between organizational identity and logics. Although one branch of this literature has taken how identities of individual organizations are idiosyncratic and can be understood by identifying central, distinctive and enduring organizational attributes (Albert and Whetten, 1985); yet still several other scholarly work has shown that actors may alter their identities in order to resolve the tensions they encounter from competing institutional logics (Lok, 2010).

It has been argued that organization's collective identity that is to say its membership claim of an interorganizational category of organizations that defines its institutional purpose and collective output (Wry et al., 2011) tend to orient it towards the particular institutional logic in which the collective identity is embedded (Pouthier, Steele and Ocasio; 2013). Therefore, organization's collective identity is conceptualized by Greenwood et al. (2011) as a filter for the response to conflicting institutional pressures and they considered future works that connect institutional complexity and identity a high priority. Still however empirical studies on the role of collective identity in organizational responses to conflicting institutional pressures are limited (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Lok, 2010). Recent studies have usually taken logic-based collective identity as an important filter for the translation of strong institutional pressures that can explain how these pressures are translated differently in various contexts. They argued that not all conflicting institutional demands are filtered and translated in accordance with particular logic-based identity (Lok and Gupta, 2015). Hence not all conflicting institutional demands are filtered in accordance with particular logic based identity. I argue that political identity also functions in a very similar respect such that prevalent collective political identities also influences the level of political identity fit between the collective and each organizational actor. However, the source of organization's collective identity should not be reduced to institutional logics; rather political ideology may become very determinant.

To rephrase, organizational and individual identities in this study are conceptualized such that they are not solely shaped by institutional logics. Instead, these identities are portrayed as filtering mechanisms between macro political environment and individual level ideology. Owing to the uniqueness of the Turkish case, political identities in Turkey are very much constructed as a result of the dynamic interactions between state and society. From the Republican era to present day, consolidation of the state through various tools, education as being a very influential one, politicized societal groups by leading them to construct an alternative Islamic political identity in order to pawn the pressure of the state-led civilizing policies. Starting from 1980s to present day, Turkey has experienced the gradual Islamization of the society, market and the state. The Republican state paradoxically transformed the Islamic groups that tried to penetrate its previously off-limits political sphere (Yavuz, 2003: 38). These Islamic groups as they gained more and more access to the state, have “transformed themselves from what once were purely social groups into a complex amalgamation of socio-political networks” (Yavuz, 2003: 38).

Historically, the rise and the prominence of political identities in Turkey is indeed the result of the struggle between the values of Kemalist state and the values of Muslim society. As political center and social center have been in constant conflict, almost all elections were presented as attempts to socialize the political center in terms of its values and to restructure the boundaries of the state. In the midst of this struggle, Islamic groups utilized electoral processes to establish new political camps in accordance with their own norms and to redraw the boundary between the state and the society. Accordingly, electoral victory of the JDP in 2002 signified the rise of a new urban class consisting of horizontally connected solidarity- based groups with rural origins and shared Islamic ethos (Yavuz, 2003: 257). This previously excluded segment of the population resorted to Islamic networks to overcome this exclusion which these networks enabled this group’s integration into modern opportunity spaces. However the rule of the JDP only dates back to the last decade so that it was not the party that utilized traditional solidarity networks to mobilize voters but instead these religiously inspired networks mobilized themselves to recap the political center of Turkish politics in terms of their values. The party successfully used culturally rooted grassroots networks to present itself as the party of the country

where most support groups are inspired by religion but still infused with the discourse of secularism that has developed since the proclamation of Republic. Moreover as argued by Yavuz (2003: 257), all Islamic groups offered some form of community service by making these activities more common than prayer groups. These religious groups in turn provided the social base of Islamic identity and strongly participated in communal outreach programs of the party. By this way, the JDP has become the favored party of these networks and thereby extended its own political support. All in all, as suggested by Yavuz (2003: 28), in Turkey an Islamic ethos together with the religious networks provide a powerful notion of identity to express the demand of contemporary Turkish society for something that can overcome its ideological vacuity. Given this, the next chapter is going to tackle with Turkish business education field and the empirical setting of this study.

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH BUSINESS EDUCATION FIELD AND THE EMPIRICAL SETTING

In this part of the dissertation, I am going to first elaborate the prevailing institutional logics pertaining to the Turkish business education field, followed by the political and institutional context of Turkish Higher Education in its historical trajectory with main emphasis on the last decade. Based on these, I will then develop the theoretical model for academic hiring decisions in Turkey by also taking political and institutional context of academic hiring decisions into consideration.

3.1. Institutional Logics in Turkish Business Education Field¹

In this subsection, institutional logics guiding business education field in Turkey is going to be given in its historical trajectory. That is to say, together with historical developments and associated institutional changes in the field, this section delves into the main features of different logics in a comparative way.

As being a late-industrializing peripheral country which has borrowed structures and practices from the western developed countries (Amsden, 2001), Turkey has been subjected to the influence of different foreign models in its undergraduate business education. These models have embodied different material practices and belief systems labeled as different institutional logics that served as predominant organizing templates for not only to education in business but also higher education at large. Turkish higher education field is characterized by plurality of institutional forms stemming from different historical trajectories in both European and American traditions (Üsdiken, 2003a). In parallel to the broader higher education system,

¹ Section 3.1. of this dissertation has been adapted from: Özen, Ş., & Öztürk, D. (2016). Institutional Logics and Political Networks: A Theoretical Framework for Academic Staffing in Newly-Founded Management Departments in Turkey. *Journal of Management and Organization Studies*, 1, 5-46.

Turkish business education field has been characterized with the multiple logics from the Early Republican era until the present day. The field has had multiple sources of influence; first the French (until early 1930s), then the German (between mid-1930s and 1950s) and lastly the American (1950s to present day) (Üsdiken, 2004). The influence of different foreign models and the extent of its adoption have been triggered both by political agendas and changes in international alliances. It is also argued that adoption and diffusion of these models in any novel context has depended on national level institutional frameworks on education, field-level institutional processes reflecting historical influences and inter-organizational effects and resources and finally proponents that different models were able to generate (Üsdiken, 2004; Kipping, Üsdiken and Puig, 2004). Hence, this section will delve into different institutional logics prevailed in business education field in Turkey in connotation to varying trends in different historical epochs.

History of Turkey's higher education system starts in 1933, with the founding of the University of Istanbul, although its origin can be traced to the Ottoman period (Üsdiken, 1996: 36). Within a statist polity where the state led a modernization and development of the country, universities were seen as public institutions that would contribute to the modernization and nation-building project. Until the early 1980s, new universities were gradually established by both adopting the institutional model of the University of Istanbul essentially shaped by the continental-European tradition and following the US-based university tradition particularly after the 1950s (Üsdiken, 1996). Meanwhile, the professionally oriented schools in engineering, commerce, and accountancy, called 'academies' were also founded (Üsdiken, 1996). In this period, the number of universities, all public with semi-autonomous governance, has gradually increased to 27 (Günay and Günay, 2011). With the new legislation in 1981, the plurality in organizational forms came to an end, the unitary form in lieu had reflected the traces of American model and aimed to eradicate the continental European imprint in Turkish universities and commercial schools (Üsdiken, 2003a). The governmental decree in 1982 eliminated the dual structure converting all the academies into universities. These legislative changes enabled business education as entirely university-based, undergraduate study being

accommodated in Business (*İşletme*) departments within faculties of Economics and Administrative Sciences (*İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi*) (Üsdiken, 2004: 27).

In 1981, the Turkish higher education system having previously autonomy in administrative and academic, but not financial, affairs, became centralized with the establishment of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), a governmental agency entitled with the planning, directing, and controlling all universities. Together with the establishment of YÖK, a new institutional regime was introduced by (1) converting all professional schools into universities, (2) bringing all universities under a unified form of governance with extensive powers granted to YÖK, (3) pushing universities to adopt the US-based administrative and educational structures, and finally, (4) permitting the establishment of private universities (Üsdiken and Wasti, 2009: 1069). Since then, the number of universities, public and private, has increased considerably: by 2015 there are 193 higher education institutions in Turkey, 109 public universities, 76 private universities, and 8 private vocational schools (www.yok.gov.tr, retrieved in December 17, 2015).

The Turkish higher education field reflected the multiple institutional models as a result of varying institutional effects. When the strong coercive mechanisms lack and legal framework has multiplicity; historical roots of organizations become more influential in determining their activities and structure thereby leading to higher level of divergence. (Erden, 2006: 33-34). Contrarily, strong institutional regime, such as YÖK, tends to homogenize the field in accordance with what the coercive pressure features (Erden, 2006). Although this dissertation encapsulates management departments established from 2007 to 2014; still the logics enacted by actors at high level positions concurrently reflect the premises of different historical traditions. Üsdiken (2003a), in his study on the content of business education and its shaping forces in Turkey showed that together with convergent pressures, present day business curricula of universities vary in line with the institutional models influential in early stages. His findings supported the convergence around the American functional format but also to three clusters related to traditions embedded in commercial schools, the older universities and the American-modeled universities. He showed that these clusters diverged with regard to the extent of professional

orientation versus the one combined liberal and professional education and the salience of law and accounting subjects as opposed to management and quantitative methods in the curricula. The presence of multiple logics in the institutional environment suggests that new entrants into the field have variety of models to select but still this choice would be moderated by the nature of ties they have with the present organizations at the time of their founding. Thus, newly founded universities with organizational links to pre-existing ones are more likely to continue with the institutionalized practices of the latter (Üsdiken, 2003a).

In order to delineate the associated practices of different institutional logics two issues remain salient; first is how different logics deem the purpose of business education or in other words what the program is expected to achieve. The second is how different models diverge in composing the content of their curriculum (Üsdiken, 2003a). The former issue is more related to the scope of the program. At the one of the continuum, the scope may tend to involve more general education with a view of achieving the aims like “liberalizing” and “developing the character” of the student via courses such as literature, humanities, social and natural sciences and mathematics (Üsdiken, 2003a: 90). At the other end, university professional education may be regarded as a tool for attaining specialization. In a similar vein, the former model involves less intense study with more emphasis on extra-curricular activities. On the contrary, in the model characterized by more professional orientation, the education process consists of larger number of courses with more specialization orientation. Hence the former reflecting a combination of professional instruction with a liberal arts education is more associated with US whereas the latter is regarded more European.

Second dimension with regard to program curriculum represents two different issues. First the program may opt for “acontextualization” in which there is emphasis on a generalized and universalized notion of management. On the other hand, the program may also incorporate degree of “managerialism”, whereby the economic and institutional context in which the firm’s function and sectoral dynamics that surround them gain significance (Üsdiken, 2003a: 92).

Building on prior conceptualizations of logics in terms of ideal types (DiMaggio, 1997; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, 2008; Rao, Monin and Durand, 2003; Thornton, 2004; Goodrick and Reay, 2011), I describe below the characteristics of three co-existing institutional logics prevalent in business education field in Turkey: the scientization, vocational and entrepreneurial logics. Ideal types are defined as abstractions of reality and mirror a “pure case in which the relevant features are distinct and unambiguous” (Weber, 1949: 88). Using ideal types an analytical approach to study the role of institutional logics also enables “comparison of empirical observations across institutions” (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). In other words, ideal types are based on Weber’s depiction of systems of legitimate social control which allows the creation of formal typologies and analyses of empirical data in relationship to the ideal type (Thornton, 2004). In this respect, typologies are consisted of two parts; the description of ideal types and the set of assertions that relate the ideal types to the dependent variables (Doty and Glick, 1994). Accordingly, ideal types provide hypotheses that can be tested by examining the similarities and divergences between the institutional logics’ ideal types and dependent variables of the study (Thornton, Jones and Kury, 2005). Ideal types do not exactly match with reality but rather assign hypothetical meaning that can be used as touchstone to compare the hypothesized and actual meaning (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008).

In line with above-mentioned studies, I used ideal types in the characterization of prevailing logics in business education field to reveal how scientization, vocational and entrepreneurial logics varied on the categories of main premises, output, curriculum structure and functional emphasis. In this regard, as shown in Table 1, I argue that prevailing logics in this field should be further elaborated by taking several other sub-dimensions derived from interviews and archival data into consideration. Main premise refers to the basis of mission in business education whereby logics vary from pure scientific research to professional training. Output highlights the what the undergraduate business educations is ultimately endeavored to achieve which can be practitioners, generalists or entrepreneurs. Curriculum structure on the other hand is more related to the program’s scope and associated course load symbolizing different historical imprints. Finally, functional emphasis is

more related with the function or the purpose of the business education whereby teaching, research and publication or contribution to regional development may get more pronounced.

Table 1. Prevailing Logics in Business Education Field in Turkey

Prevailing Logics	Vocational	Scientization	Entrepreneurial
Main Premise	Professional training	Scientific research	Market-driven, action research
Output	Practitioners with managerial skills	Generalists	Entrepreneurs, Managers, Start-up owners
Curriculum structure	Higher course load Rigid programs Contextualized courses	Lower course load Greater discretion in program construction Universalistic	Practice-oriented Project-based Courses on Entrepreneurship, Innovation, Technology
Functional emphasis	Teaching	Research and publication	Contributing to Regional/national development

3.1.1.Vocational Logic

From the early Republican period until the post World War II, the field of management education has been extensively guided by both French and German influence respectively. The vocational logic associated with French and German influence has been mainly initiated through the creation of higher commercial schools at the beginning of 20th century by chambers of commerce and local business communities. Even before the proclamation of Republic, later stages of Ottoman Empire were characterized by the westernization of higher education realized through the emulation of French universities. The Ottoman Empire has

turned to westernization as a way of reversing its decline and France was taking an active role in guiding the cultural and educational reforms (Kipping and Üsdiken, 2009). The founding of higher-level commercial schools in the early 1880s had reflected French écoles as the main exemplar. French influence was hinted by the opening of the replica of Parisian l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (HEC) which served as a model for higher school of commerce founded in İstanbul. The commercial school in Istanbul remained the only provider of higher education in business over fifty years and served as a model for similar schools (named academies afterwards) across the country (Üsdiken, 2003a).

The French imprint is more characterized with vocational orientation having bookkeeping, commercial techniques, accounting and law as core subjects, further specialization areas and relatively heavy course load including large number of must courses (Üsdiken, 2004: 9). Although French influence continued to persist as Turkish Republic is founded in 1923, universities have begun to be imbued with German influence in the early Republican era. Universities benefited from the large number of immigrant German professors because of the fleeing of many scholars from Nazi rule and also penetration of the German BWL (Betriebswirtschaftslehre-Business Economics) into Turkish business education (Üsdiken et al., 2004). BWL has got penetrated as the content for the teaching of business after the mid 1930s until it was completely replaced by US influence after World War II (Üsdiken and Çetin, 2001). The BWL was anchored in economics through taking enterprise as its focus, with accounting constituting its main emphasis. In this regard, courses in business economics have also signified the entry of BWL into Turkey. With the founding of Faculty of Economics in 1936 at University of Istanbul, BWL was allocated a separate chair in the program (Üsdiken, 2004: 12). Although the content was transferred totally leaving no space for the importation of alternative currents from other sources, BWL had arrived later than economics and therefore failed to become a separate degree in Turkey (Üsdiken et al., 2004). At this time period the field was characterized with a dual structure including both commercial schools and universities whereby the former has become secondary especially after the mid-1930. However the commercial school imbued with vocational logic remained irreconcilable with the German approach to the study of economics and science

tradition (Üsdiken, 2004). German influence is more devoted to importation of business economics entailing that business enterprise could be made to produce better results with the knowledge provided by business economics (Üsdiken, 2003b). Hence, there was more emphasis on economics and business firm while accounting being primary concern.

The main premise of the vocational logic in business education is to equip students with professional training so that prospective graduates of the department envisioned becoming practitioners with managerial skills. The reflection of this logic on the curriculum exclusively revealed practice orientation. Not only providing education that aims to equip students with practical skills, instructors are also recruited on the basis of their practice-based competence while leaving research experience aside. The vocational logic enacted by commercial schools at the outset but later infused to the universities of our present time has been much devoted towards teaching practical techniques and skills with key focus on accounting (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

Curriculum is more inclined to be a rigid program with less number of elective courses. Mostly courses are more contextualized in nature dealing with national context albeit, Turkish context such as specific accounting related courses, law courses and other courses on Turkish Tax System, Turkish Banking System, Turkish Economy, Turkish Cooperatives. More emphasis was on specialized education in professional areas while disregarding advanced study (Kipping et al., 2004). In terms of its output, the business departments clearly aim to equip practitioners with professional skills. It stipulates the development of business and practical skills that would enable student vocational competence and fit between student capabilities and industrial interests. Therefore, teaching emerges to be the main functional emphasis of this approach while leaving research and publication partly aside. The vocational logic envisages research orientation and scientific engagement only if it is useful for the managers and directed towards development of guidelines practical methods for managerial problems (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

3.1.2. Scientization Logic

The prominence of vocational logic governing business education paved way to scientific model from 1950s onwards. The post-WW2 period and rapprochement between Turkey and US revealed more sweeping away from the German inspired tradition towards more Fayolist general management framework (Üsdiken and Çetin, 2001). The rapprochement with the US at this time period led to a shift whereby US became the main frame of reference (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

In Turkish context, as already mentioned by Kipping et al. (2004) US influence in management education from last half of 20th century had not led to local replicas but hybrid forms. The main reason for this is the preexisting institutional frameworks of higher education have created tensions in acceptance of American model, leading either to adaptation or divergences. Accordingly, Turkey was late in terms of developing managerial capitalism which entails large-scale enterprises governed by professional managers. On the contrary, family-owned businesses had accounted for a significant share among these largest enterprises. The development of business education in Turkey has been characterized by state involvement and until very recently by business interests. This would in turn imply relatively lesser need for professionally trained managers following US model.

The transfer of US model to Turkey and other peripheral countries in fact depended on the different institutional conditions. One rationale provided for the transfer of management knowledge to periphery is justified through developmentalist-cum-modernizing orientations. As argued by Kipping, Engwall and Üsdiken. (2008: 11), this implied several things; first a greater state involvement in the application of models and practices from the center; second, a relatively less critical attitude towards the imported knowledge because resistance is depicted to be a reactionary behavior as the center is perceived to be embracing the most modern management models while the ongoing practices are considered as being in need of being replaced by the imported ones.

In this period, American management education is seen as “a means to alleviate the ills of industry at the time such as low productivity, conservatism of management

and nonqualified managers” (Kipping et al., 2004: 5). Especially in Turkey this encounter was conceived strategic because of military concerns because Turkey was conceived as a target due to its strategic location to what was then the USSR. Importation of American model has happened more extensively and openly because of the geo-strategic importance of these countries. Economic aid also began to flow to Turkey from both Ford Foundation and AID which would enable the country to renew its business education as well as reforming French and German traces. Ford Foundation had played a central role in developing American styled programs of business administration in Turkey. First initiative was the founding of İşletme İktisadî Enstitüsü (the Institute of Business Economics) in İstanbul in 1954, which was an institute affiliated to the University of İstanbul’s Faculty of Economics and granted with support from Ford Foundation and Harvard Business School (Üsdiken, 1996). The institute primarily aimed to provide training in modern business concepts and methods through case method of teaching. As clearly mentioned by Hatiboğlu, “the case method meant having students discuss incidents taken from real business life. Professors were not at all to narrate what was in the books. At the IEE; we also attempted to do this under the close monitoring of the Americans” (Hatiboğlu, 2005; cited in Üsdiken, 2009: 321). Moreover, the institute was expected to initiate links with the business sector in order to realize the practical orientation. The reason behind this was the concern on the part of American donors of lack of support from business community which is very vital to support the financial stability of the institute. However, the institute failed to become an American-style graduate school, instead it had led to a separate Faculty of Business by 1968 with emphasis on undergraduate education. The programs launched by the institute brought the idea of graduate education for business. The full-time graduate program was the first Turkish version of American MBA degree (Üsdiken, 2004). Moreover, teaching of business evolved into a functional format that was different from the German BWL tradition because it encompassed separate courses related to different functions in business firms (e.g. finance, marketing, production).

American influence has continued with the transplantation of American models in Turkey, specifically establishment of two American-oriented higher education institutions. These developments have marked a significant deviation from the

European roots whereby the founding of these new universities has taken American universities as a model of reference. First, Middle East Technical University (METU) by the late 1950s in Ankara which offered first-ever undergraduate business degree (Üsdiken, 2003a). Second, in late 1957 American Robert College (turned over to Turkish government and became a public university in 1971) in İstanbul granted with permission to begin higher education, as the first such private institution in Republican era. Similarly with METU, Robert College initially offered only undergraduate degrees until 1965. With the founding of Robert College, tuition-based higher education had become socio-politically legitimated. Their claims at the beginning were educating the managerial elite rather than technocrats for business. Both of these institutions aimed to achieve the form of American undergraduate degree. Therefore, the language of instruction was English and the undergraduate degree was a replica of the 2+2 system in the US, which encompasses two years of liberal arts annexed with professional courses in the final two years (Kipping and Üsdiken, 2009). Both METU and Robert College had brought American imprints to university-level education. This consisted of bringing a distinction between undergraduate and graduate study. The undergraduate study in this tradition aimed to combine a liberal education with professional education.

Still however American imprint on these two universities had become subjected to some erosion in terms of the relative weight of the liberal arts component (Üsdiken, 2003a). Their model could not be able to diffuse to other public universities which remained loyal to their professionally oriented programs (Kipping and Üsdiken, 2009). But with the founding of new private foundation universities, these models resurfaced and served as exemplars for these new establishments with their liberal cum professional degree in its original American form.

With widespread influence of US model from post-World War II period onwards, the field has become more fragmented stemming from differences in ontological, epistemological and methodological orientations between North American and European scholarships (Whitley, 2000). The US model relies on “deductive theory building and quantitative empirical analysis” (Palmer, 2006: 544) which also targets to base business education on scientific research. This process was further supported

through funds provided by American aid agencies. The preexisting institutions of the time (i.e. earliest commercial school and followers established in 1940s and 1950s) were more oriented to teaching practical skills with a particular focus on accounting. Hence they were embedded in the vocational tradition in Turkish higher education (Üsdiken, 2003a). Although the universities founded from 1960s onwards attempted to stay away from vocational tradition, they failed to do so. They pursued specialized education in professional areas with limited attention and resources to advanced study (Üsdiken and Wasti, 2009: 1068). In a tendency to evolve into an applied university, the main aim of the university has become to contribute modernization-cum-westernization project of the country via acquiring and sharing western knowledge, institutions and methods. Accordingly scholarly work at that time was more devoted to writing textbooks or articles in economics and law journals or popular outlets. The scholarly output in turn targeted Turkish audience and involved practical guidelines (Üsdiken and Çetin, 2001).

In the US, starting from late 1970s, knowledge production in management has begun to shift towards greater scientization. This would entail a shift from the prior emphasis on practical science to advancement of scientific knowledge. Although at the beginning, putting science at the service of solving managerial problems was not being welcomed in actual scholarly practice; later on especially throughout 1980s and 1990s this model has established its dominance. This was also linked to significance given to viewing management as a profession, the practice of which could be based on knowledge derived from scientifically based research (Üsdiken, 2007). By the mid-1970s the field of business education has reflected a dual structure; the co-existence of undergraduate programs offered by university departments and that of the commercial schools. A legal framework has eliminated this dual structure in early 1980s where all commercial schools were converted into universities.

The scientization logic associated with US influence was infused with liberalizing mission that would reflect itself both in output and curriculum structure. In terms of output, business education suggested training of generalists whom would be competent in several fields and activities. Students are promised with becoming

equipped to take up high-level positions as generalists in all kinds (i.e. national and multinational companies) and prosperous future (Üsdiken, 2004). For the latter, liberalizing meant to develop the character of the student by having courses in liberal arts. In this view, the department internalizes both the liberalizing and training via professional education (Üsdiken, 2004). The inclusion of more general (liberal) component into the curriculum was manifested through having courses in literature, humanities, social, natural sciences and mathematics in the first two years where professional component is realized by offering more specialized courses in the remaining two years (Üsdiken, 2007). However the idea of incorporating undergraduate business education in the liberal arts framework was not widely accepted, remaining limited to the two universities at the time with American origins (Kipping et al., 2008; Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

Teaching of business guided by this logic was more oriented to functional format differing from German tradition and consisted of separate courses of different functions in business firms (i.e. finance, marketing, production) and use of case-methods in lecturing. Students are granted with greater discretion in formulating their undergraduate programs via elective courses, more universalistic courses applying to any context and with lower course load. Scientization logic with its functional emphasis on research and publication is more geared towards scholarly pursuits in which the advancement of scientific knowledge is the sole aim. This was fostered with the shift in the kind of background required for managerial roles towards a more generalist education. The main premise of scientization logic was that business education could be made science-based and a practice of which could be built on knowledge derived from scientifically based research (Üsdiken, 2007). Scientization logic having its claim that management is a profession, discursively suggested the blending of managerialist and academic logics (Üsdiken, 2007). However, the actual practice reflected more emphasis on the academic drift at the expense of the managerialist component that the scientization logic implied.

Hence, doing empirical research to guide management practice and solving actual problems of managers remained behind the efforts of theory development and rigorous theory testing (Üsdiken, 2004). As the logic implied research-based

business education, academic staff is expected to be more research-oriented and more outward orientation in research and publishing. In order to trigger stronger research orientation, universities from this tradition put more pressure in making performance in publications in faculty recruitment and promotions. Moreover, they underline importance of publishing largely at US-based outlets and usually at the expense of localized interest in contributing to national literature (Üsdiken and Wasti, 2009). As also argued by Üsdiken and Wasti (2009) institutional regime change after 1980s have also fostered US orientation. It has reshaped scholarly activity in two ways; first there was a greater pressure on universities to make performance in publication thereby prioritizing stronger research orientation. Second, the pressure on universities to become internationally oriented intensified.

Usually criticized, scientization logic imported from US in peripheral contexts again lacked concern for contextualization. Specifically academics embedded in this logic have taken US academic environment as their primary frame of reference with respect to research and publication. In Turkish context, the management academic has taken on a transporting role. As argued by Üsdiken and Wasti (2009) the academic staff's publishing is geared towards domestic audiences, with limited emphasis on contextualization based on uncritical importation of theories and concepts from US. They viewed this status stemming from two reasons; first institutional forms stemming from both continental European and American traditions in turn implied the possibility of intra-national variety related with different organizational contexts in which academic activity is located. Second is a more structural factor where the change in institutional regime after 1980s has involved a more centralized surveillance over universities hence a drift towards features of American model. Although there has been US influence from 1950s onwards still resistance to incorporate scholarly research orientation remained intact. External and institutional factors in Turkish context contributed to this. The emphasis on teaching in business departments as a response to the rising demand for student places in universities and partly to train practicing managers were the major obstacles in the development of profound research orientation (Üsdiken, 1996). So the vocational logic again came to the foreground through more incentives for teaching, training and consulting. Thus, the transfer and adoption of US model in

Turkey did not turn out to be so easy. As argued by Üsdiken (2009: 326) this could be best exemplified by the difficulties in applying the case method, the archetypal element of American business education. Instead the institutionalized practices in universities and academies favored the limited adoption despite the new initiative in the US. Despite the efforts of envisaging higher education in light of post-graduate/post-experience MBA programs, it took the form of pre-experience university degree resembling to European counterparts.

As scientization logic invokes publications in international (indexed) outlets, one critical thing to note is the improvement in Turkey's indexed publication record since late 1990s which is associated with institutional changes in its higher education system. Relatedly, Önder, Sevcli, Altınok and Tavukçuoğlu (2008) have pointed out to three stages; (i) policies of semi-autonomous governmental agencies mainly YÖK and TÜBİTAK in the form of both coercive pressures (i.e. requirement of at least one indexed publication to be promoted to associate professorship) and financial incentives (i.e. award schemes and remuneration of publications in indexed journals), (ii) founding of private foundation universities modeled on North American counterparts and (iii) changes in recruitment and promotion policies of established public universities including stricter criteria of publications in indexed journals. These regulatory changes thus triggered awareness on the part of academicians with regard to indexed research activity. It is argued that these carrot and stick approaches caused researchers to publish in indexed journals and also lead to increase in overall number of publications (Önder et al., 2008).

In a more recent study by Önder and Önder (2011), the authors analyzed the reasons of why regulatory pressures did not have isomorphic effect on all universities in which the variation in university responses can be attributed to differences in human resource endowments of universities. They empirically revealed that regulatory policies at infusing universities with researchers having foreign training did not create significant number of researchers in public universities. Based on the previous work on how publication productivity varies with doctoral training process (i.e. location or quality of the department), Önder and Önder (2011) empirically showed that the ability of the universities to employ researchers, holding North American or

British PhD degrees, with the capacity to publish in indexed journals accounts for variation in publication productivity. They elaborated that concentration of these researchers in particular universities may be the outcome of historical tradition of employing people trained abroad or the outcome of strategic behavior. Contrarily, absence of these researchers may be attuned to the tradition of relying on inbreeding which bypasses recruiting researchers holding degrees abroad. The hiring of researchers trained in North American or Britain in two public universities (Boğaziçi and Middle East Technical) is very much owed to their historical links with the US rather than strategic action or regulatory support. The private universities (Bilkent, Sabancı and Koç) are more inclined towards research evaluation through publications in international journals. The largest cluster of departments mostly belong to the relatively recently established public and private universities highlight researcher profiles incompatible with regulatory demands. They mostly do not have doctoral programs, relatively less concerned with research and more directed towards providing mass education and undergraduate degrees. They either breed their own researchers or rely on other Turkish universities for researchers. The commitment of these departments primarily to teaching hinders recruitment of foreign trained researchers.

3.1.3. Entrepreneurial Logic

The business education field from late 1980s onwards has undergone externally driven change. The entrepreneurial logic guiding the higher education field of this period has its roots in neoliberalism, market rationality and competitive market for education and research. Up until 1980s, the university was conceptualized along the lines of Humboldt model that premised higher education as a public good together with organizational autonomy and academic self-governance. In this understanding, social mission of higher education was to reproduce national culture, alleviate social inequality and serve the public interest. The mission of the university according to this model was seen educating not only for “learned professions but also raising “scientific minds” of the country. The emphasis on scientization was in contrast to professional schools which were tended to give vocational training. On the contrary, with the rise of neoliberal agenda shift in the perception of the university from “a

community producing knowledge as a public good for community uses” to “a market-led business producing knowledge as a private good for individual consumption” has begun to be prioritized (Berg and Roche, 1997: 154). Instrumental view of university knowledge as a personal investment and form of training is placed. With more emphasis on the commercialization of research findings, this new paradigm envisions education as being a commodity: something to be sold, traded and consumed (Kaya, 2015: 115). Moreover in a global neo-liberal environment, higher education institutions are given mere role in developing links with business in a series of new venture partnerships. Hence, the main premise of entrepreneurial logic emerged to be engagement in market-driven and action research (Pinheiro, 2015).

From 1980s onwards in line with neoliberalism; higher education policies and practices have been increasingly shaped by the political and economic needs of the capital. What is more, higher education both discursively and practically has become integrated into global competitiveness, efficiency, effectiveness and performativity. As the share of higher education from the national budget has been cut, higher education institutions are expected to develop links with industry and businesses. In Turkish context; commercialization of higher education has been realized via several measures such as the introduction of (a) tuition fees in public universities, (b) founding of private foundation universities, (c) increasing cooperation between the universities and capital and (d) ultimately becoming a party to the Bologna Declaration in 2001(Aslan, 2012).

One of the elements of neoliberal ideology as it relates to higher education is beneficiary identification. This contends that as the student gains access to higher paying-jobs via his education, the cost of the education therefore should be borne by him. In line with this, introduction of tuition fees and founding of private foundation universities were realized. Specifically since the legislation from 1981 onwards that permitted the founding of private foundation universities, their number has increased dramatically. Compared to 27 public universities as of 1982, by 2014 Turkey has 175 higher education institutions of which 104 are public and 71 are private foundation. Although the number of universities has accelerated, similar pattern has

not been observed in public spending records on higher education. Public expenditure from total government expenditure was 2.55% in 2002 where it only raised to 3.77% in 2014 (Kurt and Gümüş, 2015).

Although post-1981 period is characterized by the wave of privatization Topaler, Üsdiken, Koçak and Divarcı (2015) called this as “constrained marketization” due to several reasons. First, although the private universities were granted considerable autonomy with regard to setting their tuition-fees, programs they offer and employment of their staff; still they have been subject to the centralized control of YÖK. Second, although neoliberal discourse and associated privatization emphasis have been on the agenda since 1980s, little has been done to privatize the public university. In line with their formulations, it is viable to see marketization attempts in two different episodes, early marketization between 1993 and 2008 and late marketization from 2009 onwards. The year 2008 is critical because it signifies the completion of the JDP’s political project with the aim of founding a university in every city of the country. This period was spread over a period of three years and forty-one new universities were founded. Although slowing down, the government followed its expansionist policy in the post-2008 period. But this period is more characterized with founding of new private foundation universities. This growth led to oversupply whereby the universities have begun to face difficulties in filling their quotas. More importantly, greater emphasis has been devoted to competitive project funding and developing stronger links with the industry (Akar, 2010). The private foundation universities founded in this period are tended to move beyond the largest cities and would attempt to respond to particular demands in the locales. Those founded in the center on the other hand would also be tended towards more specialist niches to differentiate themselves from their existing competitors (Topaler et al., 2015).

Those private universities with more profound financial backing from their foundation are more tended to position themselves in way to compete with the elite public universities. However, the ones with relatively less resources either provide instruction in Turkish or to provide more extensive vocational training to access student potential. The former category would then resemble to elite public

universities in giving education in English and refraining from vocational training. These universities may also achieve their elitist aspirations by embracing research orientation and offering doctoral education with scholarship.

The beginning of 2000s is marked by the Bologna Process which signals the neoliberal transformation of higher education in Turkey. With this declaration several structural changes have been initiated such as introduction of accreditation, introduction of European Credit Transfer and Accumulation Systems that standardizes courses according to workload. One of the objectives adopted included equipping universities with necessary tools to respond to the needs of the labor market. One of the main tenants of Bologna process is that it constructs higher education as purposeful. That is to say, higher education has to lead somewhere for the individual and general society. Thus it has to evolve as productive activity where students accumulate knowledge for personal and social benefit. Knowledge production in the form of innovations, new technologies and intellectual property is of significance. Apart from the usefulness aspect of knowledge, Bologna process also pushes the idea of measurability of educational outputs. It highlights publication citation indices, research assessment exercises, and quantities of patents. The incorporation of indicators with respect to higher education reform also brought universities under the pressure of competition in an open market (Sağlam, 2013).

The Bologna Process while modeling higher education as economically beneficial for various stakeholders, it represents the issue of graduate students' employability as of concern. Therefore there is constant repetition on how higher education activities should respond to the needs of market and industry. According to this perspective, higher education should up-skill the workforce, it is seen as primarily scientific activity rather than a creative process (Keeling, 2006). Bologna process also encourages learning and research as of collaborative activity. It foresees that such cooperation is achieved through university networks, joint-degree programs and collaboration with industrial partners (Keeling, 2006).

In order to harmonize the structures of higher education system in the country, from 2006 onwards several policy proposals by YÖK and TÜSİAD are prepared where

Draft Law on Higher Education being the most profound one. Points mentioned in the Draft Law were based on five principles with reference to the text on Restructuring of Higher Education (February, 2011) by YÖK. These principles are variety, institutional autonomy and accountability, performance evaluation and competition, financial flexibility and multi-source revenue structure and quality assurance. Variety principle discerns higher education institutions into the ones concentrating on basic sciences, applied research and training and community service. Some universities will focus on research whereas some others will serve as vocational schools by providing training whereas another group of them under the name of social service will focus only on serving the needs of the capital (Karapehlivan and Kurtulmuş, 2014). Financial flexibility and multi-source revenue structure proves to be an alternative funding model; “universities now have to create their own revenues under the strain of cuts in public funds” (Çetinsaya, 2014). In order for universities to diversify their resources; universities will be dragged into projects to generate income and this would be achieved through interconnections between private sector organizations, higher education institutions and state. Ultimately these proposed changes are envisaged to create entrepreneurial university.

Moreover new draft law also restructures the management of the university so that it will be managed by a board of trustees called the “university council”. This council will have members from top taxpayer of the city, graduates who make the biggest donation to the university. This council will be entitled to choose the deans of faculties, decide on the curriculum, and determine the investment programs of the university. The university management under the new draft law is expected to prioritize capital in deciding which academic research is relevant and which skills are necessary for the industry. As the role of academic staff in decision-making terms is handed to board of trustees, it is argued that this new entrepreneurial education system totally ignores the academic community (EğitimSen, 2012).

These educational reforms of 2000s including Bologna Process have triggered skepticism from various circles on the basis of several arguments. The study by Kaya (2015) on the critical discourse analysis of documents related to Bologna

Process revealed that EU has given priority to terms such as skills, market, efficiency, competitiveness, internationalization and the global market in order to be able demonstrate its determination to catch up with US. (Kaya, 2015: 113). Bologna Process prioritizes a process of learning governed by skills and qualifications; however this prospect has been criticized by the danger of higher education leading to occupational schools if the skill-based education is accentuated (Kaya, 2015: 124). One of the interviewees in Kaya's (2015) study has also underlined that "skill-based education is acceptable for vocational schools, but a person should be equipped to face the world when they graduate from a university." The same study has mentioned a contrary discourse of another interviewee coming from engineering background and prioritizing skill-based education. He argued that "theory and practice have to go hand in hand" in order to expand graduates' skills and thus their employability. As a point of fact, Kaya has interpreted this variance with regard to different educational and professional backgrounds of individuals where they bear different attitudes on skill-based education.

Likewise, Önal (2012) examined the neoliberal transformation of higher education in the JDP's rule from 2000s onwards; he first referred to the reform agenda of 1990s as being "...oriented to the market rather than to public ownership or to governmental planning and regulation." The author holding a critical stance viewed the transformation process as of proletarianization of academic staff. Social tension arose from Bologna process led to protests by left-wing student organizations in reaction to market-driven neoliberal directives. As argued by Kaya (2015: 126), Bologna Process has evolved to be a frame of reference for these groups to express their opposition to the JDP which since the mid-2000s has been increasingly setting up a societal challenge against the secular segments of the society. These protests that have begun in May 2013 mainly revolved around the commercialization of higher education and how it has become more skill-based and market-oriented as a result of Bologna Process.

Under the entrepreneurial logic, universities are no longer seen as producers of human capital or isolated islands of knowledge but also, devoted to position themselves as significant players in achieving technology development and

economic growth thus improving cultural life (Klofsten and Jones-Evans, 2000). Hence entrepreneurial university is seen more as involving strengthened steering core signifying that traditional academic values infused with stronger managerial perspectives (Clark, 1998). Cooperation with the external world, industrial linkages, continuous education, student employability, and contribution to firm success are important drivers in that respect. The main output of this logic proved to be training students to become prospective entrepreneurs and startup owners. With more international influence on the agenda, the field became more intertwined with rankings, accountability pressures through national evaluation systems, scrutiny from public and private funding agencies and finally Bologna process. Main discursive element of this period emerged to be the marketization of business education in such a way that responsiveness of business departments to students (i.e. student employability) and firms (i.e. firm success and competitiveness) became crucial.

This new paradigm has led to profound effect on the missions of universities with regard to education and research. The traditional view has broadened to establishing collaborations in scientific research in various disciplines. Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt and Terra's (2000) study referred to separate stages of the evolution of an entrepreneurial academic paradigm. At the initial stage which he labeled as internal change; universities redefine their academic duties and education functions in the direction of practical knowledge. For instance, academic staff tend to create opportunities so that students have work experience in industry which is seen as an initial step in establishing links between academic organizations and firms. Second stage being labeled as interaction between institutions is characterized with creation of regulations on university-industry collaboration by governments. In Turkish context, the legislative framework for university-industry collaboration development centers, laws supporting technology development regions can be viewed from this scope. Third stage of "interface" underlines the role of experts in fulfilling duties such as introducing university to the external stakeholders, engaging in projects with other academic institutions, companies, organizing seminars and conferences. At the final stage of "establishing organizations", universities establish institutes to carry

out academic research in order to generate support to regional development and innovation. (i.e. centers of excellence, technoparks, competition centers)

In line with the neoliberal policies, as public resources allocated to higher education have begun to shrink from mid-1990s onwards universities were urged to expand their funding base by finding alternative income sources and commercializing their research. This has also been the case with the Draft Law and policy papers having emphasis on how universities diversify their income and become entrepreneur (YÖK, 2007; TÜSİAD, 1994, 2003). Diversification has meant the decrease of share from central budget, increase in income produced by services provided by the university and increase in the student shares (Aslan, 2012). Thus the operationalization of entrepreneurial university from this viewpoint refers to the extent to which the university can finance itself and can generate resources to enhance its survival. Collaboration with institutions outside university has become vital for getting support for scientific research. More and more, projects carried out in collaboration with industry and both governing bodies and academicians positively view publications generated from those projects.

The entrepreneurial potential of the academic staff has become central component in achieving the economic development. Along with these lines, academia now found itself in the center of a confrontation resulting with a push towards entrepreneurial activity very novel to Mertonian conception of the role of academic staff. As a term, academic entrepreneur is defined as someone who engages in related entrepreneurial endeavors, as an adjunct to their academic activities (Organ, 2011; p. 10). The scope of academic entrepreneurship includes activities which shows departure from traditional features of academic behavior; for instance, involvement in large scale externally funded research projects, doing specific research projects within the university for external organizations, giving consulting service to external stakeholders, spin off activities (i.e. creation of a new firm to exploit the results of university research), engaging in external teaching (i.e. courses to external organizations), selling products developed within the university and providing testing facilities to external organizations or individuals (Klofsten and Jones-Evans, 2000).

Business department's endeavor in gaining international recognition via seeking accreditation became more pronounced. These also indirectly contributed to the strengthening of scientization logic via putting more pressure on finding ways for increasing publications in international prominent journals or recruiting department members with good publication records. Yet, state-dominated nature of higher education system in Turkey affected the way that business education organized; instead of importing US education model, Turkey was more oriented towards taking curriculum and teaching content. While still American-modeled public universities and highly ranked private foundation universities in Turkey insisted on publication performance, overall the penetration of this model remained very limited. In Turkish case, importation of entrepreneurial logic is in fact realized more discursively (i.e. having emphasis of entrepreneurship and regional development in their mission and vision statements) and instructively (i.e. teaching entrepreneurship, innovation and technology management). Hence the functional emphasis remained to be on contribution to regional and national development.

In terms of the curriculum structure, courses were designed to respond more to student demands that also triggered tailoring of education content to student career aspirations (Üsdiken, 2007). Teaching has become more project and practice-oriented, academic staff is more directed to make research with the industry partners. Entrepreneurial logic mostly found its presence in the departmental curricula. Though departments are discursively giving entrepreneurially motivated messages, still socio-economic conditions of the peripheral cities that these departments are located at were putting a strain on the achievement of entrepreneurship. Still however, departments included various courses related to entrepreneurship (i.e. Entrepreneurial Skills Workshops, Entrepreneurial Technology Commercialization, Entrepreneurship and Leadership, Entrepreneurship and SMEs) made agreements with KOSGEB (Small and Medium Enterprise Development Association) for Entrepreneurship Certificate Program, tried to arrange company visits and talks given by local entrepreneurs. Along with these, establishment of TechnoParks, Competition Centers, Business Incubator Offices, scoring high on the Entrepreneurial and Innovative University Index of *the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey* (TÜBİTAK) became more pronounced.

The aim of this index three-fold; (i) to increase the entrepreneurship and innovation oriented competition between the universities, (ii) to measure the performance of universities with regard to entrepreneurship and innovation, (iii) to contribute to the development of entrepreneurship and innovation indirectly (Güler, 2013). The index has five pillars and total of 23 indicators as follows; (a) scientific and technological research competence, (b) economic contribution and commercialization, (c) intellectual property pool, (d) cooperation and interaction, (e) entrepreneurship and innovation culture. Sample indicators are; number of projects and budget of industry cooperation, number of firms established by academicians and/or students, employment level in those firms, Technology Transfer Office activities, national/international patent applications, licenses, R&D projects, courses and education activities for entrepreneurship and innovation.

It has been argued that after the collapse of the Eastern bloc, the ideological role of higher education lost its importance, where the only important outcome of education for the bourgeoisie became the vocational skills a worker gains from it. Hence the programs are redesigned to be vocationally relevant with each course consisting of modules corresponding to specific vocational skills and the access rate to the tertiary education is greatly increased through massification (Önal, 2012: 128). On the same token, programs should be revised to provide students with necessary vocational skills have been voiced in many policy documents (WB 2007, 3-4; TUSIAD-EUA 2008, 22; MUSIAD 2007, 34). TUSIAD as viewing higher education still abstract, voices consensus in intensifying capital-university interaction. One of the proposals of TUSIAD that could not be realized due to serious protests is establishing advisory boards in public universities. These boards would include representatives of the stakeholders in higher education and eventually balance the power between the presidents and the academic senate, which only represent faculty members (TUSIAD-EUA 2008, 22).

This transformation has also impacted research-education divide; it has been argued that when those who teach are not given opportunities for research, they increasingly become mere instructors who transfer standardized course content to students. This

tendency is in fact matches with bourgeoisie's interests: the delivery of standardized, vocation-oriented modules compatible with their labor market expectations. As it is criticized by Levidow (2002: 4) this process makes the academic staff as "experts in standardized quantitative methods of performance" and subsequently results in a standardized curricula providing students only very limited job-related skills. As the system becomes massified, the lecturer evolves into a vocational teacher who delivers standard modules.

It can be argued that the entrepreneurial logic prevalent in higher education field actually does not exclude the premises of scientization logic. This judgment is first rooted in the indicators of 'scientific and technological research competence' pillar of Entrepreneurial and Innovative University Index. It consists of criteria as number of scientific publications, citations, projects and funds received by R&D and innovation programs, national and international scientific awards and number of PhD graduates. These criteria indirectly invoke the materialization of scientization logic so that ideally it becomes a precondition for entrepreneurial logic embeddedness. Second, the interaction between these two logics also becomes apparent in terms of the universities that are ranked among the first five between 2012 and 2016. These are Boğaziçi, Middle East Technical, Bilkent, Sabancı, Koç (for 2014 and 2015) and Istanbul Technical (2012, 2013 and 2016), Özyeğin (only 2012). As mentioned above, these universities as geared towards hiring foreign trained researchers rank high in their indexed publication records (Önder and Önder, 2011) and can be deemed as relatively highly embedded in scientization logic.

Overall I argue that current state of business education entails multiple coexistence of vocational, scientization and entrepreneurial logics in which it does not cease as one logic gains prominence over the other. Rather business departments either enact multiple activities imbued with diverse logics or different logics independently co-exist inside the organization. The different cohorts of departments imbued with different logic combinations reflect different embodiments.

3.2. Turkish Higher Education in Political Context

After elaborating institutional logics prevailing in the field of business education, this part of the dissertation mainly aims to examine the political context of higher education in Turkey. The revealing of political dynamics of the field and specifically academic hiring decisions calls for illustrating how the field has been historically constructed. Yet, the history of higher education in Turkey goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. There are several significant studies which discuss the different aspects of the issue (Başkan, 2001; Alkan, 2004; Mızıkacı, 2006; Tekeli, 2010; Turan, 2010; İnal and Akkaymak, 2012; Çelik and Gür, 2013). However, in order to understand how the academic hiring decisions are made in Turkey, it is useful to elaborate both historical and recent debates and conflicts regarding higher education. The field of higher education and more specifically academic hiring decisions has been historically very politicized area. Apart from the missions of research, publication, teaching and community development of the universities; the inner dynamics of higher education have always remained a political issue. In this respect, milestones of the Turkish higher education system have gone in parallel with political tensions in history. Even more, ruling parties or governments have always been interested in controlling higher education. The system of higher education in Turkey has been controlled by ideologies so that the ideology that controls the government and the Council of Higher Education controls the system of higher education (Gök, 2016: 163). Therefore, this section aims to relate the political history of Turkey with higher education in order to contextualize the issue given that they are deeply intertwined (Gür, 2011: 50).

The state and society relations in Turkey mainly pertain to the intersection of *center-periphery conflict*, *neopatrimonialism* and *clientelism* (Berkman and Özen, 2008). These three significant dynamics not only shape political environment but also frame the public employment relations and also academic hiring in Turkish context. To begin with center-periphery conflict, the center refers to political, bureaucratic, business and intellectual including academic, elite groups (Heper, 1974) whom have also designed the official ideology of the state. Broadly speaking, modern Turkey was built as a nation-state on the multi-ethnic legacy of Ottoman Empire in the early

1920s. In the nation-building process, the ruling elite organized around the *Republican People's Party* (CHP) attempted to modernize society in a top-down fashion based on a modernization project of which main principles were *nationalism*, *secularism*, *republicanism*, *populism*, *reformism*, and *etatism*. Among them, the first two principles, particularly, created tensions within the society that still continue to shape the state-society relations and politics. The nationalism, on the one hand, imposed in a totalizing manner “the Turkish identity” to non-Turkish ethnical identities, such as Kurds, Arabs, Circassians, Lazs, Zazas, and Albanians. The secularism, which was formulated as *laicism*, on the other hand, discriminated against Islamic religious communities and social groups that idealized a society based on Islamic rules as well as against secular but non-Sunni Muslim groups, such as *Alevis* (Özen and Öztürk, 2016: 21-22). On the other hand, periphery represents social groups such as emerging middle class, the rural upper class, artisans and religious groups who have challenged particularly secularism and etatism principles of the official state ideology (Berkman and Özen, 2008). Throughout history these groups have been mobilized through various political parties in which the JDP being an exemplar since the landslide victory of 2002 elections.

On this ground, in spite of liberalization efforts in the last two decades, Turkey has had a state-dependent business system (Whitley, 2000) embodying a strong-state coordinating and controlling economic activities (Gökşen and Üsdiken, 2001). Accordingly, Turkish polity has been formed as a statist polity where a patrimonial state tradition inherited from the Ottoman Empire, and the clientelistic state-society relations have prevailed (Heper, 1985; Sunar, 1974). As opposed to liberal polities where the society is organized around legally constituted actors, in the statist polities it is rather the state that functions “both the model of organizing rationality and the location for the articulation of the general will of the society’s actors” (Jepperson and Meyer, 1991: 216). Coexisted with the legal-rational bureaucracy, the patrimonial-state is characterized by the top-down and arbitrary actions of the ruling political and bureaucratic elite, relatively independent from, and frequently against to the demands of underprivileged societal groups.

Another enduring characteristic of the Turkish politics is clientelism which refers to party politics as a means of participating in resource allocation through preferential treatment by political patronage (Heper, 2002). Clientelism inherently involves, what Jepperson and Meyer (1991) refer to as, interest intermediation through primordial relations. Thus, the Turkish politics has revolved around the struggle between political parties to seize governmental power in order to allocate resources controlled by the government to their constituencies by discriminating ‘others’ with opposing political views. For instance, the biggest family business groups in Turkey, which were organized around the Association of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSIAD) in 1971, have been rapidly grown by the nurture of the state as well as through the particularistic relations with the traditional central political and bureaucratic elite (Buğra, 1994) at the expense small businesses scattered around Anatolian cities. Similarly, as the Islamic movement has become increasingly powerful since the mid-1970s, pro-Islamic political parties, particularly the JDP since the early 2000s, which has seized the center while softening the power of the traditional central elite, have created their own big business groups by using similar patronage systems, now organized around the Independent Industrialist and Businessman Association (MUSIAD), the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), and the Anatolian Tigers Businessmen Association (ASKON) (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014).

In the midst of these socio-political dynamics, the role of the state in rationalizing and homogenizing the society is depicted to be equivocal (Özen, 2011). In certain fields the state has undertaken excessively rationalizing role whereas in other fields this role has been at the minimum level. In this regard, Turkish higher education field has been shown to be highly homogenized since 1980s through a central organization, the Council of Higher Education (Üsdiken, 2003). The Council has even intervened into the curriculum, the recruitment and promotion criteria of academics (Özen, 2011).

As to the emergence of higher education in Turkey, it can be culturally attributed back to the Ottoman Empire. The Western-minded reforms and modernization attempts which had already begun earlier in military, governance and education

resulted in the declaration of the Tanzimat Decree in 1839 which was a major transition in this path for the empire. From then on, education including the higher one changed noticeably moving towards increasing secularization and modernization. The quest to institute a western style university with a modern curriculum, structure and teaching methods resulted in *Darülfünun*, literally the Ottoman House of Sciences, founded in 1863. Therefore, *Darülfünun* is commonly regarded as the beginning of the modern university system in Turkey. It was reorganized with new institutes several times until the end of Ottoman Empire (Mızıkacı, 2006: 14; Turan, 2010: 142-143; Başkan, 2001: 24-26).² In general, they all aimed to meet the specific needs of the empire particularly for the military such as engineering and medicine; and state organization including public administration. The main point was the salvation of the Ottoman Empire through a modern transformation by training the Ottoman youth in Western knowledge and science (Alkan, 2004: 91; Turan, 2010: 143).

After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the *Darülfünun* was converted into Istanbul University in 1933 following the all madrassas and religious schools were closed as the official ideology of the new state were strictly based on secularization. It has been argued that political intention to disconnect higher education from its historical roots was on the agenda hence as mentioned by Berkem and Aras (2010) “the closure of *Darülfünun* is linked to political concerns as much as scientific expectations.” The main purpose of the university “was to maintain a western-style higher education institution playing a key role in social and economic development and promoting a secular state” (Mızıkacı, 2006: 15). The role of higher education in a broader sense in this era can be explained as follows: “Besides its assigned roles promoting economic, social, cultural, ideological, educational and scientific-development reform, Turkish higher education institutions typified the generation and transmission of Atatürk’s ideology of the nation-state” (Mızıkacı, 2006: 16).

² Other higher education institutions were also established in the late Ottoman era. Most of were specialised in vocational and technical education such as *Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun* (The Imperial Naval Engineering College) in 1773; *Tıbbiye* (Imperial Medical College) in 1827; *Harbiye* (Imperial Military College) in 1834; *Mektebi-i Mülkiye* (The Imperial School of Administration) in 1877 and *Mekteb-i Hukuk* (Imperial School of Law in 1878) (Mızıkacı, 2006: 14).

After a long single-party rule, transition to the multi-party system in 1946 and the Democratic Party's coming to power in 1950 considerably affected the understanding of higher education in Turkey like in many fields. The university law in 1946 proposing autonomy (Tekeli, 2010: 169) and the establishment of American styled universities such as Karadeniz Technical University in Trabzon, and Ege University in İzmir in 1955; Middle East Technical University in Ankara in 1956, and Atatürk University in Erzurum in 1957 to meet growing demand of a rapidly increasing population were the significant changes and developments in this era (Mızıkacı, 2006: 16). Hacettepe University in 1967 and conversion of Robert College into Boğaziçi University in 1971 followed them. Lately, the higher education in the country has been comprehensively reorganized with the passage of the basic Law on Higher Education in 1981 as a result of the coup d'état in 1980.

Furthermore, the dominant role of military coups on development of higher education remarkably stands out while looking at the political history of Turkey. All the legislative regulations except the university law in 1946 are enacted by the governments formed following the military coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980. Therefore, history and governance of Turkish universities are essentially examined with respect to the history of military coups (Aslan, 2014: 255-256). That is the reason why Turan (2010) explained the university system under the republic with six stages. The first, which marks the continuation of tradition, begins with the republic in 1923 and ends in 1933 with the closing of the *Darülfünun*. The second is the beginning of institutionalization and professionalization which starts with the opening of Istanbul University in 1933 and ends with the enactment of a new Universities Law in 1946 when the multi-party system was in practice (Turan, 2010: 144). These two stages are marked with the making of modern Turkey as built on the multi-ethnic legacy of Ottoman Empire in the early 1920s.

To continue with Turan's (2010) classification, every stage after 1946 is marked by a military coup. The third is the period between 1946 and 1961³ whereby attempts to provide universities with autonomy were in practice during Turkey's first democratic

³ The date of coup is 27 May 1960. Turan uses both the years of 1960 and 1961 in his explanation. In essence, both of them are the same given that 1961 refers to the constitution after the coup.

experiment until its failure in 1960 by another military coup. The fourth between 1961 and 1973⁴ was the era of unrestrained autonomy. The universities were given full autonomy by the 1961 Constitution. However, the autonomy of universities was restrained in 1973 by the change in the constitution after the coup in 1971. Therefore the period between 1971 and 1981⁵ marks the fifth stage that universities were the significant part of ideological battleground between right and left wing students and faculty members. The attempts to discipline the universities in this stage failed due to the social and political turmoil in the country. The sixth is from 1981 to current stage that “the new national university system has worn straitjacket” (Turan, 2010: 144-152). In 1981, the Turkish higher education system previously having autonomy in administrative and academic, but not financial, affairs, became centralized with the establishment of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), a governmental agency entitled with the planning, directing, and controlling all universities. Together with the establishment of YÖK, a new institutional regime was introduced by (1) converting all professional schools into universities, (2) bringing all universities under a unified form of governance with extensive powers granted to YÖK, (3) pushing universities to adopt the US-based administrative and educational structures, and finally, (4) permitting the establishment of private universities (Üsdiken and Wasti, 2009: 1069).⁶

The structure and responsibilities of YÖK that is at the center of all debates regarding the higher education in Turkey since 1981, needs more elaboration at this point. YÖK is an autonomous public juridical body with the authority and responsibility to administer the activities of all institutions of higher education. It is a corporate public body of twenty-two members responsible for the planning, co-ordination and supervision of higher education within the provisions set forth in Higher Education Law. (Mızıkcı, 2006: 27) The role of YÖK in a broad sense is defined in the law as follows:

⁴ The coup took place on 12 March 1971. He refers to constitutional changes in 1973.

⁵ While the Turkish army took over the ruling on 12 September 1980, the military junta passed a new Universities Law in 1981 in which the Council of Higher Education was established.

⁶ Article 130 of Turkish Constitution passed on October 18, 1982 states that: “Institutions of higher education, under the supervision and control of the state, can be established by foundations in accordance with the procedures and principles set forth in the law provided that they do not pursue lucrative aims.”

The Council of Higher Education is an autonomous body with a legal personality which governs all higher education, directs the activities of the institutions of higher education, within the context of duties and powers given by this law. To the Council of Higher Education are attached the Higher Education Supervisory Board and the Student Selection and Placement Center together with the relevant units responsible for planning, research, development, evaluation, budget, investment and coordination (YÖK, 2000:7, Article 6-a).

Higher education system, specifically the role and structure of YÖK is increasingly under immense criticism and pressure for the last three decades. The most remarkable criticism regarding YÖK is its very centralized functions, strong authority and control over all aspects of higher education. Right after military coup in 1980, YÖK fired hundreds of academics in 1983 just for their political views, mostly leftists, by depending on the Law numbered 1402. YÖK, as a guardian of the state ideology, has maintained its tutelage over the universities in terms of staffing issues throughout the 1990s and the early 2000s by putting pressures on academicians with oppositional political views, particularly those with pro-Islamic views because the traditional elite at the center perceived the rise of pro-Islamic bourgeoisie, and the increasing power of pro-Islamic parties as a serious threat to the regime. Particularly before and after the military intervention in 28 February 1997 to the coalition government of a center-right (True Path Party-DYP) and a pro-Islamic party (Welfare Party-RP), academicians with religious views were mobbed; their recruitments and promotions were delayed or blocked (Eğitim-Bir-Sen, 2014) (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

Before elaborating politicization of higher education after 2002 (i.e. during Justice and Development Party's rule), it is important to emphasize that the unmet demands of the peripheral groups have been voiced by various political parties, such as the Democratic Party (DP), the Justice Party (AP), the National Salvation Party (MSP), and the Motherland Party (ANAP) since the transition to the multi-party politics in 1945. These political parties, which have been liberal and/or to varying degrees

Islamist in nature, have frequently come to power through free elections. They have been in conflict with the state elites in various degrees, and therefore, overthrown by the military four times since the establishment of the Republic (Berkman and Özen, 2008: 2). These political cleavages in the Turkish politics have also reflected themselves in the higher education system. Since the higher education institutions were initially considered as the agents that would realize the modernization project of the ruling elite, academic staff, actually public servants, was largely recruited from those who were supposed to be loyal to the principles of the state ideology. Loyal academic cadres were going to be what Heper (1974) calls “academic intelligentsia” that fought against the first challenge to the state ideology by the Democratic Party government in the 1950s. However, due to the gradual expansion of higher education as well as the development of relatively more democratic political life throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the academic cadres became politically more polarized (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

The political ground in the post-1980 period has been marked with Turkish-Islamic synthesis that can also be observed in official discourse on higher education. Turkish-Islamic synthesis is based on the premise that the “best fit religion for the character and the nature of the Turks is Islam” (Coşar, 2011: 166). In this vein, as mentioned by Coşar and Ergül (2015: 106), universities are expected to stay within the borders of a “conservative-nationalist discourse that is fine-tuned by neoliberal capitalism.” Hence, nationalist motifs are frequently mentioned in higher education legislation. Particularly, articles related to aims and principles of higher education are remarkable and illustrate ideological nature of higher education. Article 4 of Law No. 2547 states as follows:

The aims of higher education to educate students so that they:

- i) will be loyal to Atatürk nationalism and to Atatürk’s reforms and principles,
- ii) will be in accord with the national, ethical, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish Nation and conscious of the privilege of being a Turk (YÖK, 2000: 5).

Article 5 of the same law also states the basic principles that higher education is organized, planned, and programmed in accordance with Atatürk's principles. The first two are as:

- i) To ensure that students develop a sense of duty in line with Atatürk's reforms and principles, loyal to Atatürk nationalism.
- ii) National culture integrated with universal culture, will be developed and fostered in keeping with Turkish mores and traditions so that the students develop a strong sense of national unity and solidarity (YÖK, 2000: 6).

Given its centralized nature, restructuring YÖK in order to restrict its extensive powers has been on the agenda of almost all governments and development plans following the late 1980s. However, the higher education policies lacked stability in this era given that it has been a controversial area and the some changes took place in order to meet needs of the day without considering long-term approach (Tekeli, 2010). Therefore developing a comprehensive road map or reform plan on which most of the stakeholders agree on has failed so far even if all parties accept that the YÖK fail to meet needs of higher education. The reason behind this failure rests on political and ideological conflicts. Accordingly, Çelik and Gür (2013: 162) pointed out "... Proposed changes to higher education have long served as a political battleground with no winners. ... The question of who would maintain authority over higher education and how they would utilize their powers continues to represent an area of contestation."

Since the 2002 election, however, the JDP, a pro-Islamic party, has been in office after the landslide victory in the election. Although the JDP government has reformed the economic and political institutions in accordance with the liberal and democratic principles required for full-membership in the European Union, it has increasingly become authoritarian and patrimonial by changing the laws and regulations to allow arbitrary government interventions in support of politically privileged entrepreneurs and other societal groups (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2014). Apart from that, higher education has been going through restructuring since the early 2000s. Similar to previous governments, the JDP has also underlined the need

to reform at the YÖK from early years of its ruling which started in 2002 as well. The government members emphasized several times that the YÖK would serve to provide a coordination role on higher education.

Following these instances, the common initiatives and broader consensus encompassing main political parties,⁷ stakeholders, academics and NGOs with regard to the need to reform and democratize Turkey's higher education system have been still on the political agenda. Çelik and Gür (2013: 162) described the basics of the desired reforms as follows: "An overwhelming majority of Turkey's population seems to be in favor of reducing the Council's powers, restricting the Council's mandate to coordination and planning, enhancing universities' administrative and financial independence, and promoting greater accountability within the higher education system." Reform attempts in higher education system have always been on the agenda but failed due to the political power struggles between political parties (Gür, 2016). Very recently, current government's action plan, published at the end of 2015, includes items to help restructure the highly centralized education system and expand the autonomy of the universities (64. Hükümet Programı, 2015).

The ideological conflicts or "a political battleground" (Çelik and Gür, 2013: 162) have created serious obstacles under the shadow of secularism debates due to the allegedly political agenda of the JDP. More specifically, state institutions such as Turkish Army and the Constitutional Court that believed in keeping the secular principles of the state as their main function; and people who are ideologically against the party and strictly secularist have always claimed that the JDP has a political Islamist schedule to change the secular understanding of the state by abolishing headscarf ban at the universities.

In addition to secularism, the public debate on higher education reform has largely concentrated on how to appoint the Council members and university rectors whereas other significant aspects such as autonomy, accountability, planning and coordination have stayed in the shadow of these ideological issues (Çelik and Gür,

⁷ See the following articles for the position of political parties with regard the higher education including the YÖK reform: Tok, 2012; Gür, 2014; Usta, 2015.

2013:162). Moreover, the relations between the JDP and secular institutions of the state in particular Turkish military and the Constitutional Court were so controversial with regard to future of the country. The latter institutions were trying to control the power of the ruling party.⁸ Therefore the party failed to reform the higher education system and restructure the YÖK in its early years. However, the JDP has consolidated its power since 2007, by the time hence the election of former Prime Minister Abdullah Gül from the party as the president paved the way for some significant reforms. The JDP now had the opportunity to appoint the president of the YÖK and rectors. According to Higher Education Law (Article 13), rectors in universities are assigned by the president of the Republic from the three candidates nominated by YÖK by considering those academicians who got the highest votes from academic staff participated in rectorship elections held at a university.

In practice, however, YÖK has discretion to nominate, and the President has discretion to assign, anybody from the list, making the election a mere eligibility requirement. However with the statutory decree no.676 issued on October 29, 2016; the university rector elections have been lifted. According to the new system, rectors of state universities will be appointed by the President of the Republic from among three candidates nominated by the YÖK who have served as a professor at least for three years, and rectors of private foundation universities will be appointed again by the President of the Republic from among three candidates nominated by the board of trustees and approved by YÖK. Indeed on August 18, 2016, “the Draft Law on the Amendment of the Articles Governing University President Elections in the Law of Higher Education” was proposed with a similar content as decree no. 676, however had to be withdrawn after a strong opposition in the parliament.

On the other hand, the JDP government further strengthened tendencies towards centralization in certain areas of higher education (Çelik and Gür, 2013:160) as it has strengthened its power. The ruling party has enjoyed extensive powers of the YÖK in order to expand and legitimize its policies since the council has strong mechanisms in order to exercise power directly from above (Tekeli, 2010: 380).

⁸ For the relations between The Justice and Development Party Government and Turkish Military, See: (Heper, 2005 and 2008; Yavuz, 2009).

Strongly centralized governance paved the way for politicization of higher education (Temel, 2012: 13). It becomes very remarkable during the strong and long ruling governments when both the president and prime minister belong to the same political party like the JDP. Although there were some periods that both the president and prime minister were from the same political party like President Turgut Özal and Prime Minister Yıldırım Akbulut; and President Süleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller (Gür, April 2011: 52),⁹ the case of The JDP should be analyzed as different case than these examples¹⁰ due to the fact that the impact of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on the ruling party and governments is largely accepted as the Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım publicly stated that he would follow the path of Erdoğan and Turkey is ruled by de facto presidential system (“Turkey ruled by de facto presidential system: Turkey’s PM”, 2016; “Binali Yıldırım: Başkanlık sistemini getirmeye hazır mısınız?”, 2016; Coşkun and Tattersall, 2016).

In addition to politicization, highly centralized structure of higher education means, “placing the state in an authoritative position rather than a purely administrative one” (Temel, 2012: 13) which results in restricting the operational and intellectual autonomy of universities. The university administrators understand that keeping “good relations” with the YÖK is required in order to operate without troubles. Having “good relations” ensures that the government would be more likely to meet their demands (Temel, 2012: 13). It can be argued that most of the university administrators feel that they have to be in good terms with YÖK. Being in good terms with state institutions and forming reciprocal ties with political parties underline one of the permanent characteristics of the Turkish politics; clientelism as it has already been explained above. In this context, both traditional business elite and the pro-Islamic one have entered in the higher education field by establishing and sponsoring private universities since the mid-1980s.

⁹ On the other hand, Gür uses these examples to oppose the criticism of Tekeli (Tekeli, 2010: 380) by arguing belonging of President and Prime Minister to same political party does not show that the ruling party enjoys extensive powers of the YÖK.

¹⁰ Recently, the case of the JDP is explained with the “dominant party system.” See: (Ayan-Musil, 2015).

The report initiated by one of the leading NGOs in Turkey, TÜSİAD, also reveals significant results. The research based on seventeen institutional evaluation reports of Turkish universities calls attention to the problem of autonomy as follows:

The review team concluded that the actual autonomy of Turkish universities is very limited as the government or YÖK control central elements such as the budget and its allocation, admissions of students and the number of internal allocation of academic and administrative staff. From the discussions we had, we gained the impression that Turkish universities have a low degree of autonomy and suffer under a heavy and centralized bureaucratic system. Apparently the politically imposed homogeneity of the Turkish higher education system does not allow for the reward of the best institutions (Visakorpi, Stankovic, Pedrosa and Rozsnyai, 2008: 28).

To conclude, education in Turkey has traditionally been a tool of creating a nation-state based on the secular ideology of Kemalism. In fact, this tool had already been used during the late Ottoman era (Uyanık, 2009). Therefore, higher education in the country should also be seen as a “social engineering” process. This refers to the exercise of all possible state policies to change or transform a society, nation or country (Güngör, 2008). Social engineering “produces certain programs and imposes them on the society in order to be accepted” (Birkiye, 2009: 261). Secular elites in Turkey have tried to preserve the principles of Kemalism in every aspect of society including higher education. Therefore the conflicts with regard to universities in the last three decades can be explained with the old paradigm of the center-periphery cleavage. The paradigm “is still relevant for understanding the clash between secular elites and conservative forces of the neo-Islamic Justice and Development Party” (Sus, 2009: 219).

3.2.1. Higher Education during the JDP Era and the Prevailing Political Identities

Although the JDP has come to power with 2002 election, the higher education policies and program of the party should be viewed in line with the neoliberalization

wave starting from 1980s. Together with the political influences; globalization and neoliberalism after 1980s have also impacted the structure, purposes and functions of higher education institutions. The period after 1980s is marked by neoliberalism being referred as the reordering of the socio-political sphere that is characterized by transnational commercial activity over production and private investment at the expense of public investment (Coşar and Ergül, 2015). The discussion on the neoliberalization of higher education is presented from several different perspectives. Some scholars consider the transformations in academic knowledge production and definitions of science (Gibbons, Trow, Scott and Limoges, 1994) whereas some critical others view the implementation of neoliberal policies as a reflection of oppression (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; İnal and Akkaymak, 2012, Coşar and Ergül, 2015).

The JDP in its government programs views education as the most important element of development and orients its educational policies in line with neoliberal ideology. In line with this, one of the premises of their educational program is to privatize, marketize and globalize education in order to train the work force for globalized markets. Hence it prioritizes issues such as teaching standardized skills and knowledge, preparation of the workforce and measuring the quality of education by exam scores. Both discursively and practically, language of economics has become dominant in educational policies. For instance terms such as efficiency and effectiveness in education are now based on the performance of teachers and students. Performance evaluation in schools and recently in universities shows that market ideology has become a reality of the system (İnal and Akkaymak, 2012: 21). However liberalization and performance based conceptualization of university has not yet started with the JDP government. It rather pertains to the beginning of 1980s with the establishment of private-foundation universities. More interestingly, liberalization in Turkey is *sui generis*. While minimalist state of the neoliberal era is expected to co-exist with decentralization and relative decrease of state funding for public universities, in Turkish context especially during the JDP rule the centralized

practices coupled with administrative tutelage and the ratio of higher education to central budget have increasingly persisted.¹¹

At this period, YÖK through its discourse on the need for standardization in scientific production and the efficiency in academic work, managed the infiltration of free market mentality into the university campuses (Coşar and Ergül, 2015: 111). The adjustments in curriculum and education mentality have also hinted the free market rationality. In this regard, university-industry relations emerge one of the main components in both YÖK's and universities' discursive practices. One of the regulatory mechanisms that have enabled the neoliberalization of higher education is the new draft law on YÖK which consists of measures that would make academic work subjected to the evaluation of industry. Another element of neoliberalization agenda is autonomy which refers to the ability of the universities to generate their own financial resources via making the industry as a stakeholder on the campuses. All the strategies in this regard aimed not only educate but also train the students into flexible work force and making them employable (Coşar and Ergül, 2015).

The initiation of private higher education also mirrors the neoliberal structuration processes. Privatization of higher education entails a shift in the behavior of higher education institutions so that they become similar to corporations. Private universities are managed through the foundation system, this would enable them to avoid the financial burdens since they receive financial assistance from the state budget. What is more, as having non-profit status these universities could determine their tuition fees and enjoy tax exemption. Though creation of private foundation universities were permitted the legislative overhaul of 1981, The JDP's "Target 2023" vividly states "More Private Universities" so that the massification prospect will not be only achieved through new public universities but by also licensing more private institutions (AK Parti, 2012: 47). Evidently, number of private foundation universities has rapidly increased whereby they are established either by the secular

¹¹ According to Ministry of National Education Statistics (2012-2013); in 2002 the ratio of total education budget to central administrative budget was 10.15, where it rose to 13.63 in 2007 and 15.53 in 2013 (See: Kurt and Gümüş, 2015).

bourgeoisie or by emerging religious one, particularly connected with the pro-Islamic Gülen (or what they call themselves, Hizmet) community (Dreher, 2014) and with the JDP. Furthermore, the pro-Islamic JDP government, in power since 2002, has followed an expansion policy by establishing new public universities; the number of public universities increased from 46 in 2002 to 109 in 2015. Meantime, the number of private universities rose from 23 to 84 in the same period (“10 yılda 92 üniversite açıldı,” 2012; Günay and Günay, 2011). One of the important events of the JDP period is the establishment of faculties of theology in private foundation universities. Founded by cabinet decree, four foundation universities began offering degrees.¹² Emergence of these faculties clearly signals that foundation universities not only match with neoliberal agenda but also started to contribute to the political conservatism in Turkey (Birler, 2012: 147).

Starting from 1990s onwards, higher education field has begun to be characterized by several ways of expansion. The first wave happened in 1992 that has led to opening of 22 universities. This was indeed a political move to ease the demand shift to the regions where each university was located (Polat, 2016). At the beginning of the JDP rule, similarly, it followed an expansion policy by establishing new public universities. By 2006 there were 77 universities of which 24 were privately owned. In line with the global trend of expansion in higher education, Turkey especially in the last decade has embraced growth strategy and established 41 new public universities between 2006 and 2008 (“10 yılda 92 üniversite açıldı,” 2012; Günay and Günay, 2011).¹³

The expansion policy during the JDP government had both political and economic reflections. The founding of new universities as a political move targeting regional development, evolved as a re-distributive policy redirecting public investment and funds toward relatively poorer regions (Polat, 2016). More politically, expansion policy aimed to improve party’s access in favor of its electorate. The JDP having criticized the elite education prospect of the previous political regimes (i.e.

¹² These are İstanbul Şehir, İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim, Fatih Sultan Mehmet, İstanbul 29 Mayıs universities.

¹³ The most influential policy that enabled the establishment of private foundation universities occurred in 2008, whereby the prerequisite of founding a faculty of sciences or humanities was eliminated.

Kemalist), adopted this policy in order to reverse low participation into a mass system with much higher level access to higher education and a greater diversity of educational programs (The World Bank, 2002: 4). In contrast to elite higher education that sees higher education as a privilege for a small group of society, mass higher education aims to expand the coverage. Although a universalized system was adopted with a central exam that was aimed to offer fair evaluation for students from diverse socio-economic status by 1974, this could not end the center-periphery gap in higher education since preparation for the entrance exam required families to spend extra resources. In midst of these developments, Islamic networks emerged by providing preparation services to students from relatively poor family backgrounds for central entrance exams. Hence conservative groups have begun to compete for private education in the form of affording private tutoring, dormitory expenses and even providing help in after graduation period. While several religious communities concentrated on providing education in order to recruit students to impose their philosophies and understandings, Gülen Community has been very influential via *dershanes* (study centers) to assist the students prepare for the university entrance exam, colleges, dormitories and community houses (*ışık evi*- houses of light) (Ağai, 2002: 32).

This expansion during the JDP rule was two-fold; first its magnitude has almost doubled from 2005 to 2014. Similarly, the number of private foundation universities almost tripled from 25 in 2005 to 72 in 2014. In line with the policy proposed, every province across the country would have at least one public university. These expansion strategies had also increased the access to higher education in which gross enrollment ratio in higher education has grown from 22.5% in 2000 to 74.9% in 2013 (Çetinsaya, 2014). Second, in terms of its geographic extent the expansion strategy was characterized with opening up new public universities in the least developed provinces of the country. However this expansion has evoked criticism varying from the inadequate quality standards and infrastructural arrangements (Arap, 2010). Arap (2010) argued that establishing many universities without necessary infrastructure would lower the quality and these institutions would encounter academic, financial and administrative problems. Some other associated this unprecedented expansion with the collapse of the higher education system

(Kaynar et al., 2005). Relatedly, several other scholars argued that the extraordinary growth could not match with quality of research and instruction (Yavuz, 2010; Doğan, 2013).

In accordance with the establishment of new universities, the number of academic staff has also increased from approximately 80,000 a decade ago to about 150,000 as of 2015 (Gür, 2016). However, as the rate of increase in academic staff is lower than the rate of increase in the number of students, the average number of students per academic staff increased only modestly. Together with shortage, there is also regional imbalance of qualified faculty. Although there has always been imbalance between regions, this ratio has tremendously raised with from 2006 onwards. As of 2013, the southeastern part of Turkey has about 10 percent of the total population but only has 2.5 percent of professors (Çetinsaya, 2014).

The expansion policy in the last decade has also brought the political identities of the universities more to the forefront. Though higher education has always been a political area including variety of different political groups with different interests; the last decade has witnessed more of this polarization. But still however, regarding the political identities of universities, we should note that although universities in Turkey vary in terms of their identifications with different political views, what is common to all is that they avoid declaring their political identity, if any, to the public. Therefore, you never see any university in Turkey that has a slogan in its website like “we are a pro-Islamic university” or “we are a leftist university”, “we are a Gülen university” even if it actually has a political identity, and everybody knows this. This is because of both legal and technical reasons. To have a political identity for a university is legally forbidden although this legal requirement is always violated by the governments themselves, but more importantly, universities do not want to limit their admission potential to only those students with same political view as the university has by declaring their political identity. In other words, because of increasing competition in attracting students, universities want to admit students to fill their admission quotas imposed by YÖK regardless of their political views. Therefore, political identity at the university level in Turkey is an example of “subtle” identity that represents the conflict between the technical requirements in

the higher education field and the political ideologies at the societal level (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

The expansion policy specifically after 2006 onwards has been marked by three political identities. First is the conservative identity that is associated with pro-ruling party of the decade (JDP) and mobilization of three major constituencies; namely the Turkish socially conservative nationalists, the Islamists and the conservative Kurds accompanied by voters mainly supporting the JDP's economic policies (Yavuz, 2003: 250). Although public universities that have been founded are expected to represent the official ideology of the state, some of them both discursively and practically have become more politicized with respect to their affiliation with governing party that would subsequently become reflected in their organizational decisions. Thereafter, we label this group of universities that embrace pro-JDP political identity as manifesting "conservative political identity". Similarly, expansion policy with regard to founding of private foundation universities has also been affected by the JDP; mainly businessmen, foundations, political figures embedded in the JDP identity have initiated new universities at this era.

Second, specifically plenty number of private foundation universities established after 2006 are guided by a different political identity. Still conservative in nature, these universities are founded by emerging religious bourgeoisie connected with pro-Islamic Gülen community. The number of universities affiliated with Gülen Community were sixteen¹⁴ of which fifteen of them were established in the last decade. In addition to its extensive focus on education, Gülen Community has increasingly played not only an important but also a controversial role in Turkey in many aspects including politics, economy, religion and society in the last half century; and recently its involvement in failed coup-attempt on July 15, 2016

¹⁴ Altın Koza (İpek) University (Ankara), Bursa Orhangazi University (Bursa), Canık Başarı University (Samsun), Selahattin Eyyubi University (Diyarbakır), Fatih University (İstanbul), Melikşah University (Kayseri), Mevlana University (Konya), Şifa University (İzmir), Turgut Özal University (Ankara), Zirve University (Gaziantep), Kanuni University (Adana), İzmir University (İzmir), Murat Hüdavendigar University (İstanbul), Gediz University (İzmir), Süleyman Şah University (İstanbul) and International Antalya University (Antalya).

On the other hand, all these universities except the International Antalya University were closed down during the state of emergency after the failed coup-attempt on 15 July 2016. International Antalya University continued to work due to the fact that the founder Fettah Tamince has reportedly cut its relations with the Community. See: ("Fettah Tamince: Cemaat bana 10 milyon dolarlık kredi çekti; ölüm tehditi aldım", 2016).

according to official statements while the trials are going on (Mckirdy and Alam, 2016; “Turkey issues warrant for US-based preacher Fethullah Gülen in failed coup,” 2016). Sharing the conservativist ideological aspects with that of the former, this identity is going to be named as “religious community identity” thereafter.

Third is the secularist political identity and associated liberal both public and private-foundation universities which are neither particularly affiliated to pro-ruling party nor any other religious based communities. This identity is manifested at relatively more in private-foundation universities that are geared towards generating income. Although none of the private-foundation universities are allowed to make profit due to their legal status as foundation (*vakıf*), those defined as dubious demand absorbers are geared towards making more money in a short time (Mızıkacı, 2006). It more reflects the official ideology of the state manifesting mainly the values of secularism and etatism while also encompassing a more social-democratic and liberal approach taken by the main opposition. Secularist political identity in Turkish context is mainly manifested through Kemalist secular nationalism while not excluding conservative ideology (Alaranta, 2016: 14). This stems from the nature of the Turkish political system, throughout its political history; the mainstream center-right parties (i.e. True Path and Motherland Parties) have always included significant Islamist elements, including deputies in the parliament. This Islamist presence within the liberal camp had become more open starting from Özal’s era of 1980s. During this period, Islamic-oriented foundations and charities emerged through using economic liberalization to pursue their activities.

3.2.2. The Political and Institutional Context of Academic Hiring Decisions and Cadrelization

The elaboration of political and institutional context of academic hiring decisions in any context but specifically in Turkey should first briefly onset with the discussion of how different polities bring along conflicting agendas, formal structures and decisions. As opposed to liberal polities of Anglo-Saxon context, in countries that are characterized by statist polities, state exists as “both the model of organizing rationality and the location for the articulation of the general will of the society’s

actors” (Jepperson and Meyer, 1991: 216). Accordingly in contrast to the limited role granted to state in liberal polities, statist polities are characterized with strong state involvement in the formal organizing of the society. Hence state acts as the strongest actor in making policy decisions independent of the interests of societal actors. Institutional change in liberal polities rise from the negotiations between social actors whereas in the statist polities either state or its agents initiate the institutional change as they hold the authority to define problems and solutions (Jepperson and Meyer, 1991: 227).

With regard to Turkish context, Turkey has commonly been identified with statist characteristics (Buğra, 1994). Heper (1992: 20) maintained that in spite of the liberalization attempts after 1980s, Turkey has always been characterized by statist policy. The liberalization prospect could not be able to reverse the top-down governing style in Turkey but indeed led to party-centered polity where paternalistic relations with subgroups have persisted. Therefore, state according to Buğra (1994: 22) is not a neutral entity but rather engages in clientelistic relations with certain groups in the society. Due to these features, state interventions mostly triggered alterations in the institutional parameters in accordance with the requirements of daily politics, specific interests of party constituencies or that of religious communities. The Turkish bureaucracy is highly politicized so that when a new party comes to power it usually rewards its supporters by providing them jobs or it puts those already employed in the bureaucracy in fast-track promotional process (Jenkins, 2009). With respect to academic policy decisions, state or more specifically the political group in majority plays a decisive role in hiring or promoting of academic staff. But, it still takes several years for the party to be able to have complete control over particular institutions, such as higher education.

The discussion on the political context of academic hiring decisions in Turkey should be approached through two dimensions. First, formal policies or legal framework governing academic hiring decisions should be given. Second, how the system works in actual practice should be discussed in association with the term “decoupling.” In line with what Jepperson and Meyer (1991: 214) have argued, there is a widespread decoupling in statist polities Turkey being a well-suited exemplar. In such a context, with regard to academic hiring decisions in Turkey, we argue that the

real picture can only be grasped by taking political dynamics into consideration.

In the hierarchical structure of the higher education field, the power is exercised by the government through YÖK or through the university rectors. Rectors are crucial in staffing decisions in universities because they are the ultimate authority to approve or reject the recruitment of academicians recommended by the faculty dean based on the report by jury members in evaluation committee. However, who actually makes a final decision also depends on the relative power of actors involved such as rector, dean or department head. According to the Higher Education Law, rectors in public universities are assigned by the president of the Republic from the three candidates nominated by YÖK by considering those academicians who got the highest votes from academic staff participated in rectorship elections held at a university. In practice, however, YÖK has discretion to nominate, and the President has discretion to assign, anybody from the list, making the election a mere eligibility requirement. Several studies concluded the complex and political nature of university rector appointments (Günay and Kılıç, 2011; Gür, 2016). They referred to several dynamics in this process; faculty may often be divided along different political tendencies and rectors may tend to hire faculty who would support him in the next election.

These discretions at both YÖK and the presidential levels have usually been used in a way that the candidate with a political view similar to the dominant one in YÖK and that of the president at the time is chosen. When the government, YÖK, and the presidency have opposing political views at any given time; the assignment of university rectors becomes a conflictual issue between these bodies. However, in case of political consistency between these bodies, as occurred since 2008 when all these bodies have been occupied by those with pro-Islamic political views, the rector assignment becomes an issue of give-and-take. As for the private universities, one candidate for the rector position is nominated by the Board of Trustees, which is the highest decision-making body in private universities, to YÖK, and s/he is assigned as the rector after the approval of YÖK. The related regulation suggests that the nominee is approved by YÖK as long as s/he satisfies the eligibility requirements for rectorship (e.g., having a higher-education diploma, not sentenced for infamous crime and for ‘the crimes against the state’). Thus, the private universities have long

enjoyed in relative autonomy although they are also under the tutelage of YÖK.

To continue with the hiring of academic staff, it is mandatory by regulations that all universities, public or private, put a job posting on one of the five national newspapers with the largest circulations to announce their vacant positions. After taking all applications for a vacant academic position, the dean forms a jury consisting of three professors or associate professors from the related field. After the jury reports written opinions about the applicants, the dean raises the issue in the Board Meeting in order to get diverse views. The dean offers the name of the eligible candidate to the rector whereby he makes the final appointment. However, one difficulty with hiring decisions in Turkish universities, as we stated earlier, is that various actors are involved in hiring decisions, rector, dean, department head, and jury members in evaluation committee. Who actually makes a final decision depends on their relative power. Although rector has always a right to make the final hiring decision, s/he tends to respect hiring-decisions made at the department or school levels. On the other hand, the weakest link in the decision-making is jury members due to the ceremonial nature of evaluation as we will mention later. Thus, dean, particularly the founding dean, and department head emerge as the most powerful actors in making hiring decisions (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

Although, academic hiring procedures are vividly mentioned in respective laws and regulations¹⁵; higher education in Turkey as discussed previously has always been a political arena where opposing parties struggle for seizing power to control resources for their constituencies. Therefore, academic staffing decisions have frequently been contested by rival political camps. Although the procedures to be followed for academic hiring decisions are strictly regulated by the Law, decoupling has been widespread in practice. In actual practice, for example, the individual who is to be hired is often determined in very advance by the decision-maker(s), in which the formal procedure is carried out ceremonially. Therefore, they put the specific fields of study or research topics, on which the person to be hired has already studied or

¹⁵ These are; 2547 sayılı Yüksek Öğretim Kanunu, 2914 sayılı Yüksek Öğretim Personel Kanunu, Yüksek Öğretim Kurumları Öğretim Elemanlarının Kadroları Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname, Üniversitelerde Akademik Teşkilat Yönetmeliği, Öğretim Üyeliğine Yükseltme ve Atama Yönetmeliği, Öğretim Üyesi Dışındaki Öğretim Elemanı Kadrolarına Yapılacak Atamalarda uygulanacak Merkezi Sınav ile Giriş Sınavlarına İlişkin Usul ve Esaslar Hakkında Yönetmelik.

published, on the ad as the requirements to become eligible so that job-seekers, except for the fixed one, are less likely to become eligible to apply for vacant positions. Hence, job postings in the Turkish academic field are generally “too specific to apply”. For instance, a newly established public university, which was introduced by the JDP government as “its prestigious project”, placed so specific job postings on the newspapers that via the witness of a public notary, an oppositional NGO succeeded to predict almost 100 percent correctly the names of the academicians who would be hired before the selection process ended (Gedik, 2011). More interestingly, another new public university announced its job vacancies on a newspaper ad where the names of academicians to be hired were also given mistakenly across the vacant positions (Alan and Batmaz, 2013; Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

In explaining the political context of higher education in Turkey, another crucial aspect of the issue is *cadrelization* (in Turkish, *kadrolaşma*), derived from *cadre*, in academic hiring decisions. Though very recently hot debates have occurred between rival political groups accusing each other for engaging in *cadrelization* (e.g., Öztürk, 2012; Alan and Batmaz, 2013; Cansu, 2014), the issue is indeed a traditional phenomenon of modern Turkey. In general terms, it refers to appointing as many party loyalists and supporters as possible to critical or strategic positions in state institutions and apparatus. Actually, this policy goes forward one more step and the scope has gradually enlarged in Turkey recently due to the high polarization in the country. Now, it is carried out not only for strategic posts but also at every level including the lower ranks. The target of partisan appointments is not just the state institutions but also the private companies and other civil institutions including NGOs. Furthermore, not only the political parties or political networks are pursuing *cadrelization* policy but also other networks, communities, sects and ethnic identities are significant parts of this battle. In academic hiring, the policy implies filling academic positions with those from the same close political network as the decision-makers are belong to by discriminating against those outside the network. A common way for *cadrelization* is to limit the eligibility of those outside the circle for vacant academic positions as much as possible.

Actually, the roots of cadrelization actually dated back to early years of Republic. These policies and associated decisions have always favoured the parties in power and have followed similar trajectories with different actors. The founder of republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, preferred to work with ruling elite who has the same or similar philosophy in designing the state and society. The opponents were gradually eliminated (Zürcher, 1993). “While legally defined paths of access to the civil service have existed since the earliest years of the Republic, (expressed in a system of examinations and competitions, whether specific to a given type of administration or not) it must be recognized that there is also an informal but institutionalized spoils system....” (Gourisse, 2012: 119). Then as Gourisse suggested, the proclamation of multi-party system and the coming of the Democrat Party to power in 1950 was a significant step in cadrelization policy as large number of Kemalist civil servants had been evicted (Gourisse, 2012: 119). Cadrelization implementations also intensified during 1970s due to the political turmoil in which the government changed hands several times between the National Front and the left wing.¹⁶

While the cadrelization policies continued in the following decades, the remarkable point is that the political Islamist parties led by Necmettin Erbakan who is the founder of National Vision (*Milli Görüş*) join this battle as well as they increased their political power in the country in 1990s. As an inheritor of National Vision, the coming of the JDP in 2002 into power with majority has been a significant step in cadrelization given that appointing loyalists people to strategic positions has been a crucial policy for the ruling party. It has been increasingly used as the party has consolidated and enlarged its power although it had serious conflicts with the secularist bureaucracy in judiciary. Therefore, “the scope and magnitude of cadrelization, once the AKP controlled all government ministries and agencies, was unprecedented” (Bipartisan Policy Center Report, 2015: 43).

On the other hand, it should be stressed that the JDP has not been alone in its cadrelization policies but it has had a strong partner which is the Gülen Community until recently. Actually, the cadrelization of the community in the state apparatus at

¹⁶ To illustrate, Cumhuriyet daily, apparently supports the left-wing in the opposition, claimed that 149,000 people were appointed as civil servant just in one and half year by the nationalists. See: (Ilıman and Dönmez, 2015).

all level is in no way particular to the era of the JDP but it had started earlier in 1970s (Çakır, 2016; “İrticacı kadrolaşma ve Gülen raporu MGK'da,” 1998; “Orduya sızan dinci grup: Fethullahçılar,” 2016; Bora, 2011). However, it reached the peak in this era due to the fact that the JDP and the Community worked hand in hand in their common goals. Christie-Miller (2014) stated “the Gülenists [are] perhaps the most efficient practitioners of *kadrolaşma* Turkey has ever seen” (Christie-Miller, 2014). While the political Islamists and conservative groups tried to penetrate into state apparatus, the secularists also maintained their existence in the system by appointing new civil servants particularly in judiciary (“Yargıdaki kadrolaşmayı başlatan isim: Mehmet Moğultay,” 2010). It is significant to recognize that cadrelization is not a new phenomenon, or exclusive to the present government or unique to any period (Axiallis, 2014: 247) but it is a fact of this country from its early years realized by different political motivations. As Gourisse rightly pointed out “in this respect, the Turkish state presents itself as an institution whole to be conquered” (Gourisse, 2012: 119).

As to the cadrelization in education sector including universities, it has been always one of the primary fields for the government to reshape and appoint their supporters in order to raise the children and youth in parallel with their ideologies (“Eğitimde siyasi kadrolaşma ve eğitim sorunları,” no date).¹⁷ Cadrelization practices which also include eliminating the opponents or others in higher education have been carried out from the earlier periods of modern Turkey. To illustrate, around 100 academics of 156 lost their positions when Istanbul University replaced the *Darülfünun* in 1934 (Tekeli, 2010: 157, 170). Cadrelization practices continued in the following decades as well (Şenses, 2013: 354, 359 and 360). In late 1970s, the “representatives” of the National Action Party (MHP) allowed young activists to join certain institutions of higher education without having met the necessary conditions for entry. It also guaranteed that they would receive diplomas (Gourisse, 2012: 126).

In early 1980s, Martial Law Act no. 1402 and Security Inspection Directive that had been used for background inspection in hiring bureaucrats to key positions and

¹⁷ “For the JDP era, See: (Gazalcı, 2011). However, he was a deputy of main opposition Republican People’s Party.

keeping records about their political tendencies were put into effect. The National Security Council amended the Martial Law Act no. 1402 a couple of times which would enable permanent firing of civil service employees including teachers, professors and civil servants. The Martial Law also gave authority to commanders to ask the public offices to dismiss their employees. Just followed by military coup of 1980 and legislative overhaul, with the amendments made to Martial Law Act no. 1402, YÖK dismissed 71 academic staff from their posts due to their leftist ideology. Later called 1402s (*1402likler*), 38 professors 25 associate professors and 10 assistant professors from Ankara, Istanbul, Ege, Boğaziçi, Gazi Universities and ODTÜ were suspended.

In line with political context, from 1990s onwards, it is claimed that different religious communities and radical political groups gained seats in the universities due to the fact that no objective mechanism in hiring academics existed (Tekeli, 2003 cited from Şenses, 2013: 261). These practices again were not exclusive to a specific party or group. However, it should be also noted that academicians who are conservative or with religious views or supporting the headscarf in the universities were systematically targeted during the 28 February Process in which the Turkish military gave a series of ultimatums to the government to reverse political moves that were claimed threatening to constitutional secularism of modern Turkey. While the coalition government was forced to resign then, the process resulting in rigorous “secularist” policies such as the headscarf ban in universities (Abbott: 2012). Dozens of academicians were exposed to investigations; and several of them were sacked (Özipek, 2012; “Akademisyenler haklarını istiyor,” 2013; “28 Şubat’ta kovulduğu üniversitede dekanlık yapıyor,” 2016).

As previously shown, the number of public and private foundation universities has boomed during the JDP era. Only in the first decade of the government between 2002 and 2012, 50 public and 42 private universities were launched. This situation enabled the ruling party to hire very significant number of people and 105.000 staff was provided for the public ones in this (“Üniversite sayısını 168’ ulaştırdık,” 2012). The government has been largely criticized by the opposition parties and other several NGOs with the allegation that supporters of the JDP and the Gülen

Community were appointed into these positions. Some of the former partners of this alliance reportedly admitted this cooperation in some cases (Görgüner, 2016; “TBMM Milli Eğitim Komisyonu,” 2006; “İstifa eden AKP’liden kadrolaşma iddiası,” 2014; “AKP ve Cemaat üniversite kadrolarını paylaşamıyor,” 2014).

However, after an intense political conflict emerged in 2012 between the JDP government and the Gülen religious community (Toruk and Olkun, 2014), which had once been strategic alliance in overthrowing the tutelage of the traditional elite, the government released a law draft for higher education in 2014 that provided YÖK with stronger hand in controlling private universities: in the draft, YÖK is entitled with the right to abolish a private university upon which its investigation concludes with “consistent inadequacies” in educational, administrative, and financial matters in a university, and to approve the members of board of trustees by the majority (two-third) of YÖK council (Yağmur, 2014). Meantime, the government increased pressures on the Gülen community by accusing them for engaging in filling the academic positions in public universities with those loyal to the community (“Paralel yapının akademik üssü,” 2014). Recently, in a private university supported by a big business group well-connected with JDP, the newly appointed rector was protested by a pro-Islamic group of students and academicians at the university for his alleged connection with the Gülen community (“Şehir Üniversitesi öğrencileri ‘paralel’ rektöre karşı ayaklandı,” 2015). Upon protests, and a meeting between the president of the Board of Trustees, also the chairman of the board of directors of the sponsoring business group, and the prime minister, who initiated the establishment of that university, the president “heralded” via twitter that the rector protested was replaced by another one, who had of course a pro-JDP political view (“İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi’nde Prof. Dr. Ali Atıf Bir’in yerine Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kallek atandı,” 2015; “Murat Ülker Hocayı kırmadı, rektör değişti,” 2015) (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

In addition, the Gülen Community having around 15 private foundation universities had established its own academic network and cadrelization in higher education. On the basis of its significant investment in higher education and having well-educated academics, the Community has dominated the universities in the last decade. After the failed coup attempt on 15 July 2016, more than 5,000 staff including the

academics from the public universities were fired because of their reportedly connection with the Gülen Community. (“YÖK: 5 bin 342 personel görevden uzaklaştırıldı,” 2016). Very recently with the statutory decree of September 1, 2016, 2346 academics are removed from their associated universities (Toksabay, 2016).

The decoupling strategy has also been employed for the reasons other than cadrelization: namely, for inbreeding and performance concerns. Inbreeding, i.e., recruitment and promotion from within the university, has traditionally been the predominant policy in higher education in Turkey although some universities, particularly private ones, rely on external labor market (Üsdiken, 1996; Önder and Kasapoğlu, 2011). In this policy, departments employ their own graduates as assistants, and they are promoted to higher ranks till full professorship at the end of their academic carrier as long as they succeed to fulfill necessary requirements for each rank. Therefore, it is a norm in such universities to give a priority to their own staff in promotion and recruitment over the outsiders, although it contradicts with the regulations. Hence, the job postings of universities that use inbreeding policy become very specific to their own staff. Universities can also use the decoupling strategy when decision-makers perceive a specific academician as the one they actually need because of his/her academic qualifications, rather than his/her political views. Thus, since they already want to hire him/her for performance concerns, they describe the eligibility requirements specific to him/ her for practical reasons (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

There are also situations in which academic recruitments and selections are implemented in accordance with what the regulation exactly requires, i.e., the case of no decoupling. When decision-makers in a university without any political identity, and therefore, not engaging in any political networks, but only concerning with recruiting academicians best fitted with the institutional logic(s) they are embedded in, they might want to have alternatives as many as possible to choose the best fitted academicians. Or, regardless of the degree of its engagement in any political networks, a department, especially ones in young universities established in remote and underdeveloped regions, may desperately need human resources to fulfill the basic requirements for being an academic institution, i.e., smooth education. Since such departments lack necessary academic personnel, decision-makers may tend to

attract academicians as many as possible through following the regulations (Özen and Öztürk, 2016).

To sum up, political and institutional context of higher education and academic hiring decisions in Turkey have historically been a political arena where different political actors with varying claims and interests have considered intervention very naturally. In spite of the legal regulations guiding the decision-making in the field, the field actors have tended to deviate and hence expand their interests through decoupling in order to achieve their cadreization purposes. Though several other decoupling incidences stem from non-cadreization reasons or the cases of no decoupling; yet however higher education field has been susceptible to the battle of different ideologies from the very beginning.

3.3. The Theoretical Model of the Study¹⁸

Drawing upon the above discussions on the political and institutional environment of higher education in Turkey, in this part of the dissertation the theoretical model is going to be presented. This model is mainly designed for Management Departments in the newly established universities, at least after 2007. The theoretical model in explaining the interplay between the embeddedness in institutional logics and political networks in academic hiring decisions mainly focuses on decision-makers in managerial positions namely founding deans and department heads. These two actors are assumed to be exposed to variety of institutional logics in their routine and non-routine work and need to implement strategies on behalf of their organizations. Besides, they are also informed with, or part of, the political and institutional identities of the university they are working for. Hence, I expect that they would reflect these identities in their hiring decisions.

The theoretical framework of this research encompasses two different levels of analyses. First and foremost, I focus on how field-level institutional logics and societal level political networks are reflected in hiring decisions at the individual level. Individual-level construction and enactment is of critical importance because it

¹⁸ This section is the extended and revised version of Özen and Öztürk (2016) article.

is at this level I can better understand how decision-makers' instantiations of institutional logics and political identities interactively drive their hiring decisions. At the second stage, the model aims to aggregate these individual-level constructions to departmental level by conceptualizing different levels of homogeneity with respect to different logic and network combinations. That is to say, the outcome of these hiring decisions is expected to display different levels of homogeneity of the faculty cadre in terms of three logics. The level of similarity at the individual actor level is expected to have reflection on the homogeneity of the cadre at the faculty level in the same direction. On the one hand the enactment of institutional logic at the decision-maker level may correspond to a continuum from single to multiple instantiations of logics and on the other hand the network structure may also signify the continuum ranging from openness or closeness. Thus, the interaction between these two factors affect both 1) the level of similarity between the logic and political network embeddedness of the hired individual and the decision maker (Figure 1) and 2) the level of homogeneity of the formed faculty cadre yield variations and lead to four hypotheses in this model (Figure 2).

For the initial step in this theoretical framework, my dependent variable is the level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of decision-maker and the hired individual. As an outcome variable, the second dependent variable of this study is the level of homogeneity at the departmental level with regard to different logic and political network combinations. In proposed 2x2 typology of Figure 1, I argue that a hired academician may enact a single or multiple logics similar to that of decision-maker or s/he may invoke combination of logics different from that of decision-maker. In a similar vein, s/he may be embedded in the same political network in which decision-maker is embedded, or s/he may be from different networks. Hence, I argue that two dimensions can explain the level of similarity between the decision-maker and hired individual in terms of both logical and political embeddedness: the decision-maker's embeddedness in institutional logics and in political networks.

The decision-maker's embeddedness in institutional logics at the field level refers to the extent to which they enact single or multiple logics at the Turkish management

education field. Rather than categorical formulation, it represents a continuum starting from being embedded in only one of the logics and ending with being embedded in all of the three logics at the same time. Likewise, the decision-maker's embeddedness in political networks refers to the degree of closeness of political networks in which decision-maker is embedded. This could entail that the decision-maker may be embedded in a relatively closed network with strong and cohesive (pro-Islamic, secular, or leftist) ties or in an open network with weak and indirect ties connecting different political networks. This dimension is also a continuum that represents the degree of embeddedness in closed political networks. However, as different from the logic-based identity that is constructed in process, political identity is acquired at the outset while a university is established. In the Turkish case, which political network establishes a university determines the political identity of that university, although this is not declared to the public. In such cases, individuals who are embedded in the same political network are assigned as the rector and founding deans. Therefore, the compatibility between the political identity of a university and that of decision-makers is more likely. Similarly, when a private university is established by entrepreneurs who are not so much embedded in a single political network, decision-makers' political identities may also become diverse and reflect open political network architecture. As for the public universities, although they are not legally supposed to engage in any political network and to have a political identity, in the Turkish practice, any political party in power attempts frequently to control universities through cadrelization practices. Therefore, newly established public universities may also subtly acquire political identities. This is particularly true for new universities scattered among small Anatolian cities and with low status in the higher education field.

In my proposed model depicted in, I argue that the interaction between these two dimensions yield four combinations of decision-maker's embeddedness in logics and networks: 1) single logic-closed network, 2) single logic-open network, 3) multiple logics-closed network, and 4) multiple logics-open network. These four combinations, in turn, lead to hiring decisions about individuals with different embeddedness in logics and political networks. The main assumption behind this causal relationship is that when a decision-maker is embedded in a single logic

and/or in a closed network, s/he will tend to hire an academician embedded in similar logic and/or network (homophily assumption) whereas when a decision-maker enacts multiple logics and/or has open network, s/he tends to hire an academician embedded in any logic and/or in any network (heterophily assumption). The mechanism of homophily explains group composition in terms of the similarity of member characteristics. In my typology these characteristics may refer to individual affiliation with political networks and their internal states concerning values, beliefs and norms with regard to management education. Thus, the interaction between these two dimensions affects the level of similarity between the decision-maker and the hired individual in terms of the embeddedness in both logic and political network.

		Decision maker's Embeddedness in Political Network	
		Closed	Open
Decision-maker's Embeddedness in Institutional Logics	Multiple	(3) Embedded in any logic but in the same network Similarity: Moderately Low	(4) Embedded in any logic and in any network Similarity: Low
	Single	(1) Embedded in the same single logic and in the same network Similarity: High	(2) Embedded in the same single logic, but in any network Similarity: Moderately High

Figure 1. Embeddedness in Institutional Logics and Political Networks and Hiring Decisions

		Department's Embeddedness in Political Network Structure	
		Closed	Open
Department's Embeddedness in Institutional Logics	Multiple	(3) Homogeneity in: Institutional Logics: Low Political Networks: High	(4) Homogeneity in: Institutional Logics: Low Political Networks: Low
	Single	(1) Homogeneity in: Institutional Logics: High Political Networks: High	(2) Homogeneity in: Institutional Logics: High Political Networks: Low

Figure 2. Embeddedness in Institutional Logics and Political Networks and Staff Homogeneity at the Department Level

The mechanisms of how open or closed network influences the academic staffing decisions are merely based on external pressures and obligations. In closed networks, the network implicitly dictates the importance of solidarity, compliance to norms and favoring the individuals from the same network. Hence, the actor feels the obligation and the responsibility to meet the expectations of the network members. In open network case, the decision makers may enjoy greater agency and lower level of pressure in determining whom to recruit from members of different network encounters.

In Cell 1 of Figure 1, when the decision-maker is embedded in a single institutional logic and a closed political network, s/he is more likely to hire an academician who is embedded in the same single logic and in the same closed political network. First, since decision-maker is strongly and positively identified with a single institutional logic, his/her perceptions and interpretations about the qualities of academicians to be hired would be more strongly filtered and driven by the institutional logic with which s/he is identified (Kraatz and Block, 2008; Greenwood et al. 2011). Therefore,

s/he is more likely to hire an academician embedded in the same institutional logic than those embedded in a different logics or multiple logics. Secondly, s/he is more likely to hire an academician from the same closed political network rather than those belonging to other closed networks or embedded in open networks because s/he feels more strongly obliged, and/or the pressure of his/her closed network, to hire an academician from the same closed network due to the prevailing solidarity, cohesiveness, and reciprocity principles in the closed networks (Burt, 1992; Uzzi, 1997). Homophilic ties hence often exert a highly constraining force upon individuals to refrain from engaging in behavior that contradicts with existing norms. The similarity of individuals is expected to dispose them towards a greater level of interpersonal attraction and understanding and greater levels of social affiliation (Ruef, Aldrich and Carter, 2003). To give an example, a founding dean, who is identified with scientization logic, and employed by a newly established public university which is more likely to be identified with the conservative political network, will tend to recruit those academicians strongly enacting the scientization logic from among the members of the conservative network. As a result, the level of similarity between the decision-maker and the hired individual in terms of both logic and network embeddedness is expected to be highest in the single logic-closed network case. Thus, I propose the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1a: The level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual is expected to be highest when the decision-maker is embedded in a single institutional logic and a closed political network.

In a similar vein, as the decision maker is expected to hire academicians embedded in the same single logic and the same closed network, the composition of the academic staff at the department level is expected to reflect the highest level of homogeneity both in terms of institutional logics and political networks corresponding to Cell 1 in Figure 2. Hence I propose the following:

Hypothesis 1b: The level of homogeneity among the new faculty cadre is expected to be high in both institutional logics and political networks when the decision-maker is embedded in a closed political network and single institutional logic.

In Cell 2 of Figure 1, when the decision-maker is embedded in a single institutional logic and an open political network, s/he is more likely to hire an academician who is embedded in the same single logic but in any political network. As similar to the case in Cell 1, decision-maker who is identified with a single logic will tend to prefer an academician who is also embedded in the same logic because his/her mental map is imbued with that specific logic. However, decision-maker would enjoy greater agency in determining whom to recruit from members of different networks due to lower level network pressure and obligation in open networks. In this scenario, heterophilic ties are expected to exert an enabling force that encourages individuals to mobilize different sources of networks. In addition, since s/he has relatively more ties, although weak and indirect, to different networks, s/he is more likely to have richer information about possible candidates for vacant positions from diverse networks. As an example for this scenario, we can imagine a founding dean with the vocational logic in a public university with open political network structure. S/he will be more likely to prefer academicians identified with the vocational logic to those identified with a single logic other than the vocational one, or with multiple logics. However, these academicians to be hired by him/her would be from different political networks or from those embedded in open networks. Therefore, the level of similarity between the decision-maker and the hired individual is expected to be moderate: similar in terms institutional logic identification but dissimilar in terms of political networks. As a result, I suggest:

Hypothesis 2a: The level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual is expected to be moderate when the decision-maker is embedded in a single institutional logic and an open political network; similar in terms of the institutional logic identification, but dissimilar in terms of political networks.

As the decision-maker is embedded in a single institutional logic and in an open political network, the level of homogeneity among the newly formed academic staff is expected to be high in institutional logics but low in political networks. In this scenario, though the decision-maker's embeddedness in an open network embodies various actors enacting different institutional logics, the single logic embeddedness of the decision-maker implicitly represses the alternative staffing of actors residing

in the open network. Hence, the decision-maker feels free to recruit academics from diverse political networks provided they instantiate the same single logic with the decision-maker. That is to say, the decision-maker is expected to recruit those individuals that fit with his/her embeddedness in a single logic, which would entail high level of homogeneity in institutional logics. However, as his/her embeddedness in an open network comprises various actors embedded in different networks, the level of homogeneity with regard to network embeddedness is expected to be low (Figure 2, Cell 2). Thus I propose the following:

Hypothesis 2b: The level of homogeneity among the new faculty cadre is expected to be high in institutional logics but low in political networks when the decision-maker is embedded in an open political network and single institutional logic.

In Cell 3 of Figure 1, when the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics and in a closed political network, s/he is more likely to hire an academician embedded in any single logic or multiple logics but in the same closed political network. The institutional logic(s) enacted in this scenario may include diverse components from diverse logics such as emphasizing scientific research and carrying out projects for the regional development, yet still decision-maker may insist on incorporating people from a closed political network. The effect of closed network structure on staffing is associated with the impact of external pressure and obligation on the decision-maker's staffing decision. As an example for this case, we can consider the hiring decision of a founding dean who is embedded in all of vocational, scientization, and entrepreneurial logics and employed by a private university established by, for instance, the religious community. S/he will be more likely to recruit those academicians identified with any logic or any combination of multiple logics, but embedded in the community. Thus, the resulting level of similarity between the decision-maker and the hired academician will be again moderate as similar to the case in Cell 2, but different in quality: they would be similar in terms of the network embeddedness but different in terms of logic identification. As a result, I develop the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3a: The level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual is expected to

be moderate when the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics and a closed political network; similar in terms of the political network, but dissimilar in terms of institutional logics.

As displayed in Cell 3 of Figure 2, the resulting level of departmental homogeneity is expected to be low in institutional logics but high in political networks when the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics and in a closed political network. In this scenario, though the decision-maker's embeddedness in multiple logics embodies various actors from different political networks, the closed network embeddedness of the decision-maker impedes the staffing of actors from other networks. In other words, the external pressure on the decision maker is expected to be relatively higher. As the network is closed, those actors within the network may demand to be recruited in the newly formed academic staff; and in such a case the decision maker may also feel responsibility to these actors stemming from the past professional, educational, ideological or religious ties but still embedded in various logics. Hence, the decision-maker is expected to recruit those individuals that fit with his/her embeddedness in a closed political network, which would entail high level of homogeneity in political networks. However, as his/her embeddedness in multiple institutional logics embodies various actors enacting different logics, the level of homogeneity with respect to institutional logic embeddedness is expected to be low. Therefore I formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3b: The level of homogeneity among the new faculty cadre is expected to be low in institutional logics but high in political networks when the decision-maker is embedded in a closed political network and multiple institutional logics.

Finally, in Cell 4 of Figure 1, when the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics and in an open political network, s/he is more likely to recruit academicians embedded in any single logic or multiple logics as well as in any political network. Since his/her network is open, s/he can attract individuals from different political networks. When this is coupled with the multiple logics that include elements from scientization, vocational and entrepreneurial logics, each new member of the academic staff is more welcomed to reflect the premises of different institutional logics that s/he is embedded in to the forefront and results with a more

mixed staff. This scenario is the most appropriate for decision-makers to exercise their agency because they are less constrained by institutional logics and political networks. The hiring decision of a founding dean who is embedded in any combination of vocational, scientization, and entrepreneurial logics, and working for a private university sponsored by an entrepreneur having an open political network can be considered as an example for this case. S/he would be more likely to recruit those academicians who enact either one of three logics or enact a combination of these logics, and embedded in any or a combinations of political networks. Therefore, the level of similarity in terms of logic and network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual is expected to be lowest when the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics and an open political network. As a result, I suggest:

Hypothesis 4a: The level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual is expected to be lowest when the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics and a open political network; similar in terms of the political network, but dissimilar in terms of institutional logics.

In a similar vein, as the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics, s/he is expected to recruit academics enacting any of the institutional logics. Therefore, the resulting level of departmental homogeneity with regard to institutional logics is expected to be low. On the same token, the decision-maker's embeddedness in open political network is expected to result recruiting academics from any political network hence the composition of the academic staff at the departmental level is also expected to reflect low level of homogeneity in political networks (Figure 2, Cell 4). Thus, I suggest the following:

Hypothesis 4b: The level of homogeneity among the new faculty cadre is expected to be lowest both in institutional logics and political networks when the decision-maker is embedded in an open political network and multiple institutional logics.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

I conducted a comparative multiple case study (Yin, 2003) to better explain the influence of individual level instantiations of institutional logics and political networks on the academic hiring decisions of Management Departments in Turkey. The research question guiding my methods and data collection is: How do the individual decision-maker's embeddedness in alternative institutional logics (single vs. multiple) and in different political networks (closed vs. open) influence their decisions on hiring new academicians? For this aim, first I am going to elaborate the results of my preliminary research in order to grasp business education field with regard to actors and contextual dynamics. Then, I will explain the research design of the qualitative case study followed by detailed information about my data sources and how I coded and analyzed the data.

4.1. Findings of the Preliminary Research

Preliminary research is carried out for several purposes; first and foremost it bears the exploratory intention of understanding the business education field with regard to its actors, dynamics and contingencies. This is deemed very crucial for achieving the second purpose of this preliminary research which is to improve the semi-structured interview protocol by incorporating the basic dimensions of prevalent logics and networks. The interview protocol at the very beginning was less structured and more geared towards capturing themes. I started with questions about the founding stage with regard to priorities, resource constraints and location-based dynamics. At the expense of individual level, at this stage questions were more about departmental missions, target graduate student profile and curriculum formation. Departmental level questions were then followed by questions revealing the embeddedness of the decision-makers in prevailing logics in terms of their research and teaching and to

what extent they prioritized this pattern at their hiring decisions. Conversation on hiring decisions hinted the separation between the formal rules and actual practices which led me to direct the interviewees towards explaining the influence of other influential actors in this process (i.e. Board of Trustees, Rectors, religious/political communities and hometown loyalties). This smoothly led to understanding the role of political networks. At this stage of research, I also intended to gather information about contextual contingencies that would lead to necessary revisions in the theoretical model.

Furthermore, I aimed to arrive at the selection of representative cases that would enable me in pursuing comparative case study research design and hence deeply analyze each case corresponding to each quadrant in my proposed typology. In order to do this, I mainly searched for the characteristics of founding stage at these universities and the point of similarities and/or divergences in their founding process. Besides, I tried to get out hints about the informality of the academic hiring procedures and the role of networks in arriving those decisions. I strongly believed that these issues would enable me in fine-tuning the scope of the study.

For the preliminary research, I visited twenty-five universities from September 2014 to June 2015 in sixteen cities of the country. These universities are: Abdullah Gül, Adana BTU, Bayburt, Erzincan, Erzurum Teknik, Hacı Bektaş Veli, Gümüşhane, İstanbul Medeniyet, Katip Çelebi, Kastamonu, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Türk-Alman, Avrasya, Bursa Orhangazi, İpek, İstanbul Kemerburgaz, İstanbul Şehir, KTO Karatay, Melikşah, Nuh Naci Yazgan, Selahaddin Eyyubi, Süleyman Şah, Toros, Turgut Özal and Uluslararası Antalya.¹⁹ Semi-structured interviews ranging from 30 minutes to an hour were conducted with the founding deans and the department heads of management departments of these universities.²⁰ If the founding dean or department head had already left the university at the time of interviews, they had been contacted at their current posts and were visited there to conduct interviews. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed.

¹⁹ The visited cities for the research are as follows: Adana, Kayseri, Bayburt, Erzincan, Erzurum, Nevşehir, Gümüşhane, İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Kastamonu, Rize, Trabzon, Bursa, Konya, Diyarbakır, Antalya and Mersin.

²⁰ At Uluslararası Antalya University, the Rector also holding the Dean's post was interviewed.

At this stage, I used semi-structured protocol covering founding stage of the respective departments followed by questions that aim to reveal their embeddedness in prevailing logics in business education field, their networks and hiring procedures. These questions were organized under three main sections; (i) general questions, (ii) questions to reveal institutional logic embeddedness and (iii) questions to reveal the role of networks. For general questions which also had ice-breaking nature, sample questions were about asking their priorities in academic hiring and undergraduate education at the very founding stage followed by the purpose of the department. Second part of questions were more geared towards understanding their perspectives of scientific endeavor, ideal typical undergraduate education and academician which are followed by the asking their tendencies on teaching, research and views on university-industry collaborations. In the final interview protocol, this part of questions is further divided into teaching, research and publications. Final part of questions was about their own hiring procedures, influential actors in hiring and the level of acquaintanceship in the department.

At the very outset, interviews revealed information about the difficulties of the founding stage. The empirical themes that have emerged were mostly related to infrastructural and location-based constraints, human resources (i.e. lack of academic staff), divergent views on research and teaching and patchiness in the curriculum. These were further framed by center versus periphery and public versus private dichotomy. Furthermore these dichotomies have also influenced the way different logics are invoked by decision-makers and the extent to which they can benefit from their political networks.

4.1.1. Center versus Periphery

Center versus periphery distinction had influenced the material instantiations of different logics with regard to both research and teaching. The center represents big and developed cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, or relatively developed ones in vicinity to the three big cities, such as Bursa, Adana, Kayseri, Kocaeli, Eskişehir,

Manisa etc. The periphery, on the other hand, represent the relatively less developed cities in Turkey, such as Erzincan, Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Bayburt, Kastamonu etc.

Firstly, in line with liability of newness argument that failure rates are higher in the first years of the organizations' life cycle due to lack of experience (Stinchcombe, 1965); these faculties mimicked the current practices of relatively more established faculties with regard to their curriculums. This also stemmed from the urgent need of having the department ready for starting up the undergraduate education, as a dean from a public university at the periphery told:

Our aim was to save the first year, all the things we made was a direct copy and paste from other faculties. We all looked similar, we could not be able to discuss our educational outputs with our stakeholders, and we did not have any clear goal.

Although this stage was more characterized with higher levels of isomorphism, the faculty that the newly founded one takes as exemplar has shown differences with regard to the decision-makers' prior encounters (i.e. professional experience and academic background).

Secondly, infrastructural deficiency was a common theme in most of the peripheral universities. These in turn led to the prioritization of different issues rather than academic qualifications and publication records of the newly hired academics. It was harder for the decision-makers at these universities to convince higher qualified people to work there. Interviews revealed that in the universities at the periphery, the limited supply of qualified staff hindered departments from building academic cadre in line with the logics and political identities they are embedded in. Thus, actual identities can be constructed by whoever academicians can be found throughout the recruitment and hiring processes. Regardless of intended identities, this might push departments to have an academic cadre from any logic and any network.

Thirdly, this limited supply further fed the patchiness in the curriculum so that decision-makers had to adapt the provided courses in line with the academic staff at hand. In this regard, several modifications were usually made such as postponing

courses to subsequent semesters or prioritizing specific sub-streams of which the current academic staff is working on. For instance, former founding dean of a public university at the periphery mentioned this as follows;

At the very beginning there were people who could only teach specific courses. So we had to move Strategic Management course to the last year. It had to remain as an elective course until we could find an instructor to lecture it.

Another decision-maker from a public university at the periphery told the following; “At the beginning, we had to feed the curriculum from Economics Department, that is why we had many Economics related courses at the first two years. It could be better if those courses were provided as electives.”

Fourthly, center-periphery distinction had indirectly impacted the actual initiation of logics with regard to teaching. This had mediated through the city’s developmental level; periphery lagging behind in terms of industrialization and business potential had compelled academics to deviate from the way they once intended to teach. Though decision-makers may prioritize developing links with industry and adopting more practice-oriented education, due to these constraints they failed to realize the logic they are embedded in. For example, the founding dean of a public university at the periphery told, “Since the industrial potential is so weak, we do not have any opportunity to have our students to go to a firm and get to know the production process.” Another in the same token satirically mentioned, “We have a course titled ‘Field studies’ but there is no field around, there is no chance for students to apply the things they learn from courses.”

These location-based constraints while affecting the extent of logics that decision-makers can instantiate, also inevitably imposed one logic at the expense of the others. Hence, scientization logic was put into relative inferiority at the periphery due to the founding conditions as referred by a dean as follows;

Scientization was not the thing of that time (founding period), we only needed those people whom are in fit with us. That was why we started interviewing those people whom could not able get assistant professorship in

their universities, mainly from peripheral ones. Academic qualification was at a way behind.

The interviews with decision-makers at the periphery generated insights that the vocational logic tends to be more prevailing because of three different reasons; first the lack of industrial opportunities retreat the staff from entrepreneurial logic, second difficulty in attracting academics embedded in scientization logic to the peripheral universities and finally the low quality student profile of these universities which compel the decision-makers in adapting relatively more applied specialized education.

Fifthly, center-periphery nexus generated differentiation with respect to the research tendencies of the academics. Interviews showed that, those at the periphery are more tended to engage in localized research. Although this could be justified with argument of vocational logic that rules for contextualization, still academics at the periphery undertake research on locally relevant issues with the purpose of regional and local development.²¹ What is more, at the periphery research both as a discourse and practice tends fall behind teaching. This is mostly legitimized with the repetitive address on the limited number of staff that leads to higher course loads and subsequently results with relatively less time for research activities. In a way, academics at the periphery tend to position themselves as instructors responding to educational needs of their region. One dean from the periphery mentioned this as follows;

Since the universities that we compete with are B class ones, what can we do to respond the regional needs? Maybe we should focus on specialized areas such as accounting and finance. I believe that vocational education is going to be our advantage.

Another rationale for the excessive course load on the part of academics was related to the location-based constraints. Universities at the periphery constrained with limited job opportunities design their curriculum so that they provide more courses

²¹ For instance tea in Rize, Tulum cheese in Erzincan, animal husbandry in Bayburt.

to students in order to equip them with more knowledge. This knowledge mostly encompasses job specific skills and preparation for civil service entrance exams. Another dean told the following, “We wanted our students to be well-equipped, that is why they nearly take all courses related to management... If they know all of these they can easily find jobs at private sector.”

4.1.2. Public versus Private Ownership

To continue with the public versus private dichotomy, private foundation universities in Turkey have more autonomy than public ones regarding their financial, administrative and academic affairs although they are also under the tutelage of YÖK, and this tutelage has become strengthened currently. Firstly, this relative autonomy may provide management departments in private universities with more room for establishing academic cadres according to intended logic and network-based identities. This supports decision-maker’s emphasis on achieving the ‘appropriate setup’ at the very beginning. That is to say, with a certain department image in mind, decision makers approached to credible persons whom they have known before instead of prioritizing high-level academic qualifications of previously not known people. So, trustworthiness of the individual, similarity of mindsets and his/her proper fit into the formation are evolved to be main criteria. At that stage, the networks that decision-makers are embedded in provided the main source of hired staff whereby similarity of institutional logics that both decision makers and hired individuals are embedded in usually remained secondary. On the other hand, public universities, more dependent on the government through the appointment of rectors, and deans, are more constrained by the government policies and interventions. The governmental interventions may frequently be political in nature, and therefore, enforcing management departments to have academic cadres homogenous in terms of political network but heterogeneous in logic identification, i.e., Cell 3.

Secondly, one of differences between public versus private foundation universities is that management departments of the latter group, particularly those what Mızıkacı (2010) called “dubious demand absorbers”, are also constrained by the efficiency concerns, resulting in a rather *incremental* recruitment policy. Although private universities are not allowed to make profit due to their legal status as foundation

(*vakıf*), those defined as dubious demand absorbers are geared towards making more money in a short time. Therefore, as soon as the university is founded, undergraduate education in management is started by recruiting full-time and/or part-time lecturers to give the courses in the first year of the curriculum, which is determined largely by imitating the mainstream business curriculum in Turkey. In this vein, one of the deans highlighted the follows; “The primary goal of private foundation universities is making money; that is why we did not look for neither international publications nor completion of PhDs abroad.” Since it is not always possible to find lecturers for all courses, the curriculum is subject to change in line with academic staff at hand. This process is then repeated for the courses in the second and subsequent years of the curriculum. When the networks fail to provide required staff, they also apply to distant networks. As a result, since these departments avoid recruiting all academic staff needed for a four-year program at the outset with the aim of minimizing initial investment costs, they reflect patchiness with regard to curriculum and academic staff, resembling the case in Cell 3.

Thirdly, public-private distinction had impacted instantiation of logics with regard to both research and teaching. Having responsiveness to the market demands as a primary goal, private foundation universities tend to prioritize knowledge generation and transfer for its practical benefit. That is why there is more emphasis on project development with industry, income-generation and student employability. More specifically, in private-foundation universities teaching comes over research due to responding student demands.

4.1.3. Other Issues

4.1.3.1. Hub and spoke

Apart from center-periphery and public-private ownership dichotomies, preliminary research has also showed other contingent factors that should be considered (or controlled for) in verifying the proposed typology. First, interviews revealed that there is a connection between universities in newly founded peripheral cities and the ones located at regional hubs. In other words, structural networks between these two are important source of newly hired staff. Relatively older and more institutionalized

universities in several regions (i.e. Karadeniz Technical University in the Black Sea region (KTU), Atatürk University in the Eastern Anatolian region, Çukurova University in the Mediterranean region) served as a staff pool for other small and newly founded universities at their hinterland. It can be vividly observed that, KTU is connected with Gümüşhane University; Erzincan, Erzurum Teknik, Bayburt are connected with Ataturk University; Osmaniye Korkut Ata, Adana Bilim ve Teknoloji are connected with Çukurova University. More often, two groups of people; firstly those PhD graduates from these regional universities and whom are less likely to get assistant professorship cadre from those universities, secondly those instructors working at the vocational schools of the regional universities are being directed and granted with assistant professorship cadres in these newly founded universities. From the perspective of the decision-makers at these regional hub universities, these newly founded ones located within their hinterland was of an exile, whereas for the newly recruited academics, these universities were indeed opportunity spaces in which they are being awarded with assistant professorship cadres.

Furthermore, the structural networks between these regional hubs and newly founded ones enabled the continuity and reproduction of the institutional logics. Both decision-makers and staff who have spent time at the universities of regional hubs (i.e. having PhD degrees or having been employed there) have begun to sustain the material practices, beliefs and values of the institutional logics that they had mostly encountered. For instance, interviews revealed that their embeddedness in those logics leads to the reproduction of those logics in new curriculum formation. The decision-makers' decisions in the distribution and content of courses and relative weight of electives signal hints from their educational backgrounds. Those who had brought European continental imprints through holding PhD degrees from these universities in Turkey (i.e. İstanbul University) or Europe have tended to align the program with vocational logic by primarily emphasizing university education as of skill gaining.

4.1.3.2. Local Influence

Interviews also revealed the role of societal dynamics in the initiation of different logics by individuals. First, for those decision-makers at small peripheral cities where the society is parochial, it is relatively difficult to materialize the premises of logics they are embedded in. Most of the participants referred to this as “closeness” of the local community. For instance, founding dean of a public university at Eastern Anatolia explained how he failed to break down the strong influence of regional hub that the university was implicitly connected to. “I wanted a novel perspective to be placed here, but I could not be able to eradicate the local conservative structure, people here did not want anybody from any other locality, they only wanted to employ people of Erzurum origin or having PhD degrees from Atatürk University.” As previously shown by Üsdiken’s (2004) study that Atatürk University’s Business School had a program very similar to the at İstanbul University; the undergraduate education had to follow the traces of Atatürk University in this newly peripheral university as opposed to the decision-maker’s different orientation. Second, societal dynamics in that locality may rule for prioritizing networks over logics in the hiring stage. For instance, the department head from a peripheral university told,

I did not know X before. Some people referenced him; he was the *hemşehri* of our Vice Dean. If you ever visit our city, you will see that social opportunities are non-existent, it is very hard to attract academic staff here, and that is why we cannot be picky.

4.1.3.3. Decoupling

Answers to the interview questions regarding the hiring procedures have signaled the variation between formal rules and actual practices. My argument that though the Law regulates academic hiring procedures, decoupling has been widespread in reality had found initial support. The decoupling was too obvious in some cases where department head and the dean have given contradictory explanations regarding the hiring procedures. For instance, whereas the dean in a public university explained the formal procedure as of the applied one, the department head told “Selection process was not at my disposal, it was determined at the higher level, I

did not have any role in it.” Similarly, a department head from a private foundation university at the periphery has underlined the ideal versus real picture by saying;

Normally we need to create pool of academic CVs, make a shortlist, invite applicants to a seminar and then make the ultimate decision with regard to their seminar performance. But in real practice, if someone applies, s/he first interviews with the dean and then with rector. Lastly, if the Board of Trustees says OK, then s/he can start.

In order not to look too homogenous in political sense, even if they actually want to be so, some departments opted for recruiting few academicians, who have political views different from, but not radically opposing to, the political identity of the university. The common decoupling strategy in this case is not to assign such academicians to administrative positions, and/or not to allow them to involve in strategic decisions. Thus, they prefer to use them as “window dressing” to give a signal to audiences that they are open to all political views. This decoupling strategy can also be used when a university with a certain political identity has difficulties to find academicians necessary to fulfill the basic requirements of being an academic institution and/ or to realize the requirements of institutional logic(s) it adopts in management department, for instance, lecturing, publishing in internationally indexed journals, or conducting industry-oriented projects. Particularly public or private universities located in remote and less developed cities in Turkey have this problem. Then, what they do in this case is to follow exactly what the regulations requires in recruiting academicians without any decoupling, but, after hiring academicians, decouple those incompatible with the political identity of the university from managerial decisions (Özen and Öztürk, 2016: 37).

For private foundation universities, Board of Trustees emerged as an important field-level actor influencing whom to be or not to be hired. The trustworthiness of the individual was judged with the nature of connection with Board of Trustee members in most cases. Regardless of being located at the center or periphery, this connection often was in the form of ideology, political identities or being a member of a specific community. One decision-maker in a peripheral university mentioned as follows, “Due to the ideological structure of our university, the Board of Trustees had several

constraints. There were several applicants whom we had to refuse in line with their priorities.” Similarly, this was also apparent in a private foundation university at the center, one of deans told, “The most important criterion of both Rector and Board of Trustees is ideology. For instance Rector looks for ideological fit. Hence our criteria are different, professional ones are at the very end of the list.” Similarly, another private university affiliated with Gülen community at the center referred to this situation as of internal conflict,

There were people that I really wanted but since *they* (referring to Board of Trustees) did not want, we could not be able to hire those applicants. We do not share the same criteria, that is why we can not come up with a joint hiring policy.

Apart from Board of Trustees, interviews divulged that in some cases “influential others” or other power centers emerged as decisive actors. Although we assume that rectors, deans, department heads are decision-makers, in a peripheral university affiliated with religious community the situation was different. The founding dean mentioned it as follows,

Although I was the founding dean, I did not know the people who are recruited. How we are getting new academics is really unknown to me. Sometimes X (influential department member) comes to me and tells ‘Hocam (Professor), we are going to recruit this person, we need your report.’

To sum up, the interviews conducted at the initial stage of the research have generated insights about significant issues that needs to be further examined; namely center versus periphery and public versus private dichotomy. These two group of differentiations resulted with variations in the way that decision-makers invoke different logics and networks that influence in their academic hiring decisions. Apart from these; structural networks between regional hubs and peripheral universities, issue of decoupling and importance of both field-level (i.e. Board of Trustees) and influential other actors in decision-making appeared very noteworthy. Preliminary research findings made us to re-think about the extent to which these contingent factors may inevitably lead to results deviating from our proposed typology.

4.2. Research Design

This dissertation relies on the comparison of five case studies in the field of business education. The cases were chosen using theoretical sampling that refers to a technique identifying unusually revelatory cases that are likely to offer theoretical insight (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). Yin (2004) argued that case study methodology is distinctive for exploring how and why of phenomena within a real life context. Moreover he mentioned that, this methodology is particularly suitable when the researcher believes the context to be highly pertinent to the subject under the study. This research methodology therefore allowed me to better understand the multiple levels: individual level institutional logic instantiations, organizational level decision-making and societal level influences through political networks. I tried to closely examine the relationship between the context, cases and individuals (Yin, 2003). Moreover, using qualitative case study allowed me to conduct an in-depth thick description (Geertz, 1975) about manifestations of field-level institutional logics at individual actor level and networks.

Yin (2004) cited case study techniques as the use of multiple sources of information, forming a chain of evidence, pattern matching, and explanation building, addressing variations and applying replication logic. In terms of case selection, Kaarbo and Beasley (1999: 380) referred to three important steps; selecting comparable cases, selecting cases that vary on the independent variable and selecting cases across subgroups of population to address alternative explanations. In order to understand if the variation seen in cases is due to explanatory variables, five cases are selected from similar time periods (i.e. those universities founded after 2007) vary on their public versus private ownership structures and their locations (center versus periphery).

4.2.1. Sample

In the light of the preliminary research that I have conducted and explained, I first explored the societal-level political identities and predispositions towards prevailing field-level institutional logics at university and departmental levels and then decided

for the selection of the five representative cases in different cities. Before delving into the manifestations of institutional logics and political networks, it is significant to provide demographic data about these cities mainly including their population, ranking at well-being index²², general election results and number of higher education institutions. Three of these universities (A, B and E) are located in the same city at center. As of 2015 official data, this city has 14.37 million population and score at 5th place in national well-being index. There are thirteen public and forty private-foundation universities in this city.²³ The general election results signify the JDP's majority vote, according to 2011 parliamentary elections the JDP got 43.8% of the votes followed by 36.8% of the votes by the major opposition party Republican People's Party (RPP). Another city from the center where University C is located has 4.11 million population and score at 21st place in national well-being index. The city has six public and two private-foundation universities. Since the JDP coming to power in 2002, both in national and local elections the RPP got the majority vote. As a result of 2011 elections, the RPP got 43.8% of the votes whereas the JDP had only 36.8% of it. Finally the population of a peripheral city where University D is located is 1.32 million and scores at 42nd place in national well-being index. The city has two public and one private-foundation university. Since 2002 elections, the JDP had got the majority vote from all local and national elections. According to 2011 parliamentary elections the JDP got 64.9% of the votes followed by 12.1% by the RPP.

In deciding for cases having varying embeddedness in different logics and networks, I considered the differing logic manifestations associated with public versus private ownerships and center versus periphery dichotomies revealed during the preliminary research. The rationale for case selection especially with regard to different identities is further supported with the qualitative content analyses of tweets of the official accounts of sample universities (See Section 4.4.2.2.1.). Therefore, political

²² As first introduced in 2015 by Turkish Statistical Institute, well-being index for provinces covers 11 dimensions of life; housing, work life, income and wealth, health, education, environment, safety, civic engagement, access to infrastructure services, life satisfaction and presents these dimensions which are represented with 41 indicators, in a single composite index.

²³ The data on the total number of public and private foundation universities are taken after the Statutory Decree numbered 667.

identities of conservative, religious community and secularist have ensured to be represented by at least one of the cases.

		Decision maker's Embeddedness in Political Network Structure	
		Closed	Open
Decision maker's Embeddedness in Institutional Logics	Multiple	(3) University D	(4) University E
	Single	(1) University A and B	(2) University C

Figure 3. Representative Cases in terms of Embeddedness in Institutional Logics and Political Networks

In line with the typology presented in Figure 3, Universities A and B correspond to Cell 1 having decision-makers embedded in a single logic and closed network. University C corresponds to Cell 2 embodying decision-maker(s) embedded in a single logic and open network. University D on the other hand represents Cell 3 having decision-maker(s) embedded in multiple logics and closed network. Finally, Cell 4 typifies the decision-maker(s) embedded in multiple logics and open network. In terms of political networks, University A and B are embedded in conservative political identity. University C and E are associated with secularist political identity. Lastly University D is affiliated with religious community identity.

Table 2. Distribution of Representative Cases in terms of Embeddedness in Institutional Logics, Political Networks, Ownership and Location

University	Institutional Logics	Political Identity	Public vs. Private Foundation	Center vs. Periphery
A	Single (Vocational)	Conservative	Public	Center
B	Single (Scientization)	Conservative	Private	Center
C	Single (Vocational)	Secularist	Public	Center
D	Multiple (Vocational and Entrepreneurial)	Religious Community	Private	Periphery
E	Multiple (Scientization and Vocational)	Secularist	Private	Center

The preliminary research has also enabled me to come up with contextual factors that influenced manifestation of various institutional logics and political networks such as center-periphery and public-private ownership dichotomies. As shown in Table 2, Universities A and B are located at the center but they differentiate with respect to their ownership, whereas the former is public and the latter is private foundation. University C is another public university in the center. Lastly, D and E are private-foundation universities but they vary in terms of their locations, the former at the periphery and the latter at the center. Overall, these five representative cases are purposively selected to make sense of these influences and control for their effects in the proposed typology.

4.3. Variables and Measurement

4.3.1. Dependent Variables

There are two dependent variables in this dissertation. The first dependent variable is

the level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of decision-maker and the hired individual. A hired academician may enact a single or multiple logics similar to that of decision-maker, or s/he may reflect the enactment of single or multiple logics different from that of decision-maker. In a similar way, s/he may be embedded in the same political network in which decision-maker is embedded in, or s/he may be from different networks. I argue that the variance between two dimensions can denote the level of similarity between decision-maker and hired individual in terms of logical and political embeddedness. I take the 'level of similarity' as a measure for homophily concept that I have already referred in the explanation of my theoretical model. There, I argued that in accordance with homophily assumption, a decision-maker embedded in a single logic and/or in a closed network would tend to hire an academician invoking similar logic and/or network. On the contrary, heterophily assumption foresees that when a decision-maker enacts multiple logics and/or embedded in open network, s/he tends to hire an academician embedded in any logic and/or in any network.

In order to measure the level of similarity, I referred to diversity literature (Harrison and Klein, 2007; Biemann and Kearney, 2010) which looks at the distribution of differences among the members of a unit with respect to a common attribute. They categorized diversity in three different terms namely diversity as separation, variety or disparity. Differences in position, opinion or attitude among unit members which are to be represented along a single continuum refers to separation. Differences in kind or category primarily of information, knowledge or experience among unit members represents variety. Lastly, differences in concentration of valued social assets or resources such as pay and status among unit members refer to diversity as disparity. Among these three, I took diversity as 'separation' that also entails several underlying assumptions that I find compatible with this research. Their assumptions are; within units members differ from one another in their position along a single continuous attribute- a lateral continuum S; units differ in the extent to which their individual members are collocated along S, in some units members are close one another but in other units members are more widely spread; and differences among units in the extent to which their members are dispersed along S lead to a set of systematic consequences (Harrison and Klein, 2007: 1203-1204).

I used Mean Euclidean Distance (MED) to measure the level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of each decision-maker and the hired individual. Mean Euclidean Distance is a common diversity index within a group when the differences among group members in terms of opinions; beliefs, attitudes or values are of interest (Harrison and Klein, 2007; Biemann and Kearney, 2010). Euclidean distance is defined as the shortest distance between two points. Within a unit, the Euclidean distance of one member, i , from the decision-maker, j , is the root mean squared distance between each of those i,j pairs on attribute S . As institutional logic embeddedness in this research entails being embedded in scientization, vocational and entrepreneurial logics at varying degrees, I calculated the distance in three-dimensional Euclidean space as follows:

$$d(p,q)=\sqrt{(p_1-q_1)^2+(p_2-q_2)^2+(p_3-q_3)^2}.$$

Then, MED is calculated by the following formula:

$$\sqrt{[\sum (S_i-S_j)^2/(n)]}$$

For each participant, Euclidean distance is measured with regard to their embeddedness in (a) three different institutional logics and (b) political networks. Total Euclidean distance is the sum of Euclidean distances for all n unit members (i.e. number of participants excluding the decision-maker). Finally, this distance is divided by n to get the MED.

Secondly, as an outcome variable, I measured the level of homogeneity at the departmental level with respect to different logic and network combinations. Very similar to the above-mentioned procedure, I calculated the Mean Euclidean Distance of each member, i , from the mean departmental value at the each dimension of the institutional logic and network. I took the mean Euclidean distance values for each participant (including the decision-maker(s)) for both institutional logics and networks. I then calculated the departmental MED by the following formula:

$$S: \sqrt{[\sum (S_i - S_{\bar{x}})^2/(n)]}$$

In order to obtain departmental homogeneity score (abbreviated as HMG), I subtracted MED from 1. Hence higher scores would reflect higher levels of homogeneity.

4.3.2. Independent Variables

The independent variables of this research are two-fold: (i) the decision-maker's embeddedness in institutional logics prevalent in business education field and (ii) the decision-maker's embeddedness in political networks. The decision-maker's embeddedness in field-level institutional logics refers to the extent to which s/he enacts single or multiple logics at the Turkish business education field, i.e., vocational, scientization and entrepreneurial logics. The decision-maker's embeddedness in single or multiple institutional logics is represented at a continuum in which at the one extreme they can be embedded in one of the logics whereas at the other extreme in all of the three logics at the same time. The decision-maker's embeddedness in single or multiple logics may highlight his/her individual identification both with field-level logics and departmental identity based on the field-level logics. Yet, as I focus only on 'newly' established universities, I argue that these departments are less likely to have established identities. This is because, especially in Turkish case, it is uncommon for actors to plan and design the identities of universities and departments to be established and build an academic staff long before the student admission²⁴. Therefore I argue that logic-based identity of these departments is formed as new academics are being recruited. The founding dean hence is a very significant figure in the construction of departmental identity because his/her identification with the institutional logics, if any, would be more likely to influence which logic-based identifications academicians to be recruited would have (Özen and Öztürk, 2016: 30-31).

The decision-maker's embeddedness in political networks refers to the degree of closeness (or openness) of political networks in which decision-maker is embedded. Decision-makers may be embedded in a relatively closed network with strong and cohesive political (pro-Islamic, secular, leftist, etc.) ties, or in an open network with

²⁴ For an exception see Sabancı University, <https://www.sabanciuniv.edu/en/about>, retrieved in December 17, 2015.

weak and indirect ties connecting different political networks. This dimension is also a continuum that represents the degree of embeddedness in closed political networks.

Two approaches have been adopted in order to reveal decision-maker's embeddedness in prevailing logics of the business education field and political networks. For the former, semi-structured interviews with the decision-makers and academic CVs are coded and analyzed. From these two sources, an index score of logic embeddedness at the individual level is obtained by taking the mean of embeddedness percentages in each of the logics from the interviews and academic CVs. For the latter, semi-structured interviews are coded and analyzed for depicting network closure and their Twitter shares are analyzed for political identity affiliation. Founding deans except for one in a private-foundation university in the center have both publicly shared Twitter accounts and are active in terms of posting shares about both their academic and non-academic (i.e. political) agenda. Still however, from their Twitter data it is not possible to reveal the network closure at the individual level rather their shares mostly reflected the political identities that they represented and/or constructed in social media. Thereby, through content analysis, decision-makers' Twitter shares were analyzed with respect to their affiliated political identities. Then onwards, these identities were juxtaposed with network closure data revealed from their interviews to see if there is any overlap between their constructed political identities and its influence (if any) on associated hiring decisions. As subsequently explained in Findings Section of this dissertation, this has revealed interesting results such that being strongly associated with any of the prevalent political identities in several sample cases did not dictate very high degree of network closure in hiring practices due to the impact of other contingencies.

4.4. Data Sources

This dissertation uses a mixed methods research approach to triangulate the different data sources and methodologies (Denzin, 1978). The data for this dissertation is gathered through multiple methods and independent sources. In order to reveal (a) individual-level and (b) departmental level embeddedness in institutional logics and political networks; different data sources are utilized. For individual level, I (i) conducted semi-structured interviews with both decision-makers and academic staff

of management departments (ii) analyzed their academic CVs and (iii) Twitter shares of decision-makers. For departmental level I (iv) analyzed both tweets from official university accounts, and (v) messages from department heads, department mission statements.

This triangulation strategy alleviates the potential biases that might be related with the exclusive use of a single method. I relied on interviews as the main source of data with the other sources serving as important triangulation and supplementary material for grasping different mindsets of individuals and as means of gaining extra perspectives on key issues (Corley and Gioia, 2004).

4.4.1. Institutional Logics

4.4.1.1. Individual Level Manifestations

In order to delineate individual level embeddedness in the prevailing institutional logics; (i) semi-structured interviews were conducted with the decision-makers and academic staff and (ii) academic CVs were content analyzed.

4.4.1.1.1. Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with decision-makers (i.e. deans and department heads) and each individual from the management departments. Interview participants from the sample universities were contacted by email to participate in an interview and were provided with information about the research content. Among 35 participants contacted, several of them did not reply at the first round. Follow-up mails were sent and some participants were connected via researchers' PhD advisor. In total, I conducted 27 interviews with the academic staff of the management departments from the sample universities of the study. Respondents who agreed to interview were interviewed face-to-face, only one participant was interviewed by Internet video-conferencing (i.e. Skype). Most of the face-to-face interviews were conducted at academic's office during office hours where in few cases participants opted for meeting out of the university campus. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes to 75 minutes and were conducted between September 2014 and May 2016.

All of them were recorded and transcribed. Preparation for each interview also included a review of participants' academic CVs to gauge their research activities, prior workplaces and overview of their recent publications to examine their types of scientific activities as they appear at the department websites. At the end of each interview, participants were given opportunity to reflect further about the topic and that they thought was significant to their experiences. They were also given the opportunity to share any information off the record. Following each interview, short memos were written to describe interview setting, interactions with interview participants and any other occurred events that might relate to the research context.

I used open-ended questions in the interviews that would allow the participants to tell me about their experiences in their own words and for them to be able to elaborate the question from their point of view. The interview questions that are directed to each participant are same in order to enhance the comparability across cases. The interview protocol had 27 open-ended questions consisting of two groups (See Appendices); one related to institutional logics and the other associated with networks that the participants are embedded in. For the former group, two more categories are established. First group of questions grasp teaching/educational prospect of the individual through asking questions such as "How should the ideal management education be organized?" "What are your priorities in undergraduate education?" "What kind of graduate student type do you intend to raise?" "Do you differ from your colleagues with regard to your perspective on teaching, research and publication?" Second group is more related with research and publications of the participant. Here, I tried to figure out both their views on research and their real research activities. I asked their opinions on the importance of research in business field together with their embraced approach in developing their research programs, the content of their research program, the connection of their research with practical world, their participation in research and industry projects and their opinion on university-industry partnerships. In this part, I asked them questions such as; "What are your priorities in forming your research program?", "Could you tell me how you start doing research?", "What inspires you in coming up with your research topics?", "How do you deem the link between research and/or education and practical world?", "Do you attend in projects (if yes, what sort)?", "What do you think about

university-industry collaboration?” The interview data gathered from these questions are considered together with their academic CVs. This triangulation is significant for getting valid information because a participant may amplify his/her position with regard to research during the interview but may have very few or maybe no research project carrying on.

In accordance with the typology of Reay and Jones (2016) on how to capture institutional logics, I utilized two of the techniques that they referred to. First, pattern deducing is used in analyzing interview data. Patterns refer to set of symbols and beliefs expressed in discourse and material practices are related with institutional logics. This technique counts occurrences to reveal patterns, by counting and comparing it discerns occurrences or non-occurrences that reflect the codes that generate structure. The research first develops a coding scheme most often deductively from theory and then measures the number of units. This technique is useful as it counts cultural symbols (i.e. words) and distinguishes whether a set of words cohere into a pattern that specifies a logic and sets apart among other logics.

Second, apart from keyword counting, I began the analysis by identifying initial concepts and grouping them into categories. In line with relevant literature (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Corley and Gioia, 2004: 183), conceptual coding used in-vivo or first order codes whenever possible. Then, I did axial coding, wherein I searched for relationships between and among these categories which triggered assembling them into higher-order themes. Lastly, I gathered similar themes into several overarching dimensions to obtain emergent framework

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and read by the researcher in total twice. Keywords are determined and then grouped according to three institutional logics. The sub-dimensions of research-publication and teaching were considered separately. Table 3 includes sample codes for each institutional logic together with its sub-dimensions (i.e. research and publication and teaching) at each department. Several keywords appear in majority of the departments. For instance, for scientization logic, common codes are theory and/or theoretical research and indexed publications. For vocational logic, relatively higher number of similar codes is

manifested such as practice, job skills, applied orientation, student-centered and/or raising students and context-specific knowledge. Finally for entrepreneurial logic, common codes are industry projects, non-academic work experience of staff, customer orientation and being market driven.

Several phrases that consist of keywords associated with various institutional logics are coded under each of the logics. For instance, a participant explained his ideal business education as “not only theoretically based but rather an education oriented towards practice through industry partnerships”. This is multiple coded, both for scientization (i.e. theoretically based), for vocational (i.e. practice) and entrepreneurial (i.e. industry partnerships) logics. Hence, the coding is not merely based on counting words but is more grounded by unpacking underlying meanings. For example, a participant praised the content of the undergraduate education at Istanbul University. Coming from the literature that Istanbul University had historically European continental education imprints thus more oriented towards vocational logic; I coded this under vocational logic that would otherwise get unnoticed through pattern deducing method.

Table 3. Coding Scheme for Institutional Logics

Institutional Logics						
Dep.	Scientization		Vocational		Entrepreneurial	
	Teaching	Research	Teaching	Research	Teaching	Research
A	*Theory	*Indexed publications	*Practice *Applied *Educational methods *Job skills *Language skills	*Practical use	*Industry-based *Projects with firms *Customer-orientation *SMEs and innovation	*Project-based publications *Firm specific research
B	*Theory *Scientific ideals *Critical thinking *Mechanisms *Positivist *Liberal arts	*Theoretical *Research university *Academic contribution *Originality	*Job skills *Field study *Practice orientation *Applied *Preparing for business life *Student-centered *Context specific *Student employability *Vocation gaining *Area specialization		*Sector partnerships *Private sector experience of both students and staff *Entrepreneurship education *Market driven *Customer orientation	*Pressure in engaging industrial projects
C	*Theory *Academic education *Lower course load *Flexible	*Research orientation *Theoretical *Indexed publications	*Practice *Real life experience *Context specific courses *Student-centered	*Practice orientation *Criticism to theoretical research	Financial sustainability Industrial demands Student satisfaction Non-academic work experience of the staff	

	curriculum *Universalistic *Emphasis on PhD *Americanized *General management *Self-development of the student	education	Industry partnerships	
D	*Theory *Research oriented students	*Student-centered *Practice *Internships *Educational methods *Context specific management knowledge *Preparation for business life *Area specialization *Raising students *Education-focused *Accounting and finance *Vocational knowledge and skills	*Non-academic work experience of the staff *Market-driven *Industrial demands *Entrepreneurship	*Industrial projects

E	*Research university	*Practice *Internships *Computer skills *Raising students *IT *Student-centered *Education-focused *Knowledge intensive *Accounting and finance *Context specific *Area specializations	*Sectoral problems/partnerships *Management consultancy *TTOs *Entrepreneurship *Industrial demands *External stakeholders

4.4.1.1.2. Academic CVs

Academic CVs are considered to be a second significant source of information signaling the extent to which individuals are embedded in various institutional logics. Academic CVs show two different things: first they illustrate the extent to which individuals enact different logics at their academic activities. This is represented in terms of numbers; higher number of any activity symbolizing being more devoted to a logic compared to another one. As an illustration, individuals embedded in scientization logic are going to differentiate with regard to their tendency to carry out research as opposed to the ones embedded in vocational logic. Hence I expect the proponents of the former logic are going to undertake relatively higher number of research projects compared with the vocational logic's proponents. Second, in depth analyses of academic CVs are expected to reveal information on the content of the activities carried out by individuals which will show variation between individuals embedded in different logics. For instance, two individuals having same scores in terms of publications may differentiate with regard to their type; the one embedded in scientization logic publishing high at SSCI outlets as opposed lower (or may be non-existent) scores of the individuals embedded in vocational logic.

Academic CVs are mostly similar in structure with few exceptions; they include information on educational background, prior academic posts, publications (SSCI, international and national), conference proceedings (international and national), books, projects, administrative duties, professional association memberships, editorial board memberships, awards, theses supervised and courses provided.

For this purpose, academic CVs are downloaded either from the department websites or if non-existent, they are individually requested from the participants by the researcher at the end of the interviews. A total of 27 academic CVs are coded. In order to aggregate the data, 2015 is selected as a base year. The information that can be retrieved from their CVs belonging to 2015 onwards is not considered. As the first step, codebook was prepared which included the sub-sections of 'research' and

‘publications.’ Research and publications are already mentioned as two dimensions through which individuals initiate the prevailing institutional logics. Teaching as the third dimension was not included for two reasons. First, not all academic CVs include information about courses taught. Second, a course that is assigned to an individual may not always represent his/her willingness to teach that course where in some cases individuals may be obliged to teach a specific course due to academic staff constraints at the departments.

The categories under these two dimensions are determined so that they are mutually exclusive. As displayed in Table 4, for research sub-section, my codebook included categories of: (a) research projects (TÜBİTAK-ARDEB), (b) training projects, (c) industry projects. Research projects signal the embeddedness in scientization logic, more specifically I only considered the number of TÜBİTAK-ARDEB projects that the individual has completed or still working on as of year 2015. I did not consider individual’s total number of BAP (scientific research projects funded by the university) projects as an indicator for his/her embeddedness in scientization logic because those projects are funded by the university itself hence may not show coherence across different universities due to different research support policies of the universities. Besides, BAP support is only specific to public universities. Projects related to training of students or other personnel symbolize embeddedness in vocational logic. Finally industry projects (i.e. projects with KOSGEB, Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Industry, Association for Industrialists and Businessmen in X city, Regional Development Agencies) are coded for entrepreneurial logic.

For publication sub-section, my codebook encompasses categories of: (d) SSCI publications, (e) research books, (f) textbooks, (g) popular books, (h) research and publication awards, (i) project awards. SSCI publications and research/publication awards underline the embeddedness in scientization logic whereas popular books and projects awards show the individual’s embeddedness in entrepreneurial logic. Finally, textbooks and teaching excellence awards hint the prominence of vocational logic.

Apart from data on research and publication from their CVs; prior vocational school (MYO) experience is coded as a binary variable, 0 representing no vocational school experience whereas 1 represent individual's prior working at such school. I argue that the prior encounter of the individual to vocational logic at a vocational school may act as an imprinting effect and may affect individual's mindset in terms of materializations of research, teaching and publication.

Although educational background of the participants in terms of the universities they hold their PhD may signal information about the logics they were exposed to and hence expected to be embedded in, we think that it does not provide mutually exclusive data. Though the extant literature has shown that scientization logic is associated with the US whereas vocational logic with continental Europe; there may exist individuals holding PhD degree from Turkey but embedded in scientization logic.

Overall, in the ideal typical formulation these coding indicators are expected represent a distribution like in Table 4.

Table 4. Ideal Distribution of Academic CVs

Institutional Logics	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
Research Projects	Many	Few	Few
Training Projects	Few	Many	Few
Industry Projects	Few	Few	Many
SSCI Publications	Many	Few	Few
Research Books	Many	Few	Few
Textbooks	Few	Many	Few
Popular Books	Few	Few	Many
Research and Publication Awards	Many	Few	Few
Teaching Excellence Awards	Few	Many	Few
Project Awards	Few	Few	Many

Individual level embeddedness in prevailing institutional logics depicted from academic CVs are separately presented in Appendices. The observed hits for each logic is calculated as follows:

Scientization Logic_{total} = Research Projects + Research Books + SSCI + Research Publication Awards

Vocational Logic_{total} = Training Projects + Textbooks + Teaching Excellence Awards + MYO experience

Entrepreneurial Logic_{total} = Industry Projects + Popular Books + Project Awards

4.4.1.2. Departmental Level Manifestations

For departmental-level embeddedness in prevailing institutional logics, department head messages and mission statements were coded and analyzed.

4.4.1.2.1. Department Head Messages

Firstly, as displayed in Table 5, messages from department heads of each department in the sample are coded with respect to three institutional logics. I read each text twice and determined various keywords. The unit of analysis is meaningful words or phrases. Finally, hits are counted and ended with the total score of each department associated with each of the logics. For confidentiality concerns whole texts cannot be shared, but for illustrative purposes coding scheme for each logic are going to be listed.

4.4.1.2.2. Mission Statements

Secondly, as shown in Table 6 similar steps were followed for mission statements of departments. Mission statements convey significant source of information about the purpose of the organization. Moreover it provides information about the actions of the organization, overall goals and framework within which the organization's strategies are formulated. Therefore, I deem these statements crucial in conveying

hints about the different institutional logics that the departments are embedded in. For this purpose, I read mission statements and several keywords are determined. These keywords are then grouped under different logics. Very similarly, hits are counted and total score of each department associated with each of the logics are obtained.

These data from the above-mentioned two different sources are then combined to obtain departmental-level institutional logic embeddedness score for each sample case by taking the average of percentages associated with each of the institutional logic from (i) department head messages and (ii) mission statements. For example, for Department A, 83.2% of the total hits from the department head messages are manifestations of vocational logic whereas the remaining 16.8% percent belongs to scientization. On the contrary from the mission statements for the same department, 66.4% percent of the total hits are related to entrepreneurial logic premises whereas the remaining 33.6% about vocational. To obtain the aggregate departmental level embeddedness score for vocational logic, I took the average of 33.6% and 83.2% that results with 58.4%.

Table 5. Distribution Institutional Logics in the Department Head Messages

Institutional Logics			
Dep.	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
A		*To train knowledgeable and competent managers *Aiming to train managers possessing knowledge, skills and competences of the current era *Technical skill building *Practice opportunities	*Graduates having the chance of starting up their businesses
B	*Leadership attributes of students *International theoretical experience *Employability in world's distinctive organizations	*Local dynamics *Field specialization *International practical experience *Competent	*Global mindset *Capable of building teams and managing those teams *Answers to the problems of business world
C		*To prepare students with competences for to be employed in various sectors	

D	*Enabling Masters PhD Degrees at abroad	*Career focused education *Knowledge as value creation *Educating human factor *English as common language across business world *Success at work life *Career at multinational companies	*Socially responsible individuals *Globalization *Training entrepreneurial individuals *Training work force meeting industrial demands
E	*Globally standardized management knowledge *Self-development of students *Wide spectrum of elective courses *Future leaders *High academic qualifications of the academic staff	*Efficient communication skills *Practice oriented education *Transfer of managerial skills *Opportunities to directly apply management concepts and principles *Social skills and cross-cultural communication competencies	*Competitive conditions of the global business world *Socially responsible individuals *Cooperation with industry and public institutions

Table 6. Distribution of Institutional Logics in the Departmental Mission Statements

Institutional Logics			
Dep.	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
A		*Education based on ethics and moral principles	*Entrepreneurship and managerialism *Global conditions
B	N/A ²⁵	N/A	N/A
C	*Focus on research *Academic research and publication	*Focus on education	*Focus on entrepreneurship *Raising entrepreneurial students
D		*Specialists with knowledge and skills *Raising cadres that the country is in need of * Students with necessary knowledge and skills *Communication and behavioral skills *Knowledge based education *Competences of students at technical subjects	* Employees satisfying the demands of the business world

²⁵ Not available

		*Student employability * Compulsory internship *Transferring what is learned in the course to application * Based on qualified knowledge * Teaching foreign language * Students gaining experience	
E	*Knowledge creation through academic research *Future managers with leadership skills		*Students adaptable to competitive conditions of the business world *Globalization

4.4.2. Political Networks

In order to reveal the individual level embeddedness in various political networks, data from (i) semi-structured interviews with the decision-makers and the academics are complemented with (ii) publicly available (if any) Twitter shares.

4.4.2.1. Individual Level Manifestations

4.4.2.1.1. Semi-structured Interviews

The second group of questions in the interviews is related to political networks that individuals are embedded in. For research purposes, I was interested in the networks that individuals relied on during their hiring process. For this aim, I initially asked them to explain their hiring process in detail and followed by questions whether there was any intermediary in the recruitment, connections with the influential people in the hiring, whether s/he had given seminar to the jury, to whom s/he gets opinion from. However timing of the interviews was critical with regard to the political context in Turkey. As it is further going to be elaborated in the limitations of this study, the zeitgeist of the period in a way caused the participants to refrain from their affiliation to specific political and/or religious communities. Hence, gathering data from participants of the sample university affiliated to Gülen community about their affiliation/membership was very difficult. That is why some questions had to be worded very carefully and in most cases very indirectly without overtly naming any figure or community. For instance questions posed such as “As we know, private foundation universities in Turkey are usually founded on the basis of ideology or political party. Do you think that working in such a university in Turkey necessitates any ideological proximity or attachment to that ideology? What are your observations?”, “Do you think that the world views of academics are similar here? Can we speak of similarities or commonalities in life styles?”

Qualitatively capturing the political networks of the individuals was challenging due to the sensitivity of the issue in Turkish context. As some participants refrained from talking about the issue, there is no robust interview data with regard to their political

networks. Actually in this study I was not interested in the political networks or ideologies of the interviewees and/or decision-makers per se but rather more concerned with to what extent the academic hiring decisions at these departments relied on political networks that the decision-makers are embedded in. That is why; I did not specifically search for their political views, former political party memberships and/or affiliations or any association with politically influential actors. Instead of revealing individual-level political ideologies or connections with political actors, I aimed to reveal to what extent hiring decisions of these academics were influenced by the political networks that these academics are either embedded in or not.

In order to reveal the embeddedness of both decision-makers and academic staff in open or closed networks; pattern-deducing technique is used. In this part I have done two different things. At the initial step, I did not count how many times a specific code had been referred by the participant, in other words the strength of the code was not counted. Accordingly, each interview text is converted to countable occurrences and analytic methods are used to reveal patterns. Occurrences are counted through binary categories of “existent” versus “non-existent.” For instance, if the participant mentioned the role of references in his/her hiring process, the code of “references” is marked by 1, non-existence by 0. Subsequently, in order deduce patterns with respect to openness versus closeness from interviews, I tried to reveal the strength of network openness or closeness by counting the total number phrases associated with each of these categories mentioned by each interviewee. This score would then be termed as “weighted network coding” for each participant.

For each of the participants in the sample universities, two common categories were coded. These are “application to the announced vacancy” and “job-talk or seminar.” The former one signifies whether the individual has randomly applied to the post and then evaluated or if the vacant post specific to the individual was announced after it has been decided that s/he was going to be hired. This could be also in the form of offer to the academic by the decision-makers. The latter category is about whether the individual has given job-talk or seminar to a jury during his/her hiring process. For our research, random application to the vacant position and giving a seminar to a

jury before recruitment also reinforce that the individual is embedded in open networks. The codes of the participants of the sample five universities showed commonalities. For example, codes such as “friendship, acquaintanceship”, “being similar/ideologically similar with the others”, “proximity to the identity” and “internal harmony” are commonly surfaced.

Table 7 shows both the codes signaling network openness and closeness and illustrative examples from the sample cases.



Table 7. Coding Scheme for Political Networks

Codes for Political Network Openness / Closure	Illustrative Examples
Friendship/ Acquaintanceship	“My friend was the intermediary, it is challenging to arrange a meeting with the decision-makers here.” (University A) “I closely know the President of Board of Trustees here.” (University B) “Not only my direct contacts but also those people who were friends with my acquaintances have applied.” (University C) “X (<i>referring to President of Board of Trustees</i>) is my friend.” (University D) “Due to urgency, through acquaintances we tried to reach trustworthy people, we did not look at whether those people would really satisfy our needs.” (University E)
Proximity to the identity	“I think that there is always the role of political identity, I really wished to say that we hire people only according to their merit.” (University A) “(asking to the interviewer) Have you ever read the books of Fethullah Gülen? (University D)
References	“My colleague from my previous workplace, who have seen my work discipline there, was my reference in coming to this university, may God bless him.” (University A) “I did not personally know the Rector, but I think he had collected information about me.” (University C) “(referring to hiring process)...References is very important for us, mine was through influential references.” (University D)
Ideological similarity	“If this university is connoted with a specific community or <i>cemaat</i>, then I have to question two things: what is my purpose here? Does my purpose and theirs match?” (University D) “We have such a harmonious work environment since we all came from the same culture.” (University E)
Affiliation to X Foundation/Community	“My interaction with the founders of the university is dated back to my years at Boğaziçi University, there I had the chance of knowing the founding team, this team was the member of X foundation. I used to go there and give seminars.” (University B) “If you look at our founders, Board of Trustees, they are mostly seen as representatives of a specific societal settlement or <i>cemaat</i>, there is no abnormality here.” (University D)

Internal Harmony	“One criterion was not having hatred discourse to religion, if this exists then people looking from outside cannot see any internal harmony here.” (University D) “One other important thing for us is individual’s harmony with the department, that is why even if the candidate’s publications and education are highly qualified, we look for people that we will not encounter any problems with.” (University E)
Merit/ Academic Performance	“For instance, one candidate that I really wanted to be recruited was found not academic qualified by my other colleagues in terms of its English language level and academic CVs.” (University A) “Some candidates holding PhD degrees from Turkey were not preferred by the decision-makers.” (University B) “(Rector saying to the academic) Please take out your academic CV so we can go through from there. This sentence impressed me so much, though Rector was my dad’s friend, I felt so good when he wanted to discuss my competencies.” (University C)
Openness to Differences	“I attended to a symposium in 2015 at X University and I presented in-depth interviews there. At that time, Y (<i>an academic from the department</i>) was also there as a participant and when Y returned back to her university, she talked about me and my success during the symposium with her colleagues, then afterwards they have invited me to job-talk.” (University E)
Liberal	“When I first arrived here for job-talk, the first thing that grabbed my attention was Berkin Elvan’s picture, you cannot express this at every university, I know lots of other universities will not even permit the hanging of that picture. This happened to be the one of most important reference points in my application.” (University E)

4.4.2.1.1.1. Reliability and Validity of the Interviews

In order to ensure reliability of my interview data, I detailed all of the steps that have been taken in the collection and data analysis. Furthermore, another coder was used to code the interview data. The unit of analysis was either phrases or full sentences. Coding manual was prepared by the researcher which included sample codes, characteristics and elements with regard to the depiction of institutional logics and networks. The coding manual consisted of two sections; first section included several phrases and keywords with regard to the focus, function and the audience of each institutional logic. This is followed by explanatory terms on open and closed network structures.

These descriptive codes (i.e. preferred to be uniformly worded across all interview texts) are then used to deduce salient features for generating categories, themes and concepts. Before coding of all interview texts, both coders did pilot coding of two interviews and points of differences were then discussed together. The comparison of codes demonstrated that the raters did not extract the same number of quotations; and non-existence (NE) thus has showed up in some cases. That is to say, Rater A did not extract a quotation that Rater B did or vice versa. This discussion led to the revision of the coding manual. For instance, the lack of 'contextualized management knowledge', 'emphasis on language and communication skills' in the coding manual caused the coder B to miss out several sentences related to vocational logic embeddedness.

In order to calculate inter-reliability coefficient, percent agreement between two raters is used. After the inter-reliability coefficient is calculated for each interview text at the same university (i.e. separately for both institutional logics and networks), their percentages are summed and the total mean is calculated to achieve the inter-reliability coefficient for each department. The mean of percentage coefficients for all sample universities is taken to reach the final inter-reliability coefficient. All in all, inter-reliability coefficient for institutional logics comes up to be 85% whereas for networks it is 93%. Though both of the agreement scores point to almost perfect

strength of inter-rater agreement (Landis-Koch, 1977; Fleiss, 1981); in comparison to networks the percentage agreement for logics remained to be lower. This is mainly due to disagreement among raters with respect to coding a specific sentence as vocational or entrepreneurial. Hence coding of these two logics did not well disintegrated.

4.4.2.1.2. Twitter Shares of Decision-Makers

Prior section has already explained how semi-structured interviews served for this endeavor but still interpretations from those data are going to be combined with social media data analyses. Social media namely Twitter accounts of them has been used to reveal both individual and organizational-level political identities. These analyses are then used to justify the selection of five comparable cases representing distinct political identities of conservative, religious community and secularist in current Turkish political context.

Social media “have played a central role in the process of identity construction” (Gerbaudo and Treré, 2015: 865) by providing “new opportunities for sharing self-presentational content or ‘branding’ oneself online” (Ellison, 2013). While “the use of social media is becoming a feature of political and civic engagement for many Americans” (PEW, 2012) Bennett explains the manifestation of political identities in social media as “large-scale individualized collective action” (Bennett, 2012: 37). Therefore, social media has increasingly been a significant and very useful tool to examine the political identities given that it provides opinions and comments of a particular institution or a person on several issues. The study of Gülşen (2014: 1) also showed that Turkish young people perceive social media as an alternative social environment where they can manifest their political identities.

I find it vital to explain how I discursively analyzed the Twitter shares of the decision-makers to reach a robust understanding of their political identities. I argue that although organizational-level political identities possess a significant impact in employing academics, these should be accompanied with political identities of decision makers in order to better depict how the academic hiring decisions are made

in Turkey. In other words, organizational level political embeddedness is very much related with the decision-maker's embeddedness in that specific political identity. Ultimately, I am going to reveal to what extent the decision-makers act in a politically specific manner compatible with the departmental political identities that have been identified. By only referring to the publicly shared tweets of decision-makers (i.e. if there is any), in this subsection I am going to specifically mention the apparent themes and discursive elements of their shares. However, for confidentiality purposes, I refrain from directly pinpointing which decision-maker is affiliated to which political identity therefore I am not going to directly quote original Turkish versions of the tweets.

It is seen that the political identities of decision makers that they have constructed on social media are mostly in parallel with the organizational-level political identities. In other words, the Twitter shares of the decision-makers are highly compatible with the political identities of the universities that I have specified. To start with the decision-makers in the conservative universities (University A and B); the themes of Islamic conservatism, religion and political Islamism were dominant in their shares. To illustrate, one of them shared a tweet saying "Praying is obligatory five times each day but moral is obligatory for twenty-four hours" with the following comment: "This saying is right but it should not result in diminishing the significance of praying. [Muslims] should be careful about this point." Defending Palestine and being anti-Israel which are the unique symbols of political Islamists in Turkey are also dominant in some of their tweets such as re-tweeting the following one: "Israeli DF shoots 18yo Palestinian woman 10 times and lets her die. And the World keeps mum! #IamHadeel"

One of the most significant indicators of their affiliation to the conservative identity is holding important positions in state-run agencies including the higher education institutions. Some of the decision-makers from Universities A and B were also nominated to autonomous institutions including judiciary. I interpolate that appointment to these posts requires a strong connection to the ruling party. Some of the decision makers largely re-tweets the shares of President Erdoğan and other

ministers. Relatedly, some of their tweets in a way launched a political campaign that includes slangs against the opposition leader in the parliament.

As far as understood from some of the decision makers' shares and other open information about them, there is no strict uniformity within the conservative identity rather there are different groups and sympathizers affiliated with different leading persons of the party or with communities. For instance, some of them belong to the Erenköy Cemaati, a religious community which is the branch of Nakshibanddiyya-Khalidi order; and "civil society-oriented Islamic community, with its own publishing houses, charity foundations, and educational network" (Yavuz, 2003: 145).²⁶ Some of them are active and eager contributor to the monthly journal of Erenköy Cemaati. They always share the latest edition of the journal; and promote other events linked to his community in their Twitter accounts. The journal works like a Muslim missionary organ advising the youth to become good Muslims. The journal mainly rejected the pursuing a secularist career and underlined that the crucial responsibility of the youth is to work for eternal career which is *ahiret*, hereafter in Islam.

Participating in the Democracy and Martyrs' Rallies with enthusiasm and fully internalizing the messages of government after the failed coup attempt is another important common for the decision makers in the conservative universities. They retweeted shares of several leading the JDP figures including ministers; and the President as well. Some are as follows: "United we stand! #TekMilletTekYürek #TurkeyUnited" and "FETÖ [Fetullah Terrorist Organization] is a threat to stability & security of not only Turkey but all countries it exists. Common fight against this common threat is important." They also shared the tweets showing the meetings and activities of Islamist Society to Disseminate (Islamic) Knowledge (İlim Yayma

²⁶ The religious communities in Turkey and their role in politics, economy, education and society are really a sophisticated issue which goes beyond the scope of this study. We will therefore forward the issue to other major studies for comprehensive information and debates. While the studies of Mardin and Yavuz are the leading studies on the religious communities in Turkey, Çakırcı's recent research seems to be the most comprehensive and exclusive one on the Erenköy Cemaati. See: (Mardin, 1989; Yavuz, 2003; Çakırcı, 2012. Other major researches are as follows: (Tuğal, 2002; Güllalp, 1999; Sakallıoğlu, 1996; Toprak, 1981).

Cemiyeti), “which was an umbrella organization comprising various Islamic actors, including prominent members of the Erenköy community” (Çakırer, 2012: 109).

Furthermore, some of the decision makers from Universities A and B have highly pro-ruling party stance while they hold significant posts in the liberal identity universities. Some openly supports President Erdoğan and the JDP governments; and regularly tweets to show their backing. The discursive elements in their tweets are remarkable. They do not write in a moderate tone but like a local politician using partisan rhetoric. They do not abstain from sharing the tweets of controversial famous troll accounts defending the JDP desperately. Trying to demonstrate that they are not only a conscious Muslim but also a keenly defender of Islamic issues in world affairs is remarkable. While they praised President Erdoğan several times, they notably re-tweeted or mentioned the officials or advisers of President Erdoğan. Some of their shares are: “President Erdoğan announced the relation between the MOSSAD-FETO (the Parallel State) in the context of interest rates”²⁷. While they openly targeted the Gülen Community before the failed coup attempt, their wording has become more and more partisan after the July 15th.

With regard to the decision-makers embedded in secularist identity, two different patterns have emerged. For University C, organizational-level secularist political identity is not very highly compatible with that of the decision-maker. That is to say, conservative shares were more predominant among the decision-maker’s tweets. For instance, one of the significant themes that the ruling party has used to consolidate the support of the people is that foreign powers namely the West have united; and they make a great effort to stop the expansion of Turkey in economy and foreign policy led by President Erdoğan (Gardner, 2015). In this context, decision maker(s) of universities affiliated with secularist identity (University C) re-tweeted the following share: “Nobody is strong enough to change the direction of Turkey. Both the history and the geography are confined to Turkey.” The referral to changing the direction in the tweet symbolizes hindering the expansion of Turkey as a global actor. Using this rhetoric is very common among people who are the partisans of the

²⁷ President Erdoğan always asked for a low interest rates. He told: "Anyone who defends this (high rates) is at the beck and call of the interest-rate lobby, this is treason against this nation." See (Yackley, 2015).

JDP but it is largely produced to get the support of the masses. However it is significant to note that, conservative identity of the decision-makers at universities identified with the secularist identity did not result with hiring academics associated with their identities. Rather, they constructed their identities in that manner for their own future self-interests.

The second pattern, which is materialized through University E is that, the decision-makers are either publicly or totally not available in Twitter. It can be argued that they do not like to take part in highly politicized and polarized social media platform in Turkey given that using social media has largely turned into a way of supporting the government or criticizing it. It seems that such an atmosphere is not safe for liberal people who mainly focused on their academic studies unless they aim to cooperate with the government in order to take higher or further positions.

For University D associated with religious community identity, the decision-maker(s) tweets though not frequent shares were also in support with this identity. Some of their shares include links to the community but mostly not showing explicit support. For example, the issue of *dershane*, private tutoring centers for the university entrance exam, was the most crucial conflict in the war between the JDP and the Gülen Community. The government closed all these centers to suppress the activities of the community given that *dershanes* played a huge impact in recruiting students. The social media battle took place between the followers and sympathizers, and the partisans of the JDP regarding the future of these institutions. The Gülen Community harshly rejected this policy but the government succeeded it (Balci, 2014). Given this political context, one tweeted: “It is meaningless to close the *dershanes* before making serious reforms and restructure in education.” Also, s/he condemned an incident in her/his tweets when a group of radical left-wing students did not allow pro-Gülenist students with headscarves to promote their dormitories to the new coming students of METU at the campus and expelled them from METU in September 2013 (“ODTÜ’de yurt kavgası,” 2013). One of the decision makers from this university also visited a Turkish college linked to the Gülen Community in Laos to promote the university as the university shared a tweet on this visit.

All in all, the analyses of the Twitter shares of the decision-makers to a large extent show that they embrace the associated organizational-level political identities. This conformity is much more evident among universities affiliated with conservative and religious community identities. On the contrary, for the decision-makers in secularist identity universities the picture is more complex, either the decision-maker is not publicly available in Twitter or embedded in conservative identity but not highly resort to that in the hiring decisions.

4.4.2.2. Departmental Level Manifestations

In this part, I move from individual level manifestations of political networks to departmental level. Mainly, I aim to unpack political identities of sample universities. For this aim, official Twitter shares of the universities are content analyzed to figure out their political identity affiliation.

4.4.2.2.1. Twitter Shares of Universities

Two different research methodologies namely quantitative and qualitative have been used in this part. Quantitative methodology is realized through counting keywords that are associated with each political identity and running chi-square tests to see if there is any significant difference between different groups of political identities. Qualitatively, Twitter accounts have been judgmentally analyzed in terms of their representation of various political identities.

In these analyses, I only looked at the social media shares that are publicly shared by both official university accounts and the decision-makers. I am also aware of the fact that the Twitter shares do not or cannot reflect everyone intimately. People may not prefer to write all the points and ideas that they have or they may even write in the direction that would create a desired image or identity. The significant point here is that I try to unpack their political identities and interpret them through contextualizing their shares. Finally due to anonymity and confidentiality concerns, I cannot provide Twitter shares; I will only give some repetitive themes that I found representative for research context.

4.4.2.2.1.1. Quantitative Content Analysis

First of all several possible keywords, which are believed to reflect certain attitudes, stances, perspective or beliefs, are determined. These keywords aimed to reveal the political identities namely conservative, religious community and secularist, of which universities and decision-makers represent or affiliated with. As these keywords are classified according to these three main categories; they have been searched in all tweets of universities and decision-makers without putting any time limit. To illustrate, the format of “Cumhurbaşkanımız (Our President) from:@XXXuni” (Twitter account of the university) is used for each keyword search. I have also checked the results whether they really fit into the context that we examine. For example, every “Erdoğan” result from these accounts may not refer to President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan or Emine Erdoğan. Apart from the keywords, their accounts have been also scanned between January 2012 and August 2016 in order to catch any clue hinting information about their political position or staying apolitical. All in all, as Table 8 shows total of 14,587 tweets were analyzed.

Table 8. Total Twitter Figures of Universities²⁸

Total	A	B	C	D	E
Tweets	4489	3637	2690	2386	1385
Followers	13500	6501	9003	3886	2918

Quantitatively, counting method has been carried out to determine keyword frequencies. This gives very useful data especially for universities and their decision-makers associated with conservative identity given that some of them frequently tweeted about the government in a positive sense whereas others did not. However, counting method does not provide robust information about political stances; but also requires a qualitative approach in which content and discourse analyses of the tweets should be executed. While it is going to be judgmental; it reinforces the interpretivist tradition of comparative case analysis. Accordingly, some of the tweets are more accurate and definite in supplying background due to the fact that their

²⁸ These figures have derived on September 19, 2016.

content and wording are very clear. The themes and issues that they tweet on also make sense in this vein.

As to the keywords shown in Table 9, in order to examine conservative identity, “president”, “our president”, “prime minister”, “our prime minister”, “minister”, “our minister”, “Erdoğan”, “Davutoğlu”, “Abdullah Gül”, “AK Parti”²⁹, “municipality from the JDP”, “Mavi Marmara” and “Imam-Hatip” are chosen. Since JDP has been in power since 2002 elections, all the political titles such as prime minister and minister directly denote the JDP in the tweets. It also applies to the president since all these five universities were founded after 2007 when politicians namely Abdullah Gül and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan have begun to occupy this position. Mavi Marmara incident is the flotilla to carry humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip in order to break the blockade of Israel. Nine Turkish activists were killed in the raid by Israeli army at international waters in the Mediterranean Sea in 2010 (Uzer, 2013; Sanchez and Weise, 2016). This incident became one of the unique symbols of the JDP’s Islamist policies and also changing foreign policy at that time. Organizing an event with regard to Mavi Marmara is a clear sign of pro-ruling party. Religious Imam-Hatip schools are also another exclusive issue of the JDP. The government has strived to enlarge the scope of these schools during its era.

²⁹ Here the wording is critical, opponents of the party use the term “AKP” whereas the official party documents refer as “AK Parti.”

Table 9. Counting of Conservative Identity Keywords³⁰

Keywords	A	B	C	D	E
Cumhurbaşkanı(mız)	6	5	1	2	1
Erdoğan	5	6	1	0	0
Başbakan(ımız)	0	5	0	1	0
Bakan(ı)(mız)	11	8	1	4	1
Davutoğlu	0	12	0	0	0
Abdullah Gül	0	0	0	2	0
Belediye AK Parti	7	1	0	2	2
Mavi Marmara	3	0	0	0	0
İmam-Hatip	4	4	0	1	0
AK Parti / AKP	0	0	0	1	0
CHP	0	0	0	4	9
TOTAL	36	41	3	13	4

The keyword count reveals the following points: University A and University B are apparently affiliated to pro-ruling party; and they carry the conservative identity with several points. Total number of tweets in favor of the conservative identity is 36 for University A and 41 for University B. Their total figures also include exclusive keywords of the JDP such as Imam-Hatip and Mavi Marmara that differentiate them from other universities scoring 0 or 1. While University D that is widely known as a religious community university also carries some common points with conservative identity, it has never had a direct pro-ruling party identity. These common points can be explained with the alliance between the JDP and Gülen Community which lasted in 2013. The people that supported the party and the community until the break had similar cultural background and they were interlinked. It can be contemplated that the number of tweets of University D in this classification would have been more than 13 if the alliance had continued. Furthermore, the number of tweets regarding the events of main opposition party, left-wing, Republican's People Party is remarkable. University D organized four conferences and invited people from the opposition party after the break in 2013. The results did not reveal significant

³⁰ In the counting, the number of total tweets of universities or when they began to tweet are not taken into consideration.

association between University E and C with conservative identity, although the latter one is statist and is governed close to the ruling party ideology.

As to the religious community identity, the following keywords displayed in Table 10 have been determined to see its link: “Fethullah Gülen”, “Hocaefendi”,³¹ “Hizmet”, “Turkish schools”,³² “Zaman daily”, “Turkish Language Olympics”, “exclusive activities with African and Central Asian countries stemming from the relations with Turkish schools”, “Samanyolu TV”, “Cihan News Agency”, “dershane”, “dialogue and tolerance” which are the main discourse of the community. These are all unique points that directly show the connection between the university and the community. The counting undoubtedly reveals that University D has religious community identity with 80 tweets. Not surprisingly, the tweets do not include any mentioning to Hizmet, Fethulllah Gülen and Hocaefendi. However, the tweets on Turkish schools operated by Gülen followers and Turkish Olympics are so frequent. In addition to them, the events of university have been largely promoted by the Gülenist media namely *Zaman* daily, Cihan News Agency and Samanyolu TV.

³¹ Fethullah Gülen is called as “Hocaefendi” meaning “Master Teacher/Hodja” among the followers and sympathizers of the Community.

³² “Türk okulu” is not adequate to determine the relevant tweets in the search given that there are several synonym keywords to reveal the connection to Turkish schools. Therefore, I also searched the following keywords and checked their relevance: okul, okulu, kolej, koleji, okulları, Afrika, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan.

Table 10. Counting of Religious Community Identity Keywords

Keywords	A	B	C	D	E
Hizmet	0	0	0	0	0
Fethullah Gülen	0	0	0	0	0
Hocaefendi	0	0	0	0	0
Zaman Daily	6	0	2	15	0
Turkish schools abroad	0	0	0	45	1
Dialogue and tolerance	0	0	1	0	0
Gülen Schools in Turkey	0	0	0	4	0
PR for foreign countries	0	0	0	9	0
Türkçe Olimpiyatları	0	0	0	12	0
Samanyolu TV	0	0	1	3	0
Cihan News Agency	0	0	1	28	0
Dershane	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	0	0	5	80	1

As to the secularist identity shown in Table 11 “Atatürk”, founder of Turkish Republic, is a unique keyword in order to examine this category. November 10th which is the anniversary of Atatürk’s death is another significant keyword with “Anıtkabir” (Mausoleum of Atatürk). “Secular”, “secularism” and “republic” can also be used in this identity. University E openly outshines in this identity with 29 keywords in total. University D and C follow University E with 13 and 12 keywords. However, it also should be said that the emphasis is on Atatürk in University C whereas the Republic has been highlighted in University D. Not surprisingly, University B and A have the lowest number in this identity given that they apparently belong to the conservative identity and the ruling party does not promote this political identity.

Table 11. Counting of Secularist Identity Keywords

Keywords	A	B	C	D	E
Atatürk	4	1	8	5	18
10 Kasım	1	1	3	0	4
Laiklik	0	0	0	0	0
Cumhuriyet	2	3	1	8	4
Anıtkabir	0	0	0	0	1
CHP	0	0	0	4	9
TOTAL	7	5	12	13	29

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between universities and political identities (Table 12). The relation between these variables is significant ($\chi^2(8)=241.62$, $p<.01$). This means that the universities are significantly dissociated with regard to different political identities.

Table 12. Chi-Square Test Results

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	241,619 ^a	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	247,780	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	10,607	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	250		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,28.

4.4.2.2.1.2. Qualitative Content Analysis

Following quantitative analysis, qualitative method has been also used to examine the tweets of universities and decision makers in order to provide “thick description” of their political identities. While the figures derived from the counting make really sense, I argue that it should be backed by qualitative data analyses due to discursive nature of the issue. To illustrate, there is a significant difference between using the term “president” and “our president” in Turkish political context. The latter openly

demonstrate that the individual describes her/his belonging, connection or relation with the ruling party. In this part, the content of the tweets that have been used in counting are closely examined with other remarkable tweets and shares. It should be noted that some of the universities and their staff (mostly decision makers) do not hide their political identities; on the contrary they prefer to show and underline their identities and political stances in social media. But some others refrain from reflecting their political identities through Twitter or not even have Twitter accounts on their names.

4.4.2.2.1.2.1. University A

University A symbolizes the most overt association with the conservative identity among the five universities in our sample. In this context, the most significant wording is “our president” as it has been used six times. President has never been used to mention Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, rather “our president” is used in the tweets. For example, “Our President Honorable Recep Tayyip Erdoğan honored us with his honoring our TACHE 2016 [The Second Turkish Arab Congress on Higher Education].”³³ It is also the only account that used the term “our president” in the five universities. What is more, there is no mentioning of “our prime minister” or “our minister” in the tweets. It should be noted that the emphasis is on President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; and he is seen as the supreme leader of the JDP. In formal use in Turkey, “*Sayın Cumhurbaşkanı*” (Honorable/Dear/Mr President) has been preferred instead of “our president”. However, the latter usage has prevailed recently after President Erdoğan was directly elected by votes of people but not by the Turkish parliament.

In addition to apparent tight links, University A has adopted similar policies with the agenda of the JDP in organizing events and promoting them in Twitter. In this context, first, shares connoted with the foreign policy were remarkable, as the university has worked like a proxy in this field. The first example is Palestine. While all Turkish governments traditionally support an independent and sovereign State of

³³ “Cumhurbaşkanımız Sayın Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, TACHE 16 kongremize teşrifleriyle bizleri onurlandı.”

Palestine with East Jerusalem as its capital, the issue of Palestine has always been a symbol for political Islamists in Turkey; and it has increasingly become a priority of the JDP government to legitimize its pro-Islamist policies (“International meeting on the question of Jerusalem kicks off in Ankara,” no date). Mavi Marmara incident and developments afterwards including anti-Israel attitude are one of the most significant cases in this regard. University A held a conference entitled “Mavi Marmara and Free Jerusalem” with the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) that organized the Mavi Marmara flotilla. It is an Islamist NGO which is apparently supported by the JDP. The conference started with the Quran reading and the lawyer of the case gave a seminar. The university also commemorated another important event for Turkish foreign policy which is the Khojaly Massacre where Turkish official institutions stand with Azerbaijan in remembering the Khojaly Massacre which was the killing of 613 ethnic Azerbaijani civilians from the town of Khojaly in 1992 by Armenian soldiers (“Hocalı katliamının 24. yıldönümü hk.,” 2016).

Second, shares revolving around Islam were very prevalent. For instance, the Holy Birth Week to celebrate the birth of The Prophet Muhammad has increasingly gained official popularity during the JDP era. On the same token, the university organized conferences to commemorate the Prophet in this regard jointly with a municipality governed by the JDP. The play, “Defense of Medina”, describing the bravery of Muslims to defend the holy Islamic city, was also staged at the university. It hosted Mecid Medeni, Iranian director of the “The Prophet Muhammed” movie as well. Another seminar entitled “The Muhammad and Poetry” was held at the university. Lastly, the visits of *Imam-Hatip* school students to the university seem to be very popular; and all these visits have been promoted and highlighted on Twitter with photos.

4.4.2.2.1.2.2. University B

University B is a private foundation university in which the founders are strongly affiliated to the conservative identity. Showing similarities with the University A due to its associated political identity but yet major differences were manifested in its priorities particularly for the leadership. Actually, it was opened by both President

Abdullah Gül and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with a ceremony but the impact of former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu with his colleagues is very dominant in the establishment of university. Most of the decision makers and leading academics are also the friends of Davutoğlu. Exceptional references and exclusive links to Davutoğlu are very clear in the tweets. While it has the highest score in the counting regarding the conservative identity, it has never used the description of “our president” to mention Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; but rather “the president” is preferred. On the contrary, as to Davutoğlu, the university has mostly used the term “our prime minister”. Davutoğlu has always been hosted with the highest attention at the university and he was the first speaker and lecturer for the special and significant events. He was not only the first guest of the University B Talks but also he gave the first lecture on the opening day of the university. Davutoğlu honored the first graduation ceremony as well when he was Minister of Foreign Affairs and he also visited the campus many times. The rector shared a photo in which he was at lunch with Davutoğlu in his visit to the university. He wrote, “Wishing he was always happy like this, we thank to our prime minister for his honoring the university.”³⁴ The university tweeted the name of Davutoğlu 12 times whereas University A has never tweeted on him.

A common theme with the University A was specific emphasis on the cooperation with the *Imam-Hatip* schools. In this respect, the university hosted the students of these schools several times. Even more some of these events were jointly organized the JDP-governed municipality of the district. One of the deans also visited a well-known *Imam-Hatip* schools where the son of President Erdoğan graduated to give a lecture and promote the university. The Holy Birth Week of the Prophet was also commemorated at a program. The university account tweeted all these events.

4.4.2.2.1.2.3. University C

As to University C, the picture is more complex. Although public universities founded after 2007 are extensively associated with the ruling party’s identity, for this case it is not that easy to categorize this university neither with conservative nor

³⁴ “Hep böyle mutlu olma dileğiyle Başbakanımıza X'i onurlandırdığı için teşekkür ederiz”

religious community. It reflects different aspects from all of the identities in varying degrees. Therefore, the most appropriate term to define it would be secularist identity based on a pro-state ideology of the era blending the JDP elements, Islamic conservatism, Gülen community and Kemalism. While the university keeps itself as politically aloof in its Twitter messages via not sharing too many posts, those, which were shared, are about the announcements and statements regarding the registration, courses, conferences and national remembrance days.

There are some reports and speculations that the founding rector has a family relationship with the former President Abdullah Gül who assigned him (as the rector). Even, one who has positive attitude regarding Gül and the rector accepts that the role of this family connection cannot be ignored in this appointment (Odabaşı, 2016). Therefore, it could be expected that the university should have had a strong conservative identity but social media shares do not provide support to this claim. From Twitter data analysis, it can be argued that the university does not definitely act as the proxy of the ruling party like University B (private-foundation, located in center) and A (publicly owned, located in center).

One notable point in the tweets is the condemnation of the main terrorist attacks in Turkey in recent years. The university made statements to condemn the attacks several times in which some of them included the hash-tag of “We are one heart against the terror.”³⁵ The University is also sensitive in commemorating the people who died while serving the Turkish state and veterans. It organized social responsibility projects such as with the Turkish Red Crescent. While being the second ranking university with regard to the number of keywords linked with liberal identity; the university frequently shared tweets emphasizing the respect and love to Atatürk himself and his reforms, memoirs and commemorating the anniversary of Atatürk’s death.

Though the University does not strongly materialize political Islamist motives in its twitter shares, it still does not bypass specific religious occasions. In addition to the Feast of Ramadan and *Kurban* (Feast of Sacrifice), it published a message to

³⁵ [#TeröreTekYüreğiz](#)

celebrate the *Mawlid al-Nabi*, birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. It is very usual in Turkey to celebrate the religious feasts but the *Mawlid al-Nabi* refers to a higher-level consciousness of Islam. Indeed, it is the only university that made a statement for this day while University A celebrated the *Laylat al-Kadr*. Furthermore, the Faculty of Islamic Sciences held a conference on the significance of religion brotherhood at the Holy Birth Week of the Prophet Muhammad.

Lastly, significant relationship was remarkable with an institution linked to the religious community though not mentioned too frequently. The university signed a cooperation protocol with *Zaman* daily for its Department of Media and Communication. It aimed to provide intern opportunities for its students and other possible collaborations. The crucial point is the date of the protocol, which was signed in March 2013. The alliance between the JDP government and the Gülen Community did not apparently end at this time but there were serious conflicts; and the government had begun to limit its activities after the power struggle in February 2012 (Gürsel, 2013). The rector also was the guest of Cihan TV, another Gülenist media outlet, to speak on higher education in Turkey on a lively show. A dean of the university participated in a program of Samanyolu TV to explain his research as well. These are all the information gathered from Twitter; hence it is not possible to comment on the extent of other connections if any. The point is that the university did not have any reserve in collaborating with the community like other public universities located in center.

4.4.2.2.1.2.4. University D

Regarding University D, references regarding to its connection with the religious community and conservative connotations coexisted. Still, though not many in number, mentioning of some Islamic and conservative items and events such as *iftar* (fast-breaking meal) or celebrating *Laylat al-Kadr* by a statement existed. The Holy Birth Week of the Prophet was commemorated as well. A visit of *Imam-Hatip* school was also shared on social media. More generally, the account makes a great effort to portray the university as of a liberal setting where different lifestyles and understandings could co-exist. It mostly tweeted on the opportunities of the

university and the conferences held there. The university largely hosted popular and liberal names including showmen and poets for the conferences and talks. Remarkably, it did neither invited any leading figure of religious community nor did not tweet if there had been.

On the other hand, religious community identity appeared in organizing, participating and promoting the events that were uniquely associated with the community namely Turkish schools abroad and international Turkish Language Olympics where the students from Gülenist schools all over the world competed.³⁶ The university openly supported these two phenomena and appropriated them. What is more, it had actively taken part as a significant player in the organization of these events. From twitter data, it is notable that the university intensively organized orientation and presentation visits to the Turkish schools abroad in order to promote itself with the aim of accepting students from these countries. Visits to African and Far East countries where the community is very influential with having dozens of schools were remarkable in this context. Kazakhstan and Kirgizstan were other two countries that the university was highly interested in. It is understood that this region acted as the hinterland of the university in recruiting students for higher education. In a similar vein, this focus on internationality could be observed both discursively in the interviews and visual data from their websites (i.e. picture of students coming from diversified nationalities). As one of the interviewees stated, the aim was to educate them in Turkey and sent them back their countries. The expectation was that these students would be more likely to be leading figures in their countries and support the activities of the Gülen Community.

The tweets which included photographs showed that the orientation team visited the Turkish schools in each country where they also stated the high-level interest of the students in their tweets as well. The rector himself attended some of these visits to seek cooperation opportunities and agreements with the governments and universities there as he visited the respective ministries or higher education institutions. It is apparently understood that these trips were organized with the religious community network. In addition to them, there were few other examples

³⁶ For the international Turkish Language Olympics, See: (Akkermans, 2016).

that the orientation team of university visited the high schools linked to the Gülen Community in Turkey as well. As the tweets demonstrated, establishing good relations with these countries was not limited to visiting them abroad. The university also arranged several occasions to keep the dialogue and cooperation live. To illustrate, African Day was held where some of ambassadors of the African countries in Ankara participated in. The culture of these countries was promoted there. Another example was to celebrate the Independence Day of Kazakhstan. When a high-level official from these countries paid a diplomatic visit to Ankara, some of them also visited the university and met their students. All these visits and events indicated that they were organized in a network activity with a specific mission rather than ordinary university advertising.

Turkish Olympics was another significant unique symbol of the community that the university adopted and gave highest support. While it hosted the students who came to Turkey to compete, the leading figures that established and sponsored the university met with the students at breakfast. The university called its followers to go to stadium to watch the show and competition; and it asked, “Who are going to stadium to watch the Stars of Turkish?” in the tweet. The university showed its content about the highest participation as follows: “The Turkish excitement did not fit into the stadium. More than 50 thousands people participated in this excitement.”³⁷

Moreover, coverage of university activities in the community-affiliated media was a further sign of this identity. *Zaman* daily and Cihan News Agency largely covered the events of university. Almost all of these university-based events do not bear any significance to be published in national media outlets but rather very small-scaled and regional happenings. The content of reports is very positive and manipulative that showed they were published to advertise the university activities. It is seen that there was a communication or network line between its communication affairs office and these media outlets. As to the examples, one report stated that student of the university visited the sick children at a hospital. Another says that students of the

³⁷ “Türkçe Coşkusu Kadirhas Stadyumu'na Sığmadı... 50 Binin üzerinde kişi bu coşkuya ortak oldu.”

university painted the walls of a school in a village. Some of the international orientation visits were also reported in the newspaper.

4.4.2.2.1.2.5. University E

University E is a representative case associated with secularist identity. This identity while emphasizing secular aspects on the one hand, does not exclude conservative motives in the society. To put it another way, while the university tries to show that it is open to all parts of the society, secular liberalism which can be briefly defined as the separation of culture and politics from religion dominates its identity. To illustrate, while it mentions most of the national remembrance days in its tweets, at the same time it does not ignore the Holy Birth Week of the Prophet. The university organized a conference on the Prophet but without religious elements such as reading the *Quaran*. The university also highlighted the significance of the honesty in trade for the Prophet in the tweets. The holding that funded the university also gave an *iftar* dinner with the JDP-governed municipality in the district.

Far from being political in nature, the main feature in the tweets is the sharing of its events on entrepreneurship. The University E often invites leading figures in trade and finance both from private sector and governmental agencies. They have presented these events and promoted them to students in its social media accounts as an opportunity of networking to get into careers. Probably thanks to the network of the holding and having good relations with the ruling party, the university seems very successful in organizing business talks, career days and entrepreneurship summits. To illustrate, CEOs of Bosch and Renault Mais; and heads of Turkish Competition Authority and Banking Regulation and Supervision Board gave seminars on how to get into working life. The emphasis is that the university provides opportunities to meet the high level representatives of companies and state institutions, to arrange internship and to get reference.

Politically, Kemalism is another remarkable point in the secularist identity of University E. It is the only university from our sample that has visited Anıtkabir (Mausoleum of Atatürk). It is significant to underline that the university is not

located in the capital and hence its staff has arranged a specific visit. The anniversary of Atatürk's death on the November 10th has been also commemorated sincerely; and conferences on Atatürk that highlight its reforms and secular principles have been held. Almost all of the universities in our sample organize commemorations on that day as seen from Table 10, however content analysis of the commemoration texts revealed the varying degrees of affiliation to the identity. Whereas some other universities have only done this formally, it is seen that the University E is very keen to dignify Atatürk and his understanding. It has used caps, photographs and hash-tags in the tweets. "Love is special at November 10th"³⁸ and "We Commemorate Our Great Leader" are some of the hash-tags in this regard. The caps also stated "We Commemorate Our Great Leader with honor and gratitude". In the video interviews shared on social media, the university also asked its students to comment on Atatürk's leadership and the distinctive characteristic features of him. Being pro-state in foreign policy issues should be also added to its identity. The rector clearly supported the stance of Turkish state on the 1915 Events in the Ottoman Empire by harshly criticizing the governments that recognized the events as the Armenian Genocide.

While the holding behind the university has good relations with the ruling party as Prime Minister Erdoğan attended to the opening ceremony of one of the holding's stores, the university also hosts leading politicians from the main opposition party, the Republican People's Party. The Mayor of an important district in İstanbul, gave a seminar on leadership and entrepreneurship at the university. More interestingly, son of the Mayor is married with the daughter of Board Chairman of the company that founded the university. Other well-known deputies from the opposition party who criticize the JDP being Islamist also gave seminars at the university. One more surprising point showing that the university is open to all parts of the society is that it hosted a group of students from Turkish schools. The tweet only says "students from Turkish schools in Nigeria" but they were from the schools linked to the Gülen Community as there are no other Turkish colleges there.

³⁸ "10 Kasım'da Aşk Başkadır"

To conclude, both quantitative and qualitative analyses of Twitter data revealed significant results with regard to political identities of the universities and decision-makers. Quantitatively, counting of keywords associated with different political identities revealed variation among five sample universities. Qualitatively, content analyses of those Twitter shares with a careful reading of current Turkish political context have provided rich information on the depth of identity affiliation.



CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

5.1. Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics of this study are presented at three different levels of analyses namely (i) academic staff, (ii) decision-makers and (iii) departments with respect to embeddedness in institutional logics and political networks. Table 13 displays the mean percentage distribution of institutional logics and political networks of academic staff in sample cases. From Table 13, it is observed that in majority of the sample cases, embeddedness in vocational logic is highly prominent among the academic staff (except B and E). This is mostly followed by instantiations of scientization logic whereas enactment of premises related to entrepreneurial logic by the academic staff remained lowest in most of the sample cases (except C and D). In terms of political networks, irrespective of having a decision-maker embedded in an open or closed political network, academic staff in these sample universities to a very high degree is embedded in closed networks.

Table 13. Mean Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics and Political Networks of Academic Staff in Sample Cases

Department	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial	Open	Closed
A	27.6	56.4	15.8	6.0	94.0
B	52.9	24.5	22.7	50.0	50.0
C	17.3	56.5	26.2	33.4	66.6
D	32.5	34.7	32.8	48.0	52.0
E	51.9	37.3	10.9	48.2	51.8

The following Table 14 shows the percentage distribution of decision-makers with regard to their embeddedness in prevailing institutional logics and political networks.

Majority of the decision-makers are very highly embedded in vocational logic (except B and E). The level of compatibility between decision-makers and academic staff in their embeddedness in various institutional logics tends to be high. In most of the cases, although the embeddedness percentages in each of the institutional logic do not exactly overlap, the prioritization pattern among prevailing logics to a large extent shows similarities between the decision-makers and academic staff. On the contrary, the level of compatibility in political networks is not that uniform. For instance, in cases where the decision-makers are embedded in closed political networks, the resulting mean distribution of academic staff to a very high extent is tilted towards more openness (A, B, D) when compared with the score of the decision-maker. Yet, in cases where the decision-makers are embedded in open political networks, the resulting mean distribution of academic staff is converged to more closeness (C and E).

Table 14. Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics and Political Networks of Decision-Makers in Sample Cases

Decision-Maker(s)	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial	Open	Closed
A	20.0	56.0	24.0	0.0	100.0
B	69.5	25.0	5.5	20.0	80.0
C	12.5	69.4	18.1	50.0	50.0
D	12.5	42.3	45.3	33.0	67.0
E	46.5	40.5	13.1	59.0	41.0

Lastly, Table 15 presents the departmental level distribution of institutional logics and political networks in sample cases. In comparison to Tables 13 and 14, the distribution generated from departmental level documents (department head messages and mission statements) showed discrepancies in the enactment of prevailing institutional logics. More specifically, the premises of scientization logic are relatively less evoked at departmental level when compared with the decision-makers and academic staff. Contrarily, in terms of vocational logic enactment, in comparison to decision-makers and staff, there is either same or higher level of departmental level instantiations. Similar pattern was also depicted with regard to

entrepreneurial logic; so that instantiations of entrepreneurial logic at the departmental level were highly manifested which also hinted the issue of decoupling. The departmental level distribution for political networks compared with the mean distribution of academic staff and decision-makers did yield compatibility in majority of the cases (except D and E).

Table 15. Departmental Level Distribution of Institutional Logics and Political Networks in Sample Cases

Department	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial	Open	Closed
A	8.30	58.4	33.3	16.3	83.7
B	25.0	33.3	41.7	10.9	89.1
C	16.7	61.1	22.2	60.0	40.0
D	4.80	62.5	32.7	12.3	87.7
E	34.2	36.7	29.1	85.3	14.7

5.2. Results of Hypotheses Testing

The results of this research are going to be presented in two separate sub-sections. First of all, each sample case is going to be illustrated in detail. In explanations of each case, first the elaboration of the decision-maker(s)' embeddedness in prevailing institutional logics is going to be followed by explanations about academic staff's embeddedness in these logics for each sample case. After this, the same sequence will be adopted with respect to the political networks of both decision-maker(s) and academic staff. Each case is then going to be finalized by explicating the level of similarity between the decision-maker(s) and the academics with regard to their embeddedness in both institutional logics and political networks. After the discussion on each separate case, all five cases are going to be discussed in tandem with regard to our proposed typology and the level of homogeneity of the academic staff.

5.2.1. The Level of Similarity between Decision-Makers and Recruited Academics

5.2.1.1. Department A

In line with the proposed typology, the Cell 1 refers to the decision-maker who is embedded in a single logic and closed network. Accordingly, University A that corresponds to Cell 1 is a public university located at the center and associated with conservative identity. To start with the logic embeddedness of the decision-maker, the percentage distribution in Table 16 shows that the decision maker³⁹ is highly embedded in a single institutional logic namely vocational (56%). His embeddedness in scientization (20%) and entrepreneurial (24%) logics are relatively lower but yet similar. This distribution is well supported with departmental level data namely; department head messages and mission statements (See Table 15). 58.4% of hits are embedded in vocational logic followed by 33.3% entrepreneurial and 8.3% scientization. Departmental level manifestation of institutional logics goes in parallel with the decision-maker's embeddedness. This further supports our assumption that the founding dean being the primary decision-maker is very crucial in the construction of the department's logic-based identity because the extent of his/her identification with the institutional logics would be very likely to influence departmental identification.

Table 16. Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics in Department A

Institutional Logics	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
Participant A	0.401	0.493	0.106
Participant B	0.368	0.368	0.259
Participant C	0.053	0.882	0.066
Participant D	0.284	0.716	0.000
Participant E	0.350	0.368	0.278
Decision Maker	0.200	0.560	0.240

³⁹ The decision-maker was the head of the department during 2012-2014 and since then serving as General Secretary.

At the very beginning of the founding stage, there were only two academics (department head and one academic) in which one of them coming from engineering background and with specialization on management information systems. Hence, at this period the interview with the decision-maker revealed that the department aimed to position itself towards digital management and technology. However with the leave of department head, the departmental orientation has shifted away from digital management focus but still predominated by the premises of vocational logic. The interviews with the general secretary at the very founding stage when the department has not yet started the undergraduate education were more inclined to reveal the visionary perspective that they have tried to formulate the department. Though at that stage decision-maker's premises related to teaching only remained at the aspiration level; but still his views were very much embedded in vocational logic. For instance, he merely focused on providing more specialized management education. In line with changing business needs, he urged digital management at the center whereby each management function and its associated courses must be redesigned by taking digital management to forefront (i.e. marketing education should be given as digital marketing).

Another theme associated with vocational logic that he referred was the contextualized management education. In his views, this could be realized in two different ways; first departmental curriculum could be designed more towards how our civilization views management via offering courses about Ottoman business history. He argued that this scope could also very well match with the mission of the university. Second, he highlighted the importance of business ethics and specifically moral principles that characterize both our culture and business that should also be embedded into each course as a specific module. Ultimately, he considered that the emphasis on these two concepts would lead to more profound understanding of Turkish management style as opposed to European or US versions prioritized by other universities. Once the curriculum is designed in the way that he envisaged, the decision-maker also underlined the importance of case studies as teaching material. However his understanding of case studies as instructional tool was different such that he prioritized academics to grind out cases of Turkish firms and prepare Turkish case study banks as opposed to mere translations of US-based cases. Finally he

explained his ideal undergraduate education as follows, “While taking case study analysis at center, undergraduate education in business must encompass English and business history without missing out the values of our civilization.”

In the recruitment of new academic staff, he prioritized two specific issues related to vocational logic. One is the English language proficiency of the academic staff that is to be supplemented with foreign experience. However especially the academics recruited after the leave of the department head do not fully match with this goal. Second, sector connection of the academics is a matter of his priority by referring as “In order not to stay at theoretical level, projects and real sector experience are required.” For this, participation in industry and TÜBİTAK projects is acknowledged through frequent mentioning of spatial opportunities of the university. Referring to the location of the campus being very close to financial district, he argued that this could trigger project development by academics.

After the leave of the department head, instead of recruiting someone that would substitute his perspective, the curriculum has been redesigned so that departmental focus is now totally diverged away from digital management specialization with the newly recruited four academics. Actually this constraint prevails among most of the newly founded departments, when they do not have the necessary cadre to carry out ideal business education, they formulate the curriculum by taking specialization areas of the current academic staff into account. Thus, the department has begun to direct towards vocational skill building and raising students whom would respond market needs instead of a specific field specialization. But still so, in the newly formulated curriculum, the department allows students to specialize in their third and fourth year but interestingly digital management no longer remains as of a specialization area.

In line with our proposed typology we expect the each hired individual to be embedded in the same single logic and closed network with the decision-maker. In terms of logic similarity, From Table 16, we can conclude that majority of the participants have revealed this pattern with regard to their embeddedness in same single institutional logic. This similarity has manifested itself with respect to the

common themes. For instance all of the interviewees, except one, have emphasized that due to the proximity of the campus to financial district, the management department should focus on raising students that would respond to industrial demands and equipped with vocational skills and competencies that private sector looks for. One academic was against to this and told the following, “For instance the firm comes and wants to integrate the features of its ideal employee into our curriculum. But as two firms hold totally different claims, it is not really possible to respond to private sector demands.” On the same token, he was very against of viewing university education as of preparation of sector-specific life, but rather he mentioned the following, “We are not an education center of any firm, the student must be trained to have critical thinking.” However this still remains at aspirational level because the analyses of their CVs revealed that most of the academic staff fail to have professional work experience. This issue was also critically raised by one academic whom was against the conceptualization of the department as of preparing employees to private sector as follows; “We could have a disadvantage; we do not have any private sector experience, hence I doubt whether we really know what firms demand from management graduates.”

Another common theme and the point of similarity between the academic staff and the decision maker that emerged is the extent to which undergraduate education should be geared towards combination of theory and practice where the latter gains more significance. Applied perspective and student employability remained vital. In line with the premises of vocational logic, academics highlighted the importance of incorporating students to application which would require the conveying of both technical and vocational knowledge. The students ultimately envisaged being equipped with knowledge and technical capabilities that would respond to the demands of the current era. For this to be realized, courses are designed to incorporate use of software tools as opposed to theoretical foundations. The decision-maker told the following;

Our prerequisite is to have our graduates to respond to market demands. If you give theory to the student or the ideal typical cases, when s/he enters in the market, he comes to us says ‘*Hocam* (Professor), we cannot use the things

you taught us. In the financial accounting course, you taught us 191 account but the firm uses 391.'

The emphasis on technical knowledge was also mentioned by referring to Turkish equivalents of specific concepts/terms. Participants highlighted the knowing the Turkish versions of the terms for students to get employed either in public or private sector as follows;

I have learnt balance sheet actually means *bilanço* (balance sheet) very lately. But you know if students take KPSS exam, questions will ask what *bilanço* means. Okay, knowing English versions is beneficial but what we essentially need is to teach Turkish equivalents.

Moreover, another point of similarity was their common views on how teaching enhances academic's own career. As the decision-maker told that the ideal academic should be the one who has very strong teaching capabilities; other academics supported this view by referring how individual learn best through teaching. Another participant also supported this view by saying, "Ideal academic has to be like a pedagogical expert also having technical knowledge of his field."

When it comes to research as opposed to commonality of views on teaching, the academic staff embraces different perspectives ranging from applied research to ignoring research at all. At the one extreme, Participants A, C and E emphasized how research must be designed to make sector or industry more interested about it. This also means that research should be well embedded in problems that firms encounter and it is further underlined that the more books and articles that academics publish encompasses firm-specific concerns and address to a widespread audience, the more impact they would have. Accordingly, this perception holds that not only having managerial implications but even further, research should emanate from application. Participant A told the following,

For instance if you write an article about accounting education, it will not interest the sector for sure. Even they would say 'what do we care and see what these academics deal with?' However if you write something on taxes

and publish it in the Journal of Chamber of Public Accountants, this would definitely attract attention.

At the other extreme, only Participant B raised the inconsistencies between teaching and research in his own field. He argued that his research program mainly stemming from its critical nature (as opposed to mainstream work) cannot be used in lectures because of its divergence from standardized textbook material. He cited this example, “The negative concepts that I encounter in the literature attracts me more, for instance alienation to the market and customer boycotts. Moreover, I have to lecture CSR but actually I don't find firms sincere in this, hence I have difficulties in explaining.” Interestingly, Participant D underestimated the role of research by saying,

Research is not the only function of the university; I do not find any point in placing research on the top. I do not think this perspective is healthy, research does not explain our real life, we deal with students, and we lecture...

The disaccord between academics with respect to whether medium of undergraduate education should be English or Turkish had come to an end with the leave of department head. At the very beginning with the influence of him, the undergraduate education was envisioned to be English but the academics recruited after his leave has considered Turkish education. The latter group has justified this orientation by referring to either their own undergraduate degrees or degrees given by Istanbul University. One of the participants explained as such, “Here, academics are more academically-oriented, they really wished for English education but Marmara or Istanbul Universities also have Turkish degrees and this does not cause any disadvantage to its graduates.” The current direction of the department towards Turkish instruction was also adopted by academics’ views on contextualized research as targeting the ‘contribution to Turkish management literature.’

The leave of the department head and the coming of his successor did not display any difference with regard to the institutional logics that they are embedded in. While criticizing digital management specialization for not encompassing management education in general, the new department head discursively pointed out

the uniform distribution of courses from every subfield. However the final departmental curriculum shows relatively higher number of courses in accounting and finance. He justified this decision as follows; “There was no course on accounting in the former curriculum. Finance is a rising value for us; we really aim to strengthen our finance side.”

To continue with embeddedness in political networks, both the Twitter data and the interviews with the decision-maker revealed its affiliation with the conservative identity⁴⁰ and besides he prioritized the recruitment of these academics embedded in this closed political network (Table 17). Some of the academics explicitly mentioned their social environment as being surrounded by the current political power and emphasized the importance of this political identity in their recruitment process.

Table 17. Percentage Distribution of Open versus Closed Networks in Department A

Networks	Open Network	Closed Network
Participant A	0.17	0.83
Participant B	0.19	0.81
Participant C	0.00	1.00
Participant D	0.00	1.00
Participant E	0.00	1.00
Decision Maker	0.00	1.00

In line with the theoretical framework, I argued that the organizational level political embeddedness is related with the decision-maker’s embeddedness in that specific political identity. Moreover, I proposed that embeddedness of the department at both political networks and institutional logics would be reflected on the decision-maker’s embeddedness. In Turkish context as the political identity is acquired at the very outset, individuals who are embedded in the same political network are assigned as the rector and founding deans. Thus, the compatibility between the political identity of the university and that of the decision-maker is expected to be more likely. The

⁴⁰ For instance, his Twitter shares mostly focused on the news about the (religious community focused) Association and the Journal that he was the founder and editor of.

crosschecking of the University A's official Twitter messages and the decision-maker's interview data has supported this argument. In comparison to other sample cases, followed by University B, University A scored second highest (i.e. 36 counts) in the keyword count related to conservative identity. Accordingly, departmental level network data revealed 83.7% embeddedness in closed political networks (See Table 15).

For University A, as already discussed in the section on the coding of Twitter shares, the decision-maker is affiliated with Erenköy community which is supported by the JDP in the last decade.⁴¹ He implicitly mentioned the closed network structure both with regard to his own recruitment and subsequent academic staff. For his own PhD advisor was appointed as the Dean to University A whom had played key role in this process. Not only a mere advisor-student relationship, their acquaintanceship relies on their link to Erenköy Community where they have worked together in contributing to the activities of the community. His statements indirectly supported the closed network structure as follows: "Generally we recruit through references, we do not have any chance of blind shot...We recruited all the candidates whom we have interviewed with."

One of the common themes emerged from the interviews is that either participants have close friendship with the influential actors or some sort of acquaintanceship. Close friendship and acquaintanceship in most cases bear both ideological and personal connotation. Up until the year 2014, the department was in the founding stage with only two academics and no undergraduate education. The only academic recruited in this period was a close friend of the decision-maker whom was invited by him. From the secondary source analysis, it has been found that he wrote a review to one of the novels of the decision-maker published from the International Youth Association printing house. The review more of praising in nature had embraced religious discourse. Moreover, before coming to University A, they have jointly engaged in several projects at the International Youth Association, has also given lectures there. The subsequent recruited person was the close (childhood) friend of

⁴¹ For Erenköy Community, See: (Çakırer, 2013).

the above-mentioned academic. Before his recruitment he published several articles together with the decision-maker and the department head.

One of the other academic whom have recruited during this period has explicitly mentioned as such “I got this position thanks to my backing. I knew that it would not be possible to get a position at a public service institution without having such a contact.”⁴² The person who pulled strings for him was neither the department head or the dean, but rather a non-academic influential person whom was very embedded in this identity and had a strong say in the recruitment process. However his story is unique in the sense that when he first came to interview with the upper level manager in 2011, he was rejected for the job. Although he has been strongly embedded in this network, he has been told to first meet academic criteria. He explained his discomfort in getting preferential treatment as follows;

I had extensive backing (*torpil*) opportunities but actually I did not intend to use them. In the meantime, I really wanted to meet the academic criteria and then apply again. I knew that if I really push them through my acquaintances, my appointment will sure be done but I thought that there was really no need for this. I would really like to first meet the standards so that when they recruit me there, no one could form a sentence like ‘they recruited their own man (*kendi adamını aldı*)’.

He had relieved himself by referring to how he had also met the academic criteria for recruitment. He told the following, “I have clear conscience since I meet all the academic criteria that this University looks for. First you have to meet the academic criteria, and then you start looking for backing from an influential player (*torpil*).”

He also explained the current recruitment practice of a candidate for Marketing specialization. While firstly referring to the scientific nature of the process by highlighting how candidates send e-mails to Department Head; and then they are invited to job talk and give lectures, this ideal story usually ends with some corrupted details. As revealed by Participant B, one candidate who was academically

⁴² “*Torpille geldim, devlet kurumuna tanidik olmadan giriş olmayacağını biliyordum.*”

qualified for the position was not hired due to not having a backing contact. He frankly told this as follows:

There was no one whom has known the candidate, or anyone who can say ‘this person is totally appropriate’, this was the only disadvantage. We really did not want to form the academic cadre on the basis of acquaintanceship, okay there could be those people but there should also be others who can fulfill academic needs.

Another conflicting issue was with regard to the role of academic merit in the recruitment process. Although several participants including the current department head highlighted that academic CVs are first evaluated by the department head and then presented to each academic staff for their opinion; and the applicant is rejected if no consensus can be reached among the faculty members. However, it is seen that this mechanism does not work properly. The participants belonging to this camp underlined that there is no bolt from the blue whereas several others referred to true nature of the recruitment process as of “We live in Turkey; we know how the things are done here. I believe that political orientation has always been influential, I really wished to say ‘academic merit’ is our code.” People of this view argued that the management either does not offer position or even not think of those people whom are distant to the dominant political identity. While telling his views, he emphasized how the candidates were judged with respect to “who they are and whom they belong to (*nedir neidir*)?” His emphasis was later coupled with his views of diversity within the same ideology. His interview data has made breakthrough by highlighting how the real clash exists between closed groups or in other words proximate communities under the same conservative ideology.

His views have actually signified the fragility of the academic recruitment process in Turkey, since the political power game may abruptly rule for the suspension of previous influential actors; to whom the candidate is reckon on is on knife-edge. He⁴³ briefly summarized the current political changes as,

Political context in Turkey has changed tremendously, and there happened events we would not even think of. I strongly believe this had impacted

⁴³ The interview has taken place in April, 2016.

academic personnel recruitment. However this impact did not have negative nature, but rather it created opportunities for the people whom were unjustly treated before.

In order to visualize the distribution of logic and network embeddedness of both decision-maker(s) and academic staff; 2x2 scatter plot (X-axis representing political networks and Y-axis representing institutional logics) is drawn. Both of the axes can get scores on a continuum ranging from 0 to 1; for institutional logics the higher level of scores (i.e. 0-single logic, 1-highest in multiplicity) signifies higher level of multiplicity in logics. For networks, the higher level of scores (i.e. 0-open, 1-closest) represents the higher level of closeness in the networks. Since it is not statistically possible to plot logic and network embeddedness scores on 4 dimensional plane because we have three types of institutional logics, I have adopted the following procedure. To get one encompassing logic embeddedness score, I have taken the embeddedness in the dimension that has the maximum loading. I argue that this score would represent what I name 'the degree of singleness in logic embeddedness.' Hence, higher number in one specific sub-dimension (i.e. scientization, vocational, or entrepreneurial) would indicate higher level of single logic embeddedness of these participants. Similarly, for network embeddedness having binary values, I have only taken closed network score of participants signifying the degree of closeness of their networks. For each department this method is adopted for visualization purposes, but Euclidean distances between decision-maker(s) and academicians and mean Euclidean distances (MED) for institutional logics are separately calculated and presented in three-dimensional Euclidean space.

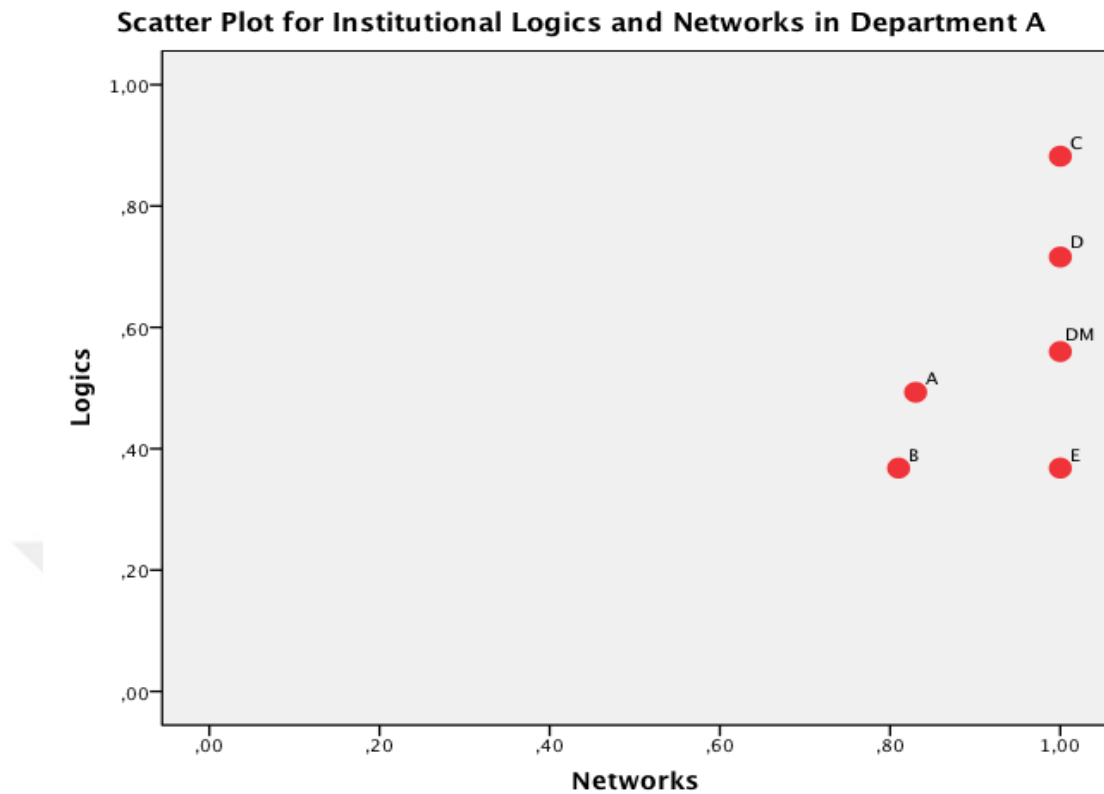


Figure 4. Scatter Plot for Department A

From the scatter plot in Figure 4 we observe that academicians are clustered around decision-maker where they have very similar network and logic embeddedness scores. Although we cannot show which single institutional logic they all are embedded in the diagram, we know qualitatively that both decision maker and the participants are strongly embedded in the vocational logic.

Table 18. Euclidean Distances of Institutional Logics and Networks between the Decision-Maker(s) and Academic Staff in Department A

Euclidean Distances	DM-A	DM-B	DM-C	DM-D	DM-E	MED _A
Institutional Logics	0.249	0.256	0.392	0.298	0.247	0.278
Political Networks	0.240	0.269	0	0	0	0.102

Table 18 shows the Euclidean distances between the decision maker(s) and academic staff with respect to embeddedness in each logic and political network. The higher number symbolizes that the level of similarity between the decision-maker and the

academic staff is low whereas low Euclidean distance scores highlights higher level of homogeneity. In terms of level of similarity between decision-makers and academic staff with regard to embedded institutional logics; Department A reflects the high level of similarity; decision-maker and majority of hired academic staff are embedded in single vocational logic and materially invoke logic's premises in their overemphasis on teaching and vocational skill building. On the similar token, the Euclidean distances with regard to political networks between decision-maker and each hired academician are low thereby representing very low level of separation. This further supported Hypothesis 1a that there is higher level of similarity between the decision-maker and each hired individual when the decision-maker is embedded in a single logic and closed political network.

5.2.1.2. Department B

In the light of the preliminary research results, University B is selected to depict the extent to which the similarity in terms of individual level embeddedness in single logic and closed political networks between two cases may yield variation with respect to public versus private ownership of the university. That is to say, I tried to juxtapose University A that is public with University B being private-foundation in order to see whether similar logic and network configurations result in varying level of homogeneity among newly formed academic staff. The findings revealed that University A had higher degree of homogeneity whereas University B represents more heterogeneity in terms of separation between political network embeddedness of the decision maker and academic staff. Before delving into the reasons of this difference, it is critical to explain the level of separation in terms of logics and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and academics.

First of all, it is important to note that what differentiates University A from University B is their ownership structures, former being public. For University B that is a private-foundation university located at the center associated with conservative identity, the percentage distribution Tables 19 and 20 show that the decision-maker(s) are mainly embedded in scientization logic and closed political networks. University positions itself as a research university, accordingly gives

relatively less course load to its academics and ultimately expecting internationally indexed publication performance from them. The prevalence of scientization logic is also reflected in curriculum. In line with scientization logic's premises, US-styled management education was put into effect via flexible curriculum, universalistic liberal arts courses in the first year followed by relatively higher number of electives. However at the departmental level as opposed to what scientization logic urges, there is emphasis on understanding 'their' civilization, cultural authenticity, finding historical roots of Turkish society and contributing to the building up a healthy society on these premises which are also reflected in the targets of management education. This emphasis on contextualized management education that is both related with "local and national" emphasis of the JDP and Islamic orientation. Thus, both the staff and curriculum have been designed to reflect understanding of universalism together with context.

Table 19. Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics in Department B

Institutional Logics	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
Participant A	0.870	0.087	0.043
Participant B	0.093	0.140	0.767
Participant C	0.458	0.504	0.038
Decision Maker	0.695	0.250	0.055

The decision-maker in Department B is embedded mainly in scientization (69.5%) followed by vocational (25%) logic. This distribution from the interview data is not totally supported with the percentage distribution on each institutional logic obtained from departmental level data. More specifically, departmental level entrepreneurial logic embeddedness is highest with 41.7% followed by vocational logic with 33.3% (See Table 15). On the contrary to the decision-maker's high level of embeddedness in scientization logic, the departmental level data remained at 25% with respect to this logic's manifestations. Although I argued that departmental level logic manifestation is expected to reflect that of the decision-maker, for University B relatively higher ratio of entrepreneurial and vocational logic instantiation can be attributed first to private-foundation ownership of the university, which implicitly

prioritizes attracting students and second recent drift towards entrepreneurial mindset.

In regard to manifestation of scientization logic, for teaching part, it was materialized through his emphasis on equipping students with intellectual accumulation rather than vocational skills. Stemming from the income-generating nature of the private-foundation universities, department is also very slightly tended towards practical side. The decision-maker emphasized this as;

There is also target student profile that expects practical skills from undergraduate education. Students need to spend at least a year in the industry but in practice this is not easily realized. We cannot equip students with practical skills. We though claim to provide a different education; we are still stuck in giving the standardized one.

The recruited academics in terms of teaching adopt similar perspectives, all signifying the need for management education as enabling universal scientific viewpoint rather than providing technical knowledge. Except one academic who is highly embedded in entrepreneurial and vocational logics, for the rest of the department I can argue that focus on theory wins over the practical emphasis. As Participant A mentioned,

Undergraduate education must have academic and theoretical nature. Sure, there is going to be the applied side but if we give an academic degree there has to be emphasis on theory. I do not believe that vocational side has to be that much prioritized, at the end of the day we are not a MYO (Vocational School).

Research wise, instantiation of scientization logic is more vivid whereby academics are primarily expected to make academic research. In terms of their embeddedness in scientization logic the department reflects high degree of similarity. Participant A vividly referred this as follows; “Everybody has common target; we want to publish indexed articles, we want to spend most of our time in doing research. There is actually no one that refrain from doing research and prefer only to lecture.” Likewise, Participant C supported this by saying, “Our attitudes are to a large extent

similar, everybody eagerly works for the purpose of publishing in good (A-class) journals.”

This emphasis on research via national and international research projects has precedence over both teaching and engaging in industry-projects. The decision-maker referred to their ultimate expectation as follows; “We want to have our academics to be outstanding in research, in doing projects and having well-established linkages with industry and business world. Unfortunately there exists no profile like this.” One issue that was observed about the research program of the academics is that, although mainstream research is supported, emphasis on civilization in research is also surfaced. More connoted with ideological basis of the university, their academic CVs revealed that those whom are not affiliated with conservative political identity have still some traces of religion and ideology in their academic work. This does not mean that the academics take those issues at the center of the academic research but rather integrate those in their work mostly as empirical settings. For instance, several academics coming from liberal ideology work on Islamic marketing, Islamic schools, and Islamic social capital. In line with decision-maker’s perspective, majority of the academic staff pursues theoretical research. What is more, while taking Boğaziçi University’s academic promotion policy as a benchmark, publication performance required for promotion to associate professorship is tighter than what YÖK expects.

As already mentioned, in terms of the embeddedness of academic staff in various logics, majority of the participants (Participant A, C and the department head) are highly embedded in scientization logic. That also explains why, very recently opening up Turkish degree program in Entrepreneurship, recruiting few other academics embedded in entrepreneurial logic caused a level of apprehension among academics on whether the direction of the department has begun to drift away from scientization logic. Still however, one of the participants relieved herself by saying,

There happened to be the job-talk of a candidate for assistant professorship cadre, and she was a very research oriented person. I feel that she is not

different than me in terms of her current research program and her desire in making research.

At the departmental level, entrepreneurial logic is substantially not invoked as very few participants⁴⁴ are engaged in entrepreneurial logic. First, participants maintained that there is no solid pressure on academics for engaging in industry projects at the management level whereby doing TÜBİTAK research projects is equally valued. Second, education directed towards entrepreneurship is not very much prioritized as told by the decision-maker, “I am not sure whether our current Management curriculum can really enable the rise of entrepreneurs.” Third, participants viewed that their research topics (mostly theoretical and sociological) actually do not match with what market-driven research intends for, even some argued that industry-university collaboration may direct, limit and restrain their research topics. Participant B is an outlier from the general scientization tendency of the department, being aware of this situation; he also clearly mentioned how he came through the network where the embeddedness in desired logics lagged behind in his recruitment. Very much embedded in entrepreneurial logic, he critically referred to the prevalent research orientation in the department by,

...They (*referring to academics in the department*) still think that reading 30 articles and writing one article really works. I am not saying this to degrade their work but those working with theory actually produce like this. As opposed to firm-specific needs, they carry on with research topics that they like.

His embeddedness in entrepreneurial logic is so clear with his emphasis as,

I really work hard to bring academic life and practice together. I have been telling to couple of professors here: If you really want to do research, why not doing together in the firm? I see that the other professors whom we were recruited together are more theoreticians; the way that they understand from research is totally different from my consideration. My research bursts from

⁴⁴ Depicted only two, one of them already left the University and appointed as Rector to a private-foundation university before interviews. Due to this, the table only has one academic embedded in entrepreneurial logic.

practice and my field experience, they on the other hand are engaged with their own research agendas.

He also deviates from the decision-maker and the rest of the department in terms of his teaching perspective. Embracing vocational and more heavily entrepreneurial logic, his aspiration is “Undergraduate education definitely and very definitely must be market centered since the end user of our products in other words our graduates is going to be the market itself.” As opposed to prevalent departmental rationale, he pushes hard by saying, “Management in the capitalist system must envision raising students which firms are in demand for. Students must know how a businessman or a capitalist thinks and acts; unfortunately most of the people are not aware of this.”

At the very founding stage, the decision-maker(s) of Department B opted for the recruitment of those academics whom are both embedded in scientization logic and conservative political identity. However, as also explained in Section 4.4.2.2.1. (Twitter Coding), the conservative identity should not be considered uniform, but rather several other tendencies or influential actors within the party form their own groups and their sympathizers. In this regard, for University B, the key actor was the former Prime Minister who was also one of the founders of the founding Association. Having the imprinting effect of Boğaziçi University education (undergraduate and postgraduate) and academic background, he was influential in infusing his own mindset in the founding of this university. Hence this case should be seen as the endeavor of research university of the conservative wing. However, later on, this homogenization was tilted towards integrating academics from other networks (particularly liberal and liberal-left) but still embedded in scientization logic. Among these academics particularly associated with liberal ideology, there were both very highly qualified and publicly well-known ones. This happened for two reasons; first with the starting of undergraduate education there was the need for having more academic staff to carry out the courses. But still those embedded in scientization logic is prioritized which led the decision-maker(s) to search out of their political network. Second, the University had begun to be more concerned with giving the openness image to outside world. Very recently however, the department has begun to drift towards entrepreneurial logic by first opening up Turkish degree

programs in Entrepreneurship and second integrating academics embedded in vocational and entrepreneurial logics both from outside and relocating from within.

Although University A and B seem to be similar from the very outset in terms of their embeddedness in similar logics and networks; the dynamism of the academic hiring process and public versus private ownership structure had different implications. To start with, the interview with the decision-maker supported the dynamic nature of the academic cadre formulation mainly with respect to integration of people outside conservative political network. After following the initial foundation stage that emphasized recruitment of those people whom would enhance the reputation of the department, subsequent stage opted for selecting those academics that could be able to carry on the course overload. As the number of students increased, the need for academics also gained significance. Subsequently, as the department maintained its position with regard to reputation and income, it once again expected to trace back to the role of networks. The incorporation of credible academics sharing same mission at the very beginning is important for its survival. Then, the second stage highlighted need-based approach and enabled the recruitment of academic staff that would satisfy educational requirements. Finally, as the department has well-founded instructional cadre base; the envisioned “appropriate setup” is expected to be tested via incorporation of people through networks.

The level of similarity with respect to the political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the academic staff represents more of processual pattern that deviates this case from University A. That is to say, the level of network similarity is relatively higher at the initial stages as opposed to the final composition. This is also displayed in Table 20, where the decision-maker is highly embedded in closed networks (80%) whereas the rest of the department is not highly embedded in. The founding dean is associated with pro-JDP identity, though he did not overtly mention the role of political networks in the recruitment process during the interview.⁴⁵ However one of the academics whom was very embedded with this political network explicitly explained the combined nature of the process,

⁴⁵ The Twitter shares of the decision-maker are very much related with the President Erdoğan and religion of Islam. In some of the tweets, s/he directly targets against the main opposition party and its leader

There are two different ways, for one there is the normal procedure where we go for vacancy announcement and people apply for it. From those applications coming outside the network, we evaluate these people. But for others, for instance the dean, the department head, academic X and me, we were offered for this position. But for others such as academic Y and Z, they are out of the network.

On the contrary to these statements, the founding dean explained the objective nature of the recruitment by referring to the presence of job-talks and evaluation of the candidate with regard to his publications.

Table 20. Percentage Distribution of Open versus Closed Networks in Department B

Networks	Open Network	Closed Network
Participant A	1.00	0.00
Participant B	0.33	0.67
Participant C	0.47	0.53
Decision Maker	0.20	0.80

The compatibility between the political identity of the university and that of the decision-maker is very high in this case. The comparison of the University B's official Twitter messages and the decision-maker's interview data has supported our proposition. University B scored highest (i.e. 41 counts) in the keyword count related to conservative identity. Among these counts, twelve of them include former Prime Minister Davutoğlu (i.e. the other universities in the sample did scored zero in with this keyword) that also contributes to the uniqueness of this case. Overall, the departmental level embeddedness in closed political networks resulted with 89.1% that very much corresponds to the decision-maker's closed network embeddedness score (See Table 15).

Relatedly, one emerging theme both from his interview and that of other participants was acquaintanceship with the foundation. This foundation also having the former

Prime Minister as of its founder is very much affiliated with the JDP.⁴⁶ Thus, for this case acquaintanceship with the foundation and being members of it have political ideological connotation. The decision-maker whom had frequently given lectures and presentations at this foundation also shares the common academic background (i.e. Boğaziçi graduate) with the founders. So the very beginning stage had been characterized with recruitment of people both embedded in scientization logic and this closed network. The initially recruited academics were chosen mainly because of their “knowledge about the *neighborhood*.”⁴⁷ Except for the first recruited group of people whereby trustworthiness emerged to be the major concern, higher academic standards such as PhD degrees from abroad, internationally indexed publication potential of the candidates were more pronounced. It is critical to note that the initially recruited people directly know the founder of the foundation and the decision-maker as one participant referred, “Our acquaintanceship with the founder comes from our ideological network, this university has inherent conservative nature.” Another academic explicitly mentioned his network embeddedness by juxtaposing this with being unscientific; “If you ask whether I am recruited through scientific procedures or network, I would say the second one, before coming here I was working as a manager in one of consultancy firms associated with foundation.”

Subsequently the predominance of the founder or the foundation has been superseded by the job searching board. But still one of the participants differentiated the recruitment process for those people from or out of networks. The role of political networks in the hiring process had differed with respect to formal and informal hiring procedures. For University B, candidates embedded in this political network at the very beginning came through invitation. These people are usually those who ‘knew someone’ very influential in the decision-making process. These and some senior well-known professors who are out of the network were exempted from seminar presentations. On the contrary, American-styled hiring procedures were put into effect for other candidates. Mainly, they were invited for job-talks; and asked to make seminar presentations to the faculty; and then final decision was given.

⁴⁶ Founded in 1986, it had remained aloof to politics until the JDP coming to power.

⁴⁷ Metaphorical phrase signifying belonging to one’s side.

Although the affiliation with the conservative identity seems to be alleviated at the later stages with the recruitment of people from open networks, still association with religious community identity is something to be watched for. This is especially due to current political context in which the alliance between the JDP and Gülen community had ceased hence led to alienation of these identity affiliated academics from conservative universities. As one participant explained it, “One candidate holding PhD degree from Harvard has applied but our department did not want him because we have heard that he was *paralelci*.”⁴⁸ On the contrary, there was no problem for other dissenting academics, as argued by one, “There is significant amount of people coming from different worldviews. There are very strong Gezi supporters, signatory academics to Academics for Peace. And still they are working at this university.”

This change in the later stages in favor of open networks is justified on several grounds. First with the start of the undergraduate education there emerged the need for sufficient number of academics whom would carry on the course load. Second coming from its private-foundation nature and eagerness in attracting students affiliated with various political ideologies, department wanted to give the impression of being open to all political views via recruiting academics embedded in liberal and liberal-left wing ideologies. So, closed network embeddedness of the department has paved way to more openness in the subsequent stages. This observation is supported with the interviews from lately recruited participants, whereby openness to differences was the common theme. As Participant A said,

Working here does not require any ideological attachment. I do not have ideological closeness to any of these sides. It is not a secret that this university is a conservative one but I did not have any encounter with the foundation before and I believe that foundation was not influential in my recruitment decision.

The change in the network composition of the department did not couple with any change in the prioritization of scientization logic. Hence, logic based similarity has

⁴⁸ Gülenist or follower of the Community

begun to persist, as one participant told, “We are not that similar ideological wise, but if you look from academic identity, we are similar.” That is why the later recruited people’s acquaintanceship with the current academic staff has originated from their academic works specifically meeting at the prestigious conferences/workshops. All in all, the comparison of Euclidean distances of Department A and B reveal that mean Euclidean distance for both institutional logics and political networks is higher for Department B. With regard to institutional logics, this score is boosted due to hiring of people from entrepreneurial logic focus at the later stages in Department B. For political networks, as already explained, the closed network compositions have begun to be dissolved due to both private foundation nature of the university and the urgency in starting undergraduate education.

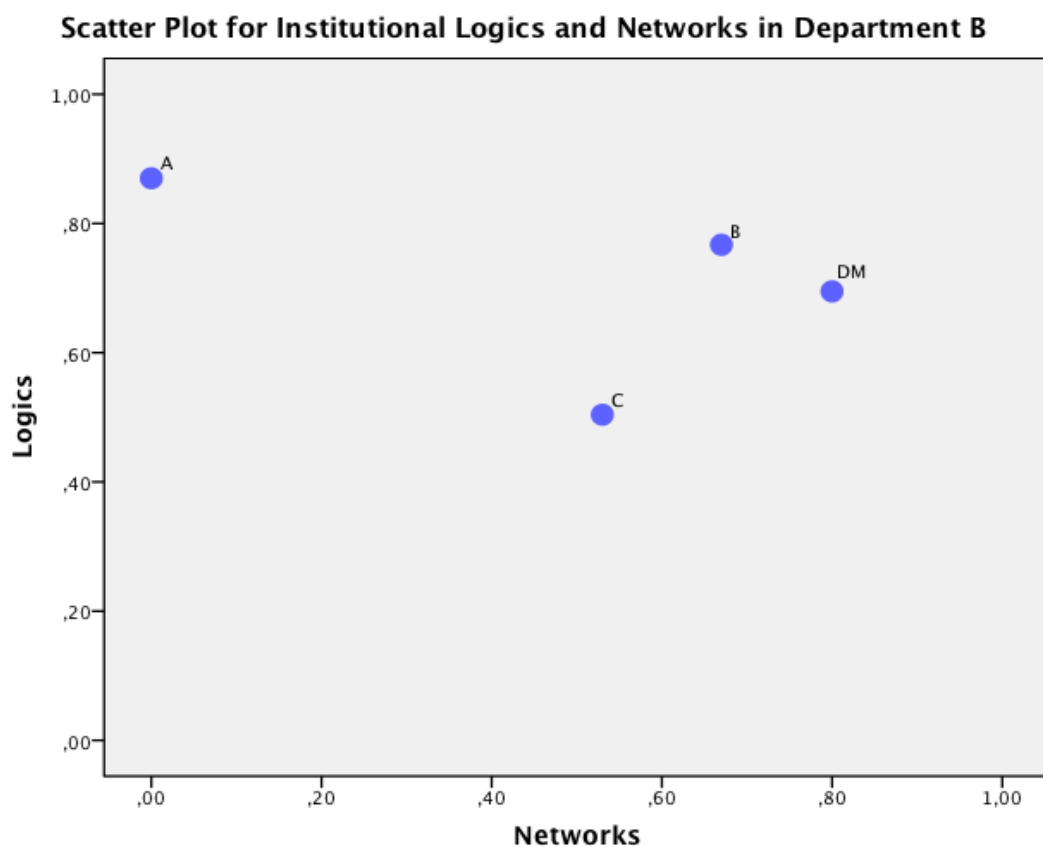


Figure 5. Scatter Plot for Department B

From the scatter plot in Figure 5, we observe that academicians are very dispersed in their network embeddedness scores. However except for one participant, others score relatively similar with respect to logic embeddedness. For Department B, both decision maker and the participants are strongly embedded in scientization logic. Table 21 shows the Euclidean distances between the decision maker(s) and academic staff with respect to embeddedness in each logic and political network. In terms of level of similarity between decision-makers and academic staff with regard to embedded institutional logics, as compared to Department A, Department B reflects lower level of similarity (i.e. $MED_B=0.508$, $MED_A=0.278$). Similarly, the Euclidean distances with regard to political networks between decision-maker and each hired academician are relatively higher in Department B thereby representing higher level of separation in comparison to Department A (i.e. $MED_B=0.566$, $MED_A=0.102$). Therefore Hypothesis 1a is not supported.

Table 21. Euclidean Distances of Institutional Logics and Networks between the Decision-Maker(s) and Academic Staff in Department B

Euclidean Distances	DM-A	DM-B	DM-C	MED_B
Institutional Logics	0.240	0.937	0.348	0.508
Political Networks	1.131	0.184	0.382	0.566

One of the reasons for the dispersion with respect to the embeddedness in conservative political network in Department B is about the varying levels of labor supply embedded in scientization versus vocational logics. As in general terms, the number of academics embedded in scientization logic is relatively less than that of vocational, it becomes more challenging for the University B to recruit people both embedded in conservative identity and scientization logic. Therefore, University B has opted to recruit individuals from liberal and liberal-left wing whom were historically in alliance with conservative ideology. These findings do not provide support to Hypothesis 1a, on the contrary the level of similarity between the political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual was moderately low even though the decision-maker was embedded in a closed political network.

5.2.1.3. Department C

In line with our proposed typology, Cell 2 corresponds to the decision-maker who is embedded in a single logic and open network. Accordingly, University C is a public university located at the center and associated with secularist identity. Although the public universities established during the JDP rule is very closely associated with the conservative identity, University C presents a unique composition with regard to both decision-maker's and hired academic staff's identities.

To start with institutional logics, as shown in Table 22, the decision-maker is embedded mainly in vocational logic (69.4%) with moderate emphasis on entrepreneurial logic (18.1%) and very limited on scientization logic's premises (12.5%). More interestingly, his interview showed that the premises of vocational logic were materialized only with regard to teaching whereas research was not on his agenda. From the very beginning, he explained the current framing of management education as follows, "We aim to raise students who see pricing and accounting as managerial tools, that is why we formed an academic cadre predominantly from accounting and finance specialization." His overemphasis on accounting education led to designing of management education that would equip students with skills (i.e. ability to read balance sheets and income statements). Hence the main aim remained to be applied management education thereby "with the education they gain here, they are going to get well prepared to what they will encounter in real life such as financial statement analyses." That is why, the management program target to raise sector-based businessmen whom would be easily employable and hold on to various sectors. Apart from accounting, he highlighted the importance of contextualized management education through emphasis on law courses by saying, "In our curriculum we have courses on civil law, criminal law and administrative law. Our students should gain both applied skills and legal base."

The decision-maker's strong embeddedness in vocational logic is also supported with the departmental level data. Overall, the departmental level embeddedness represent 61.1% of vocational logic followed by 22.2% entrepreneurial and 16.7% scientization logics and which is very compatible with the decision-maker's

embeddedness. This again supported the argument that departmental level institutional logic manifestation reflects that of the decision-maker.

Table 22. Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics in Department C

Institutional Logics	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
Participant A	0.250	0.417	0.333
Participant B	0.086	0.693	0.221
Participant C	0.184	0.408	0.408
Participant D	0.222	0.611	0.167
Decision Maker	0.125	0.694	0.181

In terms of participants' embeddedness in various logics, there is high degree of similarity between decision-maker and each participant. From Table 22, it is observed that all of the participants scored highest in their embeddedness in vocational logic. This supports our Hypothesis 2a that the decision-maker(s) would prioritize people embedded in the same single logic. Besides, their embeddedness in scientization and entrepreneurial logic reveal similar scores where embeddedness in former one usually lags behind the latter. This is also in line with decision-maker's non-emphasis on any premise of scientization logic and relatively limited mentioning of what entrepreneurial logic tells for. Generally from the interviews, participants usually referred to "what ought to be" rather than "what it is" in terms of their manifestations of scientization and entrepreneurial logics. For example phrases such as "Ideal academician should be a researcher", "Our academics must transfer knowledge to our students and support them to generate their own knowledge by triggering enthusiasm.", "Our students should also have entrepreneurial orientation." and "Management departments shall institutionalize the communication with both internal and external stakeholders" are mentioned by using modal verbs.

The participants' relatively higher scores on vocational logic are very much fueled with their views on research and teaching. Vocational logic in terms of research highlights more contextualized research, presence of training projects, relatively higher number of national/non-indexed publications and textbooks. This tendency is also reflected in what the decision-maker has academically produced so far, analysis

of his CV displayed that he completed nine different training programs, published relatively higher number of national articles (none of his publications is SSCI) and textbooks. Very similarly with decision-maker, participants either scored very low/non-existent on research dimension of scientization logic. For instance none of the participants neither have published any article on SSCI outlets nor has taken part in TÜBİTAK research projects.

In terms of teaching, vocational logic's premises are highly predominant among participants. Above all, the University's essential aim of becoming a research university fails to be achieved with having high number of academics embedded in vocational logic and department's priority in education. One participant criticized this as such, "I do not believe the department can be research-focused, at the very beginning we should not have spread out in opening thesis, non-thesis and e-learning programs." In line with vocational logic, one common theme among participants is their emphasis on practice-oriented education that would respond to firm-specific demands. Although there is frequent referring to how students can be trained to obtain necessary job-related skills via company-visits, internships, making them familiar with software programs specific to the field of interest; there remains also criticism about the current educational practices. Even all participants emphasized the significance of applied management education, the extent to which they materialize this in the courses they provide remains to be a question mark. A participant told the following, "Though it [undergraduate degree] has to be pure educational program, we still lecture through power point slides instead of pushing our students to real life context."

To continue with the role of political identities in the recruitment process, as revealed in Section 4.4.2.2.1. (Twitter Coding), University C mirrors a fluid picture with regard to the prevalent political identities. Although Twitter data revealed the conservative identity of the decision-maker, he is still embedded in open network based on the pro-state ideology of the era blending elements of the JDP, Islamic Conservatism, Kemalism and nationalism. For this reason, the compatibility between the political identity of the university and that of the decision-maker is more complicated. The comparison of University C's official Twitter messages and the

decision-maker's interview data has supported our compatibility argument. The open network embeddedness score of this department is 60% which also very highly corresponds to the decision-maker's embeddedness (See Table 15).

Table 23. Percentage Distribution of Open versus Closed Networks in Department C

Networks	Open Network	Closed Network
Participant A	0.17	0.83
Participant B	1.00	0.00
Participant C	0.00	1.00
Participant D	0.00	1.00
Decision Maker	0.50	0.50

As shown in Table 23, his closed network embeddedness score reveals 50%. The findings revealed that as compared to University A (public university located at center), though still high in absolute terms, the percentage of closed networks remain to be relatively lower. On the contrary University C is not purely predominated by academics affiliated with the conservative identity. There is relatively lower level of similarity between the decision-maker and the recruited staff in terms of political identities which also supports the open network embeddedness of the decision maker.

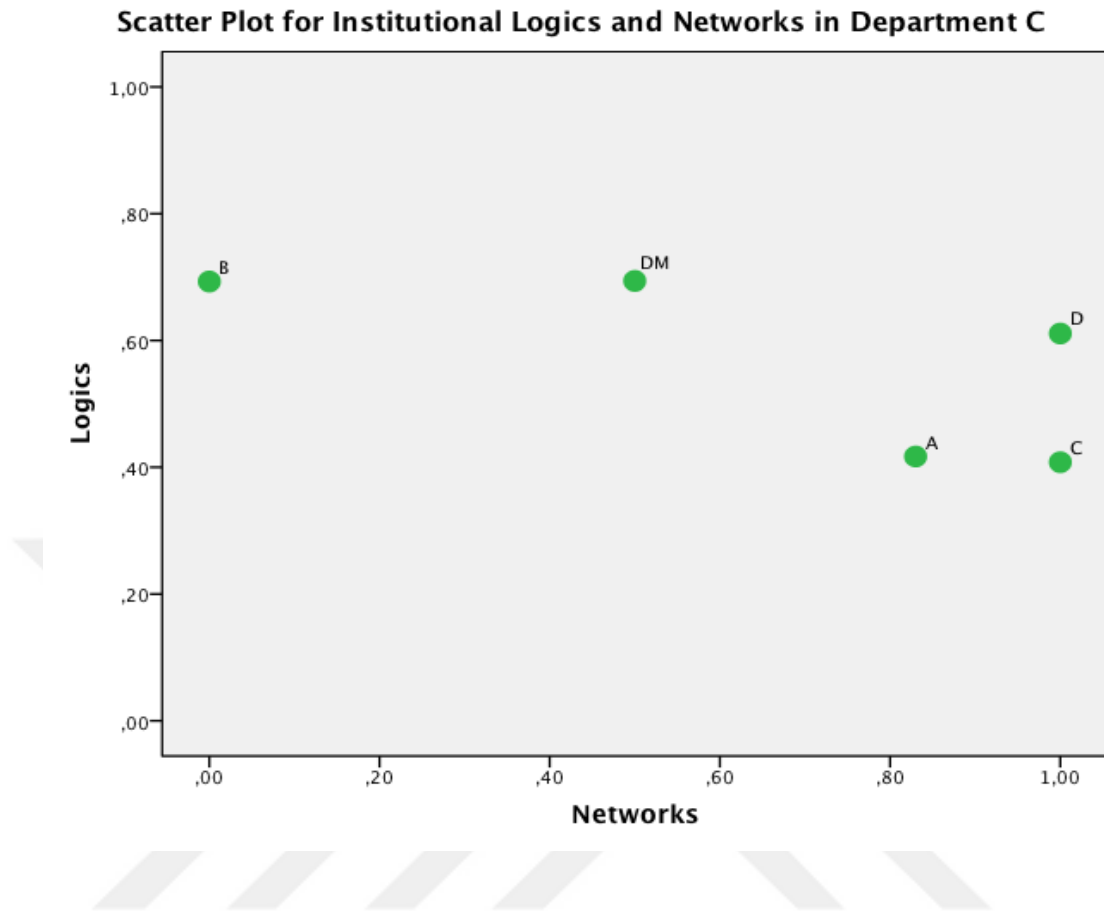


Figure 6. Scatter Plot for Department C

From the scatter plot in Figure 6, we observe that academicians at Department C are dispersed in their network embeddedness scores but relatively representing similarity in their logic embeddedness and this also is in line with our expectations. Though it cannot be depicted from the diagram, we know qualitatively that both the decision maker and the majority of the participants are highly embedded in the vocational logic. Table 24 shows the Euclidean distances between the decision maker(s) and academic staff in Department C with respect to embeddedness in each logic and political network. In terms of level of similarity between decision-makers and academic staff with regard to embedded institutional logics; Department C scores relatively similar with Department A ($MED_A=0.278$, $MED_C=0.223$). On the contrary, Department A and C diverge to a large extent with regard to their MED scores of network embeddedness ($MED_A=0.102$, $MED_C=0.647$). Hence, the Euclidean distances with regard to political networks between decision-maker and

each hired academician are relatively higher in Department C thereby representing lower level of similarity in comparison to Department A.

Table 24. Euclidean Distances of Institutional Logics and Networks between the Decision-Maker(s) and Academic Staff in Department C

	DM-				
Euclidean Distances	A	DM-B	DM-C	DM-D	MED _C
Institutional Logics	0.340	0.053	0.370	0.129	0.223
Political Networks	0.467	0.707	0.707	0.707	0.647

All in all, Departments C and A are sharing similar attributes with regard to their ownership structures and embeddedness in single logic but have shown disparity in terms of the political network embeddedness. Mean Euclidean distance scores for these two departments also support Hypothesis 2a, whereby MED for institutional logics are similar for both A and C but different with respect to political networks. Overall, in comparison to Department A the expected level of homogeneity is going to be lower in Department C with regard to embeddedness in closed networks. These findings supported Hypothesis 2a in that the level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual resulted to be moderate so that they became to be highly similar in terms of the institutional logic identification but dissimilar in terms of political networks.

5.2.1.4. Department D

After discussing the decision-maker(s) embedded in a single logic but both in closed or open networks in our sample cases, from this part onwards I am going to elaborate the results of two more cases where decision-maker(s) are embedded in multiple logics with varying degrees of network closure. In line with the proposed typology, Cell 3 refers to the decision-maker who is embedded in multiple logics and closed network. Accordingly, University D is a private-foundation university located at periphery and associated with religious community identity. The percentage

distribution Table 25 shows that he is relatively more embedded in both vocational (42.3%) and entrepreneurial logics (45.3%).

The pattern of institutional logic distribution at the departmental level not really corresponds to that of the decision-maker. The departmental level data have revealed highest level of embeddedness in vocational logic with 62.5% followed by 32.7% in entrepreneurial logics (See Table 15). These findings run counter to those of the decision-maker, yet embeddedness in scientization logic has scored lowest both with regard to the department (4.8%) and decision-maker (12.5%). The departmental level data have more pronounced vocational logic premises whereas the decision-maker have more instantiated entrepreneurial logic.⁴⁹

In line with these findings, from his interview data it can be concluded that his embeddedness in multiple logics has materialized both vocational and entrepreneurial components while relatively disregarding scientization logic. In this vein, the most prevalent theme from his interview data has emerged to be practice orientation both with regard to teaching and research. In terms of teaching, he referred to more specialized management education with more emphasis on sectoral dynamics. He also opted for professionals with non-academic backgrounds and mainly from the industry to be recruited as lecturers that would also provide students with more applied knowledge. Moreover, he urged that the courses should be leaned towards more practice rather than theory. In terms of research, his interview data explicitly emphasized research that is more practice-oriented in nature. He suggested the following, “I am a practice-oriented person, I deem practice-oriented knowledge as more of science, and hence science should serve well to practice.”

⁴⁹ This situation was also mentioned in the interviews stating that the Decision-maker’s entrepreneurial mindset was too far to be reached.

Table 25. Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics in Department D

Institutional Logics	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
Participant A	0.238	0.410	0.352
Participant B	0.378	0.191	0.431
Participant C	0.023	0.538	0.439
Participant D	0.298	0.248	0.454
Participant E	0.646	0.229	0.125
Participant F	0.569	0.392	0.038
Decision Maker	0.125	0.423	0.453

As it is shown in Table 25, participants are embedded in multiple institutional logics in which the premises of vocational and entrepreneurial logics have been invoked at a relatively higher percentage. Except for Participant E and F, all other participants score lowest with regard to their embeddedness in scientization logic. For the rest of the participants, their embeddedness in vocational and entrepreneurial logics is relatively at a similar range.

Among the academics interviewed some common themes related to their understanding of teaching have emerged. Given that they are mostly embedded in vocational logic, their reflections on teaching have also supported this. First, all participants have emphasized practice-oriented education. Practice-orientation is mostly uttered through emphasis on vocational knowledge and job-related skills that would enable student employability. While some participants degraded theory with prioritization of applied scientific knowledge, others deemed applied knowledge as a tool for bringing a new perspective to theory. Majority of the academic staff argued that the theory has to be complemented with application while judging theory as ‘dry’⁵⁰ and ‘chasing rainbows’ on its own. Hence application is viewed as of a way to cultivate theory especially in teaching where undergraduate education should be designed as the combination of theory and practice. This is argued to be achieved

⁵⁰ “Uygulamaya yönelik olduğunu söyleyebilirim, *kuru teorik* bilgiden ziyade uygulamaya yönelik; sadece kuramsal değil.”, “Ben eğitim yaklaşımında buna çok önem veriyorum, bunun ayağı yere basan taraflarını da gösteriyorum, bunun pratik ve uygulamaya yönelik taraflarına da önem veriyorum.”

through industry applications and industry-based education. Accordingly, all these tools should be directed towards achieving the ‘benefit’ from both research and teaching. Academics of Department D mostly viewed theoretical issues as of not bearing any solid benefit for real life practice while harshly criticizing the moral of ‘science for the sake of science’ for eliciting the rupture between theory and practice.

Second, ‘student training’ as a theme appeared to be common while highlighting raising students for their future career with necessary knowledge. This theme has also been framed as preparing students for life which would be complemented with the need to set departmental targets matched with market demands. Student-focused education is also reflected in devising course content; especially for academics who have already had professional experience before, their course content is more inclined to convey practice-oriented knowledge that would also meet firm demands. Interviews suggested that industry-based education indeed required the delivery of technical knowledge which would be appreciated by industry. As Participant B mentioned; “...as students are only equipped with theory and with relatively less practice, they have to spend serious amount of time in understanding firm dynamics and even the jargon.” It can be argued that, materialization of entrepreneurial logic in terms of meeting market demands in teaching goes hand in hand with convey of technical skills prescribed by vocational logic.

Third, different educational tools oriented towards application were emphasized. The stressing on different educational methods by majority of the participants was implicitly rationalized through the logic that they are embedded in. As mentioned by Participant A; “Still some universities follow the classical system (*intonation with disdain*), the system where the students are totally passive not even knowing how to make a presentation.” These educational tools aimed to achieve two different things; on the one hand they target the creation of job-oriented skills; on the other hand they are designed to get commune with the industry. While emphasis on skill-oriented education and the way to adopt practical knowledge have tended participants towards vocational logic, most of them also underlined innovativeness in the ways to transfer the knowledge to students. In their criticism towards the already established skill-building tools such as internships inadequate, they emphasized taking students

to field and supplementing that with different educational tools such as; case studies, simulations, business practice courses, guest speakers from the industry, connecting entrepreneurs from US via Skype and use of up to date technology in lecturing course material. Moreover, getting into close contact with the industry is to be realized through sending students, accepting master's students and lecturers from industry that would enable students to grasp market conditions. It can be argued that relatively more stress on innovative educational tools deviate the participants from continental European understanding of vocational training towards more of US-style. This could also be explained with the educational imprinting effect. Participants holding PhD degrees abroad have more emphasized the innovativeness in lecturing and are more tended to make use of these tools compared to others.

To a ranging degree, academics referred to research but with different rationales. Yet, their emphasis on research deviated from what scientization logic has invoked. Mostly, instrumentality of the research has appeared to be prevalent theme. This would imply three different things. First, it implies doing research not for its academic contribution but rather engaging in projects and thereby in potential research that would transform the current workings of the firms. In this regard, research is depicted to be focused on problems that firms encounter and solutions which would be subsequently expected to provide a new theoretical perspective. Thus theoretical focus is not in the way scientization logic envisages but rather is seen more in terms of development of new means that would bring managerial solutions. Some of the department members were relatively more critical of publications that are not targeted towards generating solutions to managerial issues. More, they depict projects as a tool to get engaged with the market that would ultimately end with scientific publications. However, there is a gap between their discourse and actual practice; the analyses of their CVs revealed that scientific contribution via projects only remain at aspiration level. On the contrary, engaging with industry through projects is materialized mainly through giving education/training and consultancy to the firms.

Second, instrumentality of research is echoed under the guise of regional development needs.⁵¹ Both decision-maker and majority of the participants emphasized the significance of responding regional needs in their academic programs. This would entail both teaching that would ultimately raise graduates for the regional market and research that is oriented towards firms in the city. For teaching part, academics are more intended to raise entrepreneurial students not solely starting their own businesses but also those that would contribute to regional development and economy via their business. Third, engaging in research is articulated to meet the criteria for getting associate professorship. Conceptualized as a field-level constraint, YÖK provides a regulation guiding promotion to associate professorship cadre in Turkey. Accordingly, academics are required to reach to certain threshold with different scientific outputs (i.e. books, articles, projects) having different scores. In the light of this field-level constraint, especially interviews with assistant professors revealed research as of an imperative. Academics are acting mostly strategic in order to reach minimum eligibility scores. Since the regulation foresees that engaging in projects brings relatively lower points compared to scientific articles, they are avoided by the academics for the short term. Thus, they can be viewed as pragmatist in shifting back and forth between different logic premises.

Moreover, not only the founding holding but also student profile feeds the drift towards vocational and entrepreneurial logics. This happens in two terms; first as the admission scores for private-foundation universities in periphery are relatively low ranked, the profile of the students admitted deviates away from instantiation of scientization logic but rather more inclined towards vocational skill building. This was mentioned by Participant E as follows; “We are very far away from raising students at national and international level, we can only do our best to meet regional needs.” Second, as relatively higher proportion of students come from the affluent inhabitants of the city and as fathers of most of them run their own small or medium size businesses, they aim to carry on their business after graduation. Hence, students coming from the center of practice are more engaged towards vocational and

⁵¹ Regional development is vital for this industrialized city in Central Anatolia; the city achieved remarkable industrial growth since 2000 with a favorable environment for SMEs.

entrepreneurial logics and they more demand academic staff with professional or sectoral experience or even from non-academic background. That is why; decision-maker strived to maintain the fit between both students, founding holding and academic staff through recruiting academics embedded more in vocational and entrepreneurial logics.

To continue with political networks of both decision-maker and the academic staff, as it is already expressed University D is affiliated to religious community identity. When a private foundation university is established by entrepreneurs who are embedded in a single political network or community, the decision-makers' political identities also reflect closed political network structure. Our assumption that individuals who are embedded in the same political network are assigned as founding deans held support so that the decision-maker is also associated with this identity, which was revealed both from his interview and Twitter data. The comparison of the University D's official Twitter messages and the decision-maker's interview data has supported this argument. University D had highest number of keywords associated with religious community identity (i.e. 80 keywords), on the contrary rest of the sample cases have either very few or none. Very uniquely, University D almost scored the same with University C in the total number of secularist identity keywords, which are comparatively higher than Universities A and B affiliated with conservative identity. Overall departmental level political network data displayed in Table 15 revealed 87.7% embeddedness in closed network that remained high when compared with the decision-maker's embeddedness (67%) (Table 26).

Political network configurations of the ultimately hired academic staff have shown variation at different points in time. At the very beginning, the urgency of the founding stage caused the decision-maker to recruit people whom he had directly known and have had difficulties in finding assistant professorship cadre in their own respective universities. These people were mostly embedded in this political identity whereas some not directly connected but still located within the professional network (i.e. his PhD student from a public university located in the same city) of the decision-maker. At this stage, individuals that did not align with the ideology of

Board of Trustees were not recruited. While the decision-maker keenly expressed how they looked for ideological similarity in the recruited academic staff, he did not put being affiliated to religious community identity as a prerequisite rather he underlined the importance of morals and individual's character as such; "We are a private-foundation university established by the *cemaat*. That still does not mean every recruited academic has to be member of *cemaat* but still we look for clean-cut man." From the interview, it is understood that the ideological similarity does not only refer to being Gülenist but rather encompassed more of a mindset. This also appeared from the other interviews, "... one thing is s/he should not have hatred discourse to religion, otherwise people looking from outside will not see any internal harmony." Another supported by saying; "As we are recruited, our dean told us to find new candidates whom are open to differences, not having antagonistic discourse and are agreeable. It does not matter whether the individual is leftist or rightist, we look for benign character." Still more the emphasis on character was mentioned by former department head; "During that time, we did not categorize any of our friends in this manner, my view point was based on academic background plus his/her personality."

Table 26. Percentage Distribution of Open versus Closed Networks in Department D

Networks	Open Network	Closed Network
Participant A	0.24	0.76
Participant B	0.58	0.42
Participant C	0.07	0.93
Participant D	0.40	0.60
Participant E	0.75	0.25
Participant F	1	0
Decision Maker	0.33	0.67

Although from the very outset, one might expect that majority of the recruited people are affiliated with religious community identity since it is founded by this community but paradoxically it is not the case as far as the interviewees revealed. At this point, it should be underlined that there is the recurrent theme of both 'openness

to differences’ and ‘ideological similarity.’ The percentage of participants coming from open network is 48 whereas closed network is 52. This ratio seems to be controversial. The timing of interviews stemming from the politically conflicting issues between the ruling party and Gülen Community makes sense in this regard. For the former one, it can be argued that the discourse of openness to differences is resorted for impression management concerns. Especially at the time of the interviews where soon after Trustee was appointed to the university, it is possible for the participants to position the department differently. It can be suggested that this ratio could have been different if the interviews were conducted before the alliance between the ruling party and Gülen Community publicly broke down publicly in 2013. Whereas ideological similarity is mentioned by three of the participants, openness to differences is referred by four of them out of six individuals.

Another point is, though each participant is well aware of which identity that the University belongs to, they refrained from explicitly wording it except the decision-maker and one participant. On the contrary, academics not affiliated with religious community identity explicitly worded their disconnection; “I do not have any organic or inorganic connection with the ideological base here.” Even more, department head who is affiliated with religious community identity disclaimed the situation as follows; “The outside perception about the university and recruiting academics in this respect is out of question. Those people who are not sympathizers of this ideology may apply and evaluated on the basis of academic background. ”

Since the questioning of political identity more specifically Gülen identity is a taboo issue in the current political context, the interview data were complemented with secondary sources about the participants. These varied among analyses of their CVs (i.e. checking whether they have had education at these schools, whether they have had previously worked at any community related organization), Twitter accounts and news published about them in local and national media. Among the recruited academics, two of them (Participant E and F) explicitly mentioned that they do not have any organic connection with the community thus scoring very high with respect to their open network embeddedness. They clearly mentioned their disconnection with the ideology and talked relatively less about department’s ideological affiliation

but it is for sure that one is recruited for being the PhD student of the decision-maker and the other has applied as a result of his e-mail to the decision-maker and subsequent job-talk to the department.

Two other participants (A and C) mentioned their affiliation where both of them had religious community identity related hints from their CVs (i.e. previous work experiences). The remaining two (i.e. one Participant B and department head) revealed conflicting responses. The academic quantitatively had 58 percent of his hits under open network but still made me to think about his relationship due to his mentioning of, “They have reached me through acquaintance thread (*tanıdık silsilesi*), they have spent quite long time in convincing me to come here. The Rector himself called me couple of times, he had very convincing style.” I think that though he cannot talk overtly due to other concerns, he had very strong in-group reference and very strong commitment stating as, “Even they pay higher wages elsewhere, I do not think of leaving this university because personal relations are very important for me.” Finally, for the current department head I could not be able to gain information about his political identity but several other hints verify his strong affiliation. During the interview, he only recalled his friendship with the rector from his PhD years in US with only mentioning of, “Our strategic perspectives are very much compatible.” Relatively less information is subsequently complemented with official data about his arrest resulting from FETÖ probe. All in all, though the data has shown the opposite due to either frequent mentioning of openness to differences or not referring to political identity at all by participants; still the level of similarity between the political identities of decision-maker and academics is high in that the department reflects higher degree of political network homogeneity.

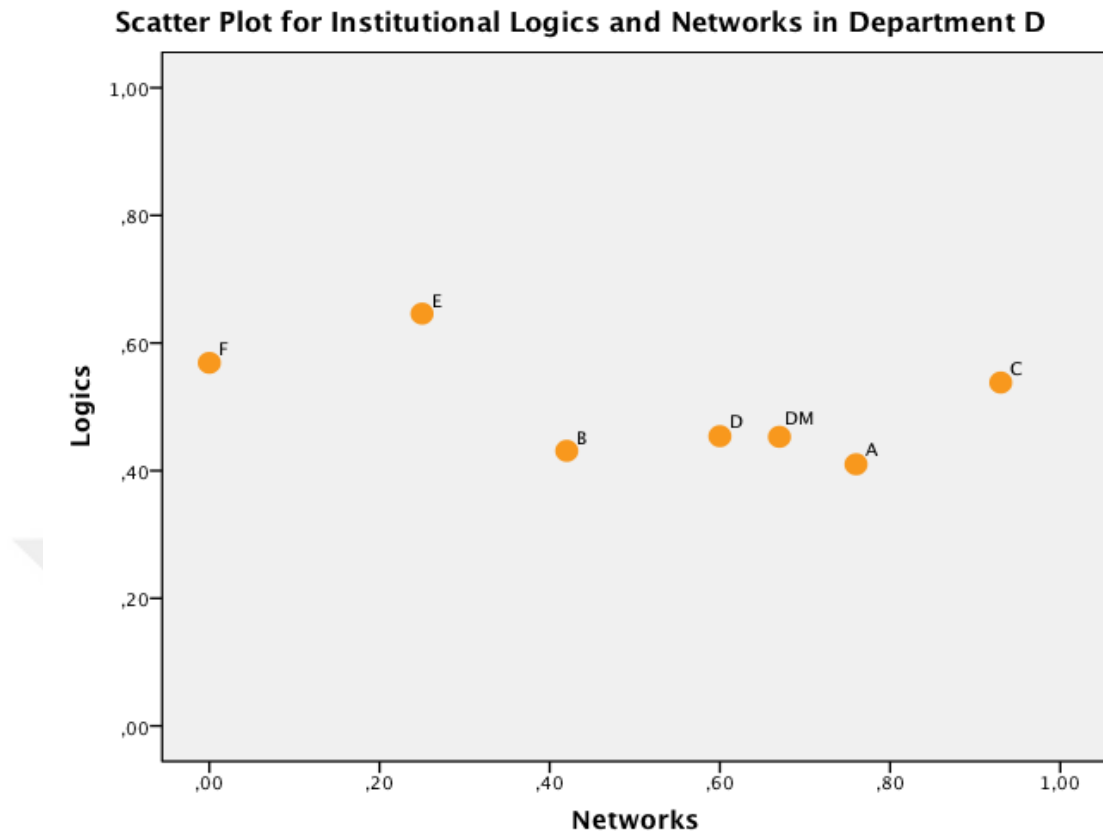


Figure 7. Scatter Plot for Department D

From the scatter plot in Figure 7 we observe that academicians are very dispersed in their network embeddedness scores but very high degree of similarity with the decision-maker in their logic embeddedness. We know qualitatively that both the decision-maker and the participants are strongly embedded in vocational and entrepreneurial logics.

Table 27 shows the Euclidean distances between the decision maker(s) and academic staff with respect to embeddedness in each logic and political network. In terms of institutional logics, the level of similarity between the decision-maker and the academic staff ($MED_D = 0.359$) is relatively high as opposed to the low level of expectation in Hypothesis 3a. The level of separation between the decision-maker and the academic staff displays variation with respect to political networks; where in some participants there is higher level of fit, for some others there is relatively lower level of similarity with regard to political network embeddedness. In comparison to

other decision-makers embedded in closed political networks such as Department A; the Department D has highlighted a quite different pattern. Accordingly, the mean Euclidean distance between the decision-maker and academic staff in Department D is relatively higher compared with Department A ($MED_D=0.415$, $MED_A=0.102$).

Table 27. Euclidean Distances of Institutional Logics and Networks between the Decision-Maker(s) and Academic Staff in Department D

	DM-					DM-	MED_D
Euclidean Distances	A	DM-B	DM-C	DM-D	DM-E	F	
Institutional Logics	0.153	0.344	0.154	0.247	0.646	0.610	0.359
Political Networks	0.127	0.354	0.368	0.099	0.594	0.948	0.415

Majority of the academics had similar multiple logic configurations with that of the decision-maker (relatively highly embedded in entrepreneurial and vocational logics). There is also reciprocal relationship between the logics that both decision-maker and academic staff are embedded in. Interviews with the academics revealed that this logic-based departmental identity also facilitated the materialization of the logics they invoke. Hence the greater the fit between logics of decision-maker and each participant, there is a greater room for the material initiation of these logics. Participant B referred to this as follows; “The entrepreneurial mindset in the department has even impact on my own profile. There is an entrepreneurial idea that I intend to realize; and maybe if I were not here, there would not be any possibility to commercialize this business idea.”

In University D, although the decision-maker’s embeddedness in closed political network makes us to expect hired academics embedded in the same network; the overall composition of the academic cadre represented variation stemming from two factors as the dynamism of the academic hiring and the political contextual elements. These two aspects led to an overall picture whereby University A (i.e. also embedded in closed network) has lower mean Euclidean distance score compared to D. The dynamic nature of the recruitment process (very founding stage versus later periods) has led to differentiations with respect to the instantiation of different

institutional logics and networks. In terms of recruitment, at the beginning the decision-maker had resorted to those people affiliated with religious community identity whom had failed to find assistant professorship cadre in their respective universities. These people according to decision-maker were relatively weak in their scientific backgrounds and their English levels. So this period was more characterized with higher level of similarity of networks compared to later periods where either people outside the network or within the network but holding PhD degrees from abroad have been recruited. Secondly, the current political context may have caused several participants to either disguise their identities or discursively complement their affiliation by also referring to openness to differences. Therefore, Hypothesis 3a did get weak support. As opposed to the hypothesis that the recruited staff would be embedded in similar political networks but dissimilar institutional logics, the findings showed that academic staff was embedded in similar multiple institutional logics yet mostly dissimilar political networks with that of the decision-maker.

5.2.1.5. Department E

Finally, Cell 4 in the proposed typology corresponds to the decision-maker who is embedded in multiple logics and open network. In line with the Hypothesis 4a, we would expect the recruited staff be embedded in any logic and any network. For this case, for the decision-maker at University E that is a private foundation university located at center and associated with secularist political identity, the percentage distribution Table 28 shows that the decision-maker is embedded in multiple institutional logics namely scientization (46.5%) that is followed by vocational (40.5%). However, the extent to which these logics are materialized in academics' practices differs such that with regard to teaching decision-maker hold premises in line with vocational logic, whereas her research perspective is very embedded in what scientization logic suggests.

Table 28. Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics in Department E

Institutional Logics	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
Participant A	0.430	0.333	0.237
Participant B	0.488	0.488	0.024
Participant C	0.756	0.128	0.116
Participant D	0.450	0.510	0.040
Decision Maker	0.465	0.405	0.130

This distribution is partially supported with departmental level data. The overall departmental embeddedness score revealed 36.7% embeddedness in vocational logic that followed by scientization (34.2%) and entrepreneurial (29.1%) logics (See Table 15). The decision-maker's higher level of embeddedness in scientization logic was not supported with departmental level data which also hints the influence of private ownership structure and relatedly prioritization of student demands.

To start with teaching, while using the term “not making our students to feel like a fish out of water”, she opts for practice-oriented education that would envisage opportunities for students to realize what they are going to encounter in practice. Chances for students to observe field dynamics is very prioritized whereas theory on its own is secondary. For this aim, different educational methods have been adopted such as Cooperative Education program each firm that has signed the protocol assure fixed term employment of several students for two semesters. However, educational tools that would fit with practice orientation were failed to be realized by several academics for two main reasons. First those academics that did not have prior professional experience strive hard to generate opportunities for fieldwork. They mostly use case-study material whereas others having had professional experience either use this knowledge in teaching or invite guest speakers from various industries whom they have had known before. Second, low student profile enhances the drift towards vocational logic in teaching. Even more, the profile forces the adjustment both in course content and curriculum. For instance, course load was lowered as the students fail to succeed. Moreover, she emphasized the skill building nature of undergraduate education, but interestingly the skills she referred to were not

vocational or job-specific per se but rather related to communication and presentation, she referred to this as follows:

We want our students to well communicate with people, know how to behave when s/he is in someone's office, how to talk during a meeting and how to make power point presentation. In brief, we try hard for our students to become good people, open to communication, polite and responsible... I think these priorities come before vocational knowledge."

It can be argued that in the midst of multiplicity of logics, the decision-maker in University E resorts to compartmentalization of logic.⁵² As the literature suggests, compartmentalization refers to individual's attempt at purposefully segmenting his/her compliance with competing logics. An individual may display full compliance with a given logic in a given context, and choose to display adherence to competing logic in other contexts. Compartmentalization may occur across time or across space as individuals may choose to enact competing logics in the same place at different times or in different places. More specifically, she purposefully segments her compliance to competing logics. She displays higher-level compliance to vocational logic in teaching whereas she shows adherence to competing scientization logic in research context. Although she prioritizes vocational logic in terms of teaching, she holds different views with Board of Trustees in terms of academic recruitment. The latter actor as one of the biggest holdings in Turkey coming from non-educational background is more inclined to position the university as commercial entity with mere emphasis on customer oriented practices and entrepreneurial values.

Besides, interview data revealed that the discourse the University E has adopted at the beginning towards academic staff as "being a research university" drifted in due time, rather the emphasis on research has begun to be complemented with customer-orientation where the latter concern coming more to the forefront.⁵³ In this vein, the

⁵² Compartmentalization refers to an individual's attempt at purposefully segmenting her compliance with competing logics. An individual may display full compliance with a given logic in a given context, and choose to display adherence to the competing logic in other contexts, she enacts all competing logics yet keeps them separated (Pache and Santos, 2013b).

⁵³ Very recently, the Rectorship has sent a letter to each academic kindly requesting from each academic to work in line with the University's customer-oriented perspective.

Board of Trustees recruited an individual having very successful professional life in banking sector as both an academic and advisor to Rector.⁵⁴ Although the similarity of institutional logics between the decision-maker and other academics remain relatively high, the outlier from this pattern is still justified by the decision-maker. The decision-maker viewed the recruitment of that academic as of an advantage to the department in terms of creating industry-university link and enabling internship opportunities for students. In a way, she lets the materialization of entrepreneurial logic by other people since she lacks the necessary resources for connecting students to industry. Instead of conflict between individuals who are embedded in contradictory logics, University E exemplifies how these coexisting logics can in fact be mutually dependent yet also contradictory (Friedland and Alford, 1991: 250). Rather than the decision-maker keeping these logics apart, she lets other people to enact the logics that she is not embedded in.

In terms of research, the decision-maker is embedded in scientization logic with more focus on theoretical research. Although practice-oriented education was very prevalent from interview data, paradoxically she mentions her views on research as follows, “I do more scientific research, I neither engage in practice-oriented research or sectoral partnerships. Rather I am more publication-oriented, targeting citation indexed publications...” Even though she repetitively highlighted skill-building, student training and students’ sectoral experience, she ironically referred to teaching as “*the luck of the draw (bu işin cilvesi)*.” One finding both from interviews and analyses of CVs revealed that academics staff’s research orientation remains at aspiration level and fails to be materialized in practice. This mainly stems from course overload that academics have per term that hinders them to carry out research. Academics also criticize upper level management’s attitude towards research especially the shift in their understanding. In line with the premises of being a research university at the very beginning, the management puts pressure on academics for doing publications and carrying out projects in a time-constrained context. Not only devoid of time, academics also referred to change in

⁵⁴ Due to his busy agenda, I could not be able make an interview with this person. Still however, I have his academic CV data and brief explanation by the decision-maker about both his academic/professional orientation and his recruitment process.

management's attitude towards research deeming the management not having enthusiastic in allocating resources to research.

Table 28 also shows that all participant academics have scored very low in their embeddedness in entrepreneurial logic. Except for Participant C, others are relatively more embedded in vocational logic while still invoking scientization logic's premises. In terms of decision-maker's logic-related similarity with other individuals, there is high degree of homogeneity mainly stemming from their educational backgrounds of initially recruited individuals (holding their PhD degrees from Boğaziçi University). To varying degrees academic staff is embedded in scientization logic in their research but still there remains gap between discourse and practice. One of the participants mentioned, "Being research-oriented does not only mean we want to do research, we want to do science and produce scientific knowledge. But rather how these ideals are transformed in practice, we had difficulties in that part."

Majority of the academics hold both vocational and scientization logics to varying degrees, but mainly student employability in terms of doing their best to prepare students for business life remains the encompassing theme. To achieve that, preferred academic profile is depicted as those individuals who know the business world and realities of job market well and those who preferably has worked in a firm but still can protect their scientific ideals. On the contrary, Participant C is very highly embedded in scientization logic both in terms of her teaching and research. For teaching part, she argued that the ultimate aim of universities has to raise high-qualified individuals rather than vocation building. She explains her tendency while criticizing the management as follows, "The University emphasizes vocational education but in my mind vocational education is very attached to MYO (Vocational Schools). The University has this goal of training individuals whom can easily perform their vocation as soon as they graduate." Moreover she remained the only person being against to education that is designed to respond to industrial demands. She overtly criticizes the prevalent business undergraduate education in Turkey by saying,

Is it the university's task to raise employees for private-sector? It is not our duty to prepare the cog to private sector's wheel, instead we have to raise students whom can understand how the machine works by looking at the cogs from far away.

In terms of research, she argues her ultimate career aim as academic contribution. However her position fully embedded in scientization logic is not fully welcomed by the management. This is because science that is not well fitted with practice has been degraded which in a way forces academics to move towards the practical side in terms of their research and publications. She told the following, "Articles having managerial implication sections are preferred, and I feel the pressure on me." From her case, it can be argued that when the institutional logic that the department is embedded in does not fully match with individual's logic embeddedness; individual resorts to partial compliance. For instance, the university management prioritizes industry partnerships through projects. In this context, when the individual is embedded in scientization logic, in order to secure its legitimacy she resorts to finding external stakeholders. As she carries out the projects with external partners, she strategically puts several other variables that would bear significance for her own research. In a way, she uses external partner as a way to activate her own research whereby strengthening her hand against the university.

To continue with the political networks of both decision-maker and the academic staff, as it is already expressed University E is associated with secularist identity. When entrepreneurs who are not so much embedded in a single political network found a private foundation university, decision-maker's political identities may also become diverse and reflect open network architecture (Özen and Öztürk, 2016). Though both the departmental level and decision-maker's political network data presented open network embeddedness, still the compatibility between the political identity of the university and that of the decision-maker is not that high. Accordingly, the departmental level embeddedness in open networks is 85.3% whereas that of the decision-maker only remained at 59% (Table 29). This can also be attuned to role of other source of networks (i.e. social and professional).

Moreover, both the decision-maker and the recruited staff are also affiliated with this identity, which was revealed from the interviews. The interview data did not reveal decision-maker's embeddedness in closed political network, which was supported with her statements such as, "We did not approve any of the candidates whom are bolt from the blue"⁵⁵, "Ideology is not important to us", "We have libertarian work environment here." Interestingly, as it is also displayed in Table 29, the ultimate composition of the staff revealed the coming together of people who have similar life styles and worldviews. Even though decision-maker claimed the openness in the staff composition; it is quite possible for the ideology to get indirectly intervened in the recruitment process as the decision maker considers internal harmony, candidates' personal relationships, communication styles and attitudes.

Table 29. Percentage Distribution of Open versus Closed Networks in Department E

Networks	Open Network	Closed Network
Participant A	0.40	0.60
Participant B	0.50	0.50
Participant C	0.67	0.33
Participant D	0.25	0.75
Decision Maker	0.59	0.41

More importantly, the homogeneity of the academic staff with respect to networks is more attuned to decision-maker's social network that was very effective during the founding stage. The founding stage in University E had its intrinsic dynamics such that the role of field-level actors, namely YÖK, which had been very guiding for the decision-maker to resort to her own networks. More specifically, although the law of establishment for University E has been passed in 2008, there was not yet any formation of academic cadre by the year 2010. At that period, YÖK has coercively pushed the University to start its founding process otherwise threatened to revoke its authorization. In such an urgency situation, the deans for the respective faculties were appointed and given authority to compose the academic cadre and respectively prepare undergraduate programs for YÖK's approval.

⁵⁵ "Tepeden inme adayları kabul etmedik."

Legally, for a department to be constituted, there has to be minimum three professors. At the very initial stage, apart from the University having its official announcement for the vacant position both on the University and YÖK's websites, the dean has taken another measure to accelerate the academic recruitment process. For this purpose, she initially resorted to her PhD student (from the U.S.) whom was working as assistant professor at Boğaziçi University at that time. This person has conveyed this message to both PhD candidates and research assistants of Management Department at Boğaziçi University that the University E is looking for assistant professors. One of the research assistants told this news to another friend working in another private-foundation university in Istanbul and finally this was passed over to two people whom are currently searching for job. These two holding their PhDs from Boğaziçi University then happened to be recruited as to Department E's cadre. Although in this story, many of the people do not directly know each other, all of these intermediaries and also the decision maker have had common Boğaziçi background either as an employee or a PhD student.

Thus, though the decision-maker is embedded in open network, this urgency imposed by YÖK had forced the decision-maker to recruit people whom she can trust. However as opposed to other universities affiliated with certain political ideologies, in University E the trust was manifested through the academic merit of the candidates. Hence, this could be realized by resorting to her contacts that she has known well academically. From that point onwards she did not look for her direct acquaintances but has considered indirect contacts holding PhD degrees from Boğaziçi University as the basis for recruitment decision.

Urgency was the common theme from the interview data of both the decision-maker and initially recruited academics. One told the following, "Due to this urgency, we reached to trustworthy people through our acquaintances. We did not look for whether we have one representative from each specialization area or whether the staff would fulfill the needs." Though there is emphasis on acquaintanceship in University E, it is very critical to differentiate the source of acquaintanceship among the sample universities. Knowing someone directly and being friends with someone

should be judged with respect to the origin of relationship; in some cases this can stem from similar political identity whereas in others professional background similarity may be the source of acquaintanceship. In case of University E, the latter form of acquaintanceship via Boğaziçi PhD degree emerged to be the source. For instance, the first recruited one (Participant A) told her recruitment story as follows;

When I went for the interview, they directly wanted me to sign the contract, I was shocked and asked whether I am not going to make any academic presentation or any other scientific thing. She told me no, since there was this urgency, she trusted my academic qualifications coming from my CV and PhD degree from Boğaziçi University.

On the day she signed labor contract, the decision-maker asked her to suggest other candidates. The first two academics hence had informal relationship from their PhD years having the same PhD advisor. The second recruited academic (Participant B) still had not known the decision-maker in person, heard this vacant position from her professor at Boğaziçi University. Being hesitant at the beginning due to the university's far location, as the firstly recruited one recommended and told her that their common field specialization would not cause any problem, then she decided to apply. She told the following,

I was not very sure whether they would prefer another professor having Management and Organization degree from Boğaziçi University. I thought they would not want another from the similar profile and would want to differentiate perhaps.... But the dean told me that this was not a problem.

She indicated that political ideology of the candidates is never considered in recruitment as follows;

I am very content of its liberal perspective in the recruitment process, the decision-makers are totally against favoritism. They mainly look for international publications or the potential of publishing in those outlets and ability to lecture in English. They try to be sure that the candidate has this capability.

The open network embeddedness of the decision-maker is mentioned by this participant as a potential disadvantage in the long run,

We are not firmly tie in, there is no one standing behind us, this actually resembles to American model. Both our rector and the dean were coming from that tradition, more individualistic. I do not know whether this is the right model to pursue but I know that it does not create pressure in the short run.

In his recruitment process, several other hints also signal the open network embeddedness of the decision-maker. First, there is emphasis on application to vacant position, one participant told the following, “When I came back to İstanbul in 2013, I saw this vacancy announcement which was published two months ago on University’s website.” Second, the candidate is invited for one-to-one interview with the dean and the department head. Subsequently, he was invited for making an academic presentation to the faculty members and taken out for lunch with them. The interview data of this person also being currently appointed to Department Head revealed how similar backgrounds may implicitly dictate ideological similarity. He explained as follows;

One of the most important criterion is intra-departmental harmony. For instance, a candidate having PhD degree from Turkish Military Academy is not going to be positively considered. Even if the candidates’ education and publications are profound we still want people that we are not going to encounter any problem.

He also mentioned,

Ideology is not important for us, but we go for lunch with the candidate, we look at the way he says ‘hello’, of course we do not make note of these but still perception about the candidate naturally is formed. This perception may well be influenced by the ideology, the way he talks, what he talks and especially communication with female professors is important for us.

The overall analyses of interview data of the participants supported this statement such that though political ideology has not been surfaced from the interviews, the

overall composition of the academic cadre displays ideological similarity (i.e. liberal and liberal-left) that has roots both in friendship and professional background.

Several contingency factors have led to the dynamic nature of the recruitment process. That is to say, the very founding stage and the subsequent period have differed with respect to the institutional logics and networks invoked by the decision-maker, which would also result with different academic profiles. For University E, the very beginning stage is more characterized with the decision-maker's embeddedness in scientization logic whereas later the university's ownership structure has become more pronounced in responding to the susceptibility to market demands. Hence mainly Board of Trustees has begun to push for both vocational and entrepreneurial logic's premises whereby putting the motto of 'research university' behind. Still however, later recruited academics though embedded in scientization logic strategically adjusted their research and teaching towards market in order to meet upper management's priorities. Furthermore, the extent to which embeddedness in scientization logic is realized at the very beginning shows differences when compared with later stages. The later stages have become stricter with respect to admission criteria so that candidates have started to be evaluated with respect to their indexed publications. However, these academics fail to engage in research due to resource constraints. For instance, many of them also hold administrative duties and have higher course load due to the opening up many programs. These constraints cause these academics to self-sacrifice research and compel them towards teaching.

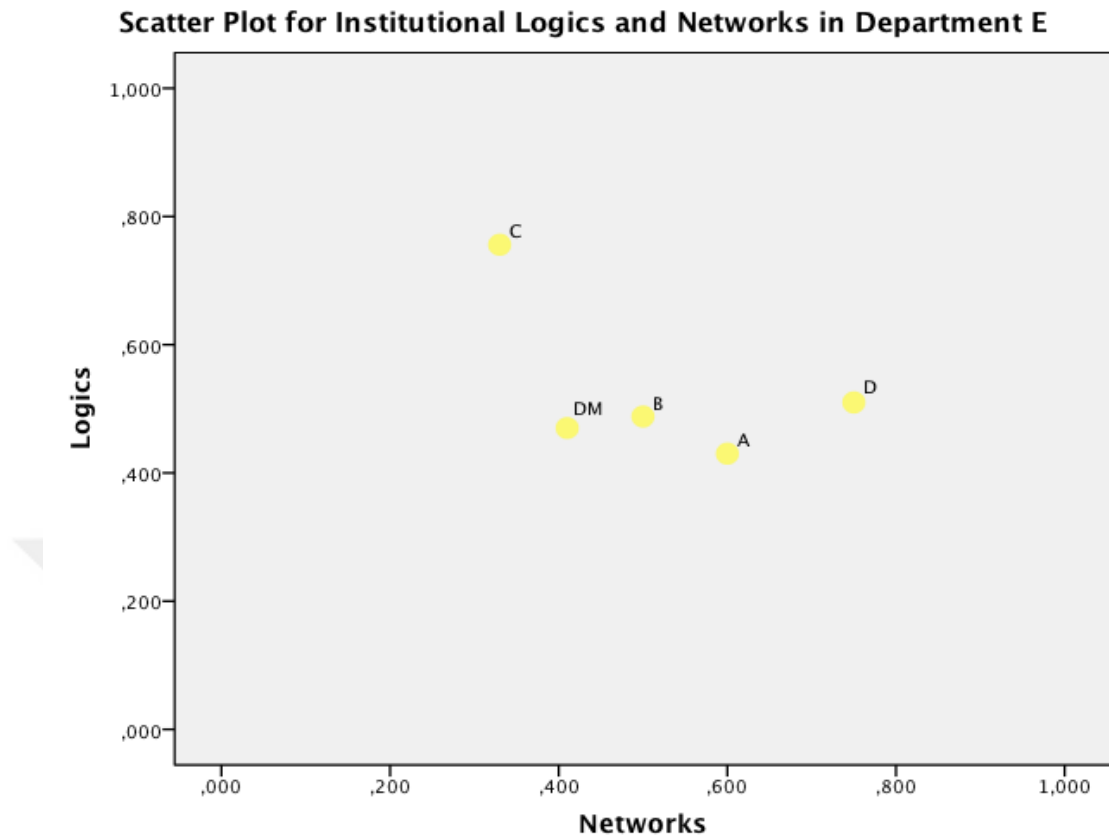


Figure 8. Scatter Plot for Department E

From the scatter plot in Figure 8 we observe that academicians are clustered around decision-maker in their political network embeddedness whereas there is relatively higher degree of separation in terms of logic embeddedness scores. Table 30 shows the Euclidean distances between the decision maker(s) and academic staff in Department E with respect to embeddedness in each logic and political network.

Table 30. Euclidean Distances of Institutional Logics and Networks between the Decision-Maker(s) and Academic Staff in Department E

Euclidean Distances	DM-				MED _E
	A	DM-B	DM-C	DM-D	
Institutional Logics	0.139	0.136	0.398	0.140	0.202
Political Networks	0.269	0.127	0.170	0.481	0.262

On the contrary to Hypothesis 4a stating that the level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the individual is expected to lowest, Department E reflected the opposite pattern (Table 30). Although the decision-maker's embeddedness in multiple institutional logics made us to expect recruitment of academics embedded in any logic, Mean Euclidean Distance remained to be very low thus implying very high level of similarity between the decision-maker and the academic staff ($MED_E = 0.202$). In a similar manner, although I have proposed that the hired academicians would be embedded in any network, as displayed in Table 30 the Euclidean distances with respect to political networks are also low which means higher degree of network similarity. In comparison to other departments and namely Department C (i.e. embedded in single logic and open network), the Department E scores very low in mean Euclidean distances of networks between the decision-maker and academic staff ($MED_E = 0.262$; $MED_C = 0.647$). This is related with the decision-maker's resort to her professional/social network rooted in Boğaziçi University and leading to a closed network structure. However this has started to be dissolved with the later recruitments but still recruiting people holding PhD degrees from center universities. Hence, these findings failed to provide support to Hypothesis 4a stating that the level of similarity between the institutional logic and political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and the hired individual is tended to be lowest when the decision-maker is embedded in multiple logics and open political network. In contrast to the expectation that they are expected to be similar in terms of political network but dissimilar in terms of institutional logics; they presented high level of similarity in both terms.

5.2.2. Departmental Level Homogeneity

In this part, as the second dependent variable of this study, I am going to elaborate departmental-level homogeneity of the five cases. For this aim, Hypotheses 1b, 2b, 3b and 4b are going to be tested by examining their departmental level Mean Euclidean Distances. These scores are calculated by taking the square root of the sum of squared differences of mean values of each logic and networks from each participant's (including decision-makers) associated values. Each distance score is

then subtracted from 1 to obtain departmental level homogeneity. Homogeneity scores (abbreviated as HMG) are shown in Table 31 and displayed in the Figure 9.

Table 31. Departmental Level Homogeneity

Department	Institutional Logics	Political Networks
A	0.773	0.887
B	0.578	0.647
C	0.883	0.529
D	0.686	0.642
E	0.824	0.823

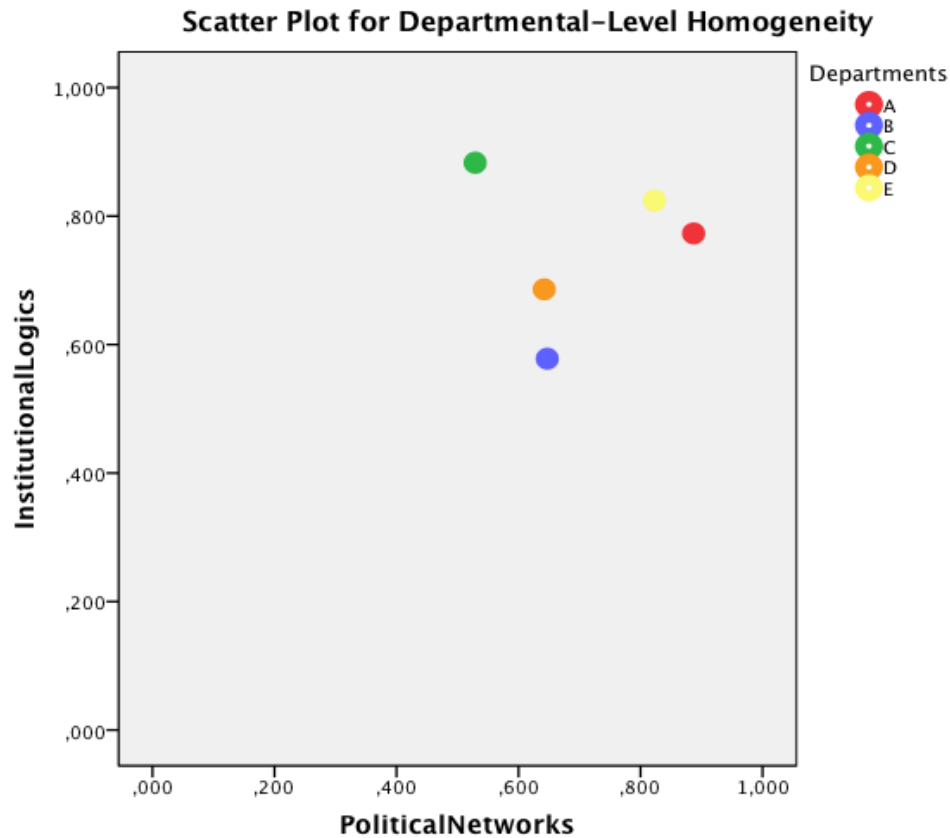


Figure 9. Scatter Plot for Departmental Level Homogeneity

First, for Department A having decision-maker(s) embedded in a single logic and closed network, it has been hypothesized that s/he will recruit academics embedded

in the same logic and network which would result with high level of homogeneity both in institutional logics and political networks. In line with this hypothesis, this department has reflected high level of homogeneity with regard both logics ($HMG_{A\_Logics}=0.773$) and networks ($HMG_{A\_Networks}=0.887$). The overall composition has revealed the pattern in Cell 1 where the academics are embedded in same single logic (i.e. vocational) and political network (i.e. conservative). Hence Hypothesis 1b is supported.

For Department B, which also points to the Cell 1 in our model, it has been hypothesized that the decision-maker(s)' embeddedness in a single logic and closed network will lead him/her to recruit academics embedded in the same logic and network. Therefore, this is also expected to result with high level of departmental homogeneity in terms of both institutional logics and political networks as in the case of Department A. In contrast to Hypothesis 1b, the final composition of the department has shown relatively higher degree of open network as opposed to decision-maker's closed network embeddedness ($HMG_{B\_Network}=0.647$). In terms of homogeneity with respect to institutional logics embeddedness at departmental level, as compared to Department A, there is relatively lower degree of homogeneity ($HMG_{B\_Logics} = 0.578$). Thus, the overall composition has not reflected the pattern in Cell 1 but on the contrary approached to the pattern in Cell 4 where the academics are embedded in multiple logics and in open network. Thus, Hypothesis 1b is not supported for this case but rather departmental level homogeneity remained to be relatively low both in institutional logics and political networks.

For Department C, which corresponds to the Cell 2 in the model, it has been hypothesized that the decision-maker(s)' embeddedness in a single logic and open network will lead him/her to recruit academics embedded in the same logic but in any network. Accordingly the departmental level homogeneity is expected to be high in institutional logics but low in political networks. In accordance with Hypothesis 2b, the actual departmental level homogeneity with regard to institutional logics ($HMG_{C\_Logics}= 0.833$) is high. On the same token, Mean Euclidean Distance with regard to political networks is highest compared to other departments, hence reflecting very low level of homogeneity ($HMG_{C\_Networks}= 0.529$), which is expected

according to our model. In line with Hypothesis 2b, the overall departmental homogeneity among the new faculty cadre resulted high in institutional logics but low in political networks. Hence, Hypothesis 2b is supported.

For Department D which points to the Cell 3 in our model, it has been hypothesized that the decision-maker(s)' embeddedness in multiple logics and closed networks will lead him/her to recruit academics embedded in any logic but in the same network. Thus this is expected to result departmental homogeneity that is low in institutional logics but high in political networks. In line with this formulation, in the very founding stage the decision-maker has recruited academics from any logic (i.e. vocational and entrepreneurial) but from the same network. However the departmental level homogeneity in terms of institutional logic embeddedness is moderately high because there is high degree of similarity between the decision-maker and each hired individual in their embeddedness in both vocational and entrepreneurial logics. ($HMG_{D\_Logics} = 0.686$). But later recruited academics coming from outside the closed network had boosted the departmental homogeneity score ($HMG_{D\_Networks} = 0.642$). That is to say, in contrast to Hypothesis 3b, the resulting departmental homogeneity with respect to institutional logics is moderately high yet moderately low in political networks. Instead of Cell 3, the departmental homogeneity approached to the pattern in Cell 2. Thus, Hypothesis 3b is not supported.

Finally, for Department E which points to the Cell 4 in our model, it has been hypothesized that the decision-maker(s)' embeddedness in multiple logics and open networks will lead him/her to recruit academics embedded in any logic and any network. Hence, this is expected to result with low level of departmental homogeneity both in institutional logics and political networks. In contrast to Hypothesis 4b, the final composition of the department has shown relatively higher degree of closed network structure as opposed to decision-maker's open network embeddedness ($HMG_{E\_Networks} = 0.823$). Unexpectedly, mean Euclidean distance for institutional logic embeddedness for Department E is very close to Department A and C that are embedded in a single logic ($HMG_{E\_Logics} = 0.824$). Thus, Hypothesis 4b is not supported. This may stem from the case where source of professional/social

network (i.e. Boğaziçi education) ruled for the imprinting effect of scientization logic on the participants. Hence, the overall composition has reflected the pattern in Cell 1 with high level of departmental homogeneity both in institutional logics and political networks.

5.3. A Comparison of Five Departments

After providing departmental level homogeneity results, this sub-section mainly takes together commonalities and differences between these cases by providing rationale for each point. Table 32 displays the mean scores of academic staff in five departments across the three institutional logics.⁵⁶ From the table, we observe that generally all of the departments to varying degree are embedded in all of the three prevailing institutional logics. Still however, in some departments, multiple logics are more prevalent whereas in others manifestations of a single logic are more salient. Particularly, Departments A, B and C are embedded in a single logic at a relatively higher degree. For A and C, the predominant logic is vocational whereas for B it is scientization. For the final two Departments D and E, we can conclude that they are embedded in multiple (i.e. dual) logics to a greater extent, whereas the former is mainly manifesting vocational and entrepreneurial and the latter invoking scientization and vocational logics. Altogether, the premises of the vocational logic are most widely instantiated by the sample departments followed by scientization and entrepreneurial logics.

Table 32. Mean Percentage Distribution of Institutional Logics Among Sample Departments

Department	Scientization	Vocational	Entrepreneurial
A	27.6	56.4	15.8
B	52.9	24.5	22.7
C	17.3	56.5	26.2
D	32.5	34.7	32.8
E	51.9	37.3	10.9

⁵⁶ The mean scores for each department is calculated by taking the average of each department's participants (including the decision makers) on each of the institutional logic manifestations.

From Table 32, it is displayed that at the departmental level except for Department B and E, the vocational logic is the most prevalent one. Among the other sample cases, Department A and C have the highest score in their embeddedness in vocational logic. Besides, in the remaining two cases (D and E), embeddedness in multiple logics also dominantly invokes vocational logic coupled with scientization or entrepreneurial logics. In accordance with Hypotheses 1a and 2a, in Department A and C, the decision-makers embedded in single (i.e. vocational) logic tended to hire academicians invoking the similar logic. However, Hypotheses 3a and 4a about when the decision-maker enacts multiple logics, s/he would tend to hire an academician embedded in any logic did not find support for Department D and E. The comparison of level of similarities between the decision-maker and the each hired academician with respect to their institutional logics (i.e. in terms of MED scores) showed that MED for Department D and E are relatively similar to Department A and C where the decision-maker is embedded in single logic.⁵⁷ It can be concluded that for the sample cases, decision-maker's embeddedness in various multiple logic configurations resulted with hiring academicians embedded not in any logic but rather in multiple yet similar logic enactment.

Moreover, from Table 32 we observe that in comparison to other departments, Department B has highest level of embeddedness in scientization logic (52.9%). This is followed by Department E (51.9%), as both of them are private-foundation universities located at center. This finding runs counter-intuitive to the dominant view that since private-foundation universities are self-financed, in order to enhance their survival and generate income, they are expected to meet student demands hence prioritize vocational logic. However, this pattern can be explained by different predominant rationales in these two universities. First, for Department B, the high level of embeddedness in scientization logic can be attributed to the founding mission of the university (i.e. research orientation). This mission is both articulated by the foundation and the founders having Boğaziçi University educational background. So University B is not very much concerned with training workforce and equipping students with necessary vocational skills that would enable their

⁵⁷ For Institutional Logics; MED_A=0.278, MED_B=0.508, MED_C=0.223, MED_D= 0.359, MED_E= 0.202.

employability. Rather, the founding mission was envisaged to compose research-based university of the conservative wing hence recruited academics in that vein.

Although embeddedness in scientization logic in Department E stems to be high, in contrast to Department B, it is not possible to attribute this to the founding will. The foundation on the contrary has insisted on customer-orientation, university-industry partnerships, skill building and more of vocation-based nature of undergraduate education. This is mostly justified through the private ownership of the university which imposes certain level of susceptibility to market demands. However, department's relatively low level of embeddedness in entrepreneurial logic (6%) indicates that the foundation is not that influential in imposing its own trajectory. What makes Department E unique in its path towards scientization logic is rather this embeddedness of the founding dean and her social network. Although the founding dean had not intentionally formulated the department shaped in scientization logic, her identity dependent institutional logic has brought together those people whom are embedded in this logic.

Though the opposite scenario would have been expected such that private-foundation universities function as training institutions and offer undergraduate degrees mostly answering the job market hence more embedded in vocational logic; for Department B and E this scenario did not take hold. These two are mainly unique cases among different groups of private-foundation universities in Turkey. In line with Mızıkacı's (2010) categorization, Department B has been established with the ultimate goal of being positioned among distinctive, semi-élite private-foundation universities. Only three in number (i.e. Bilkent, Sabancı, Koç), they claim to be superior to leading public universities with American orientation. They invest in campus facilities, educational technology and programs with highly qualified academic staff (Mızıkacı, 2012: 147). Department B in terms of its research orientation, its academic program based on college-like structure (two-year liberal courses followed by two-year specialization courses) tries to position itself as of an emerging but of a conservative alternative to these semi-élite, serious institutions.

On the contrary, Department E did not embrace this far-reaching goal but rather in line with Mızıkacı's (2010) categorization, mostly positions itself as serious demand-absorber university. Owned by medium-sized foundation, these universities are more concerned with the job market. Even they are mainly characterized with their emphasis on job training, they may function superior in some other areas such as research performance. Though Department E mostly resides in this category, the role of the founding dean was very determinant in directing the path of the department towards scientization logic. Although there is repetitive emphasis from the upper management towards customer-orientation, the dean could be able to filter this demand and had enjoyed discretion to compose the academic staff around her social network whom are embedded in scientization logic with respect to their research but had adjusted themselves towards vocational logic in terms of teaching. Department D is owned by a well-known family in that peripheral city and is mostly embedded in entrepreneurial orientation. The Board of Trustees dominated by family members was very influential both in terms of imposing its entrepreneurial logic and taking part in recruitment process. Falling in the category of dubious demand-absorber university, it mostly concentrates in job-oriented programs and vocational skill building. This supports the view that materialization of vocational logic is more expected to be pinpointed among smaller-scale, regional universities which are mainly established to meet the huge demand of growing regional population. That is why, the instantiation of scientization logic in the form of scientific research projects and internationally indexed publications have failed to be realized. Interestingly, Department A and Cs, both being public universities located at the center, embeddedness in scientization logic are relatively lowest. It is of a question to what extent the newly established public universities are directed towards scientization logic. Except for few cases, it seems that the top-leading universities are the torchbearers in their embeddedness in scientization logic.

In terms of embeddedness in entrepreneurial logics, Table 32 displays Departments A, B and C score at a relatively similar range whereas the Department D is very strongly embedded in entrepreneurial logic (32.8%). This can be attributed to first the decision-maker's embeddedness in entrepreneurial logic and second the role of the founding holding together with the city in which the university is located at.

Firstly, the founding dean is strongly embedded in entrepreneurial logic (i.e. his entrepreneurial logic index score is 45.3%). Even more, we know from the interviews with the participants that, the founding dean's ambitious entrepreneurial vision was perceived very far-reaching and almost impossible at the founding stage. Still, from Table 25, we can say that the dean's aspiration in maintaining entrepreneurially oriented academic staff was to a large extent achieved.

Secondly, it is vital to mention how spatial conditions reinforce the materialization of several institutional logics. Here, I do not refer to center versus periphery dichotomy, but rather I argue that some cities characterized with specific economic features stood out amongst the others. That is to say, the socio-economic status of the city that the university is located at to an extent determines the instantiations of different institutional logics at organizational level. More specifically, the city that University D belongs to the group named Anatolian Tigers that have displayed extensive growth since 1980s associated with the rise of entrepreneurs and SMEs. This city is already known for its industrial potential has also influenced the mission of the universities especially private-foundation ones established there. As the University is also founded by the Holding specialized in home furnishings, textiles, chemicals and logistics being ranked in the Fortune 500 list of top Turkish firms; decision-makers had also embraced this entrepreneurial orientation. Hence, implicitly spatial conditions dictated the path in terms of which logics that the department should engage to. The Holding not only tried to position the department as of entrepreneurial but also its companies actively involved as major partner in departmental activities such as company visits, job-talks, university-industry collaborations, projects with the firms, internship opportunities for students.

To continue with comparison of sample cases with regard to network embeddedness displayed in Table 33; Department A is characterized with highest level of homogeneity with regard to political networks (i.e. closed network score of 94%) which also supported our proposition that the decision-maker being embedded in closed political network would tend to hire academicians embedded in the same political network. Compared to other sample cases, the level of separation between

the decision-maker and the each hired staff with respect to political network embeddedness is lowest (i.e. $MED_A=0.102$).

Contrarily, Department D, which we initially expected to have relatively higher level of political network homogeneity due to its community affiliation has shown interesting results. The level of similarity between political network embeddedness of the decision maker and each hired staff is low ($MED_D=0.415$). This departmental level open network architecture needs to be elaborated. First, the university recruited many individuals out of the community, which is strategically used to enhance the legitimacy and contribute to their impression management endeavor in not being portrayed as “*the* Gülen university.” Still these relatively liberal individuals are positioned away from the center of decision-making and not usually given managerial responsibilities. Moreover, even the affiliated participants referred to the openness to differences in the departmental recruitment practice. Though not sure whether they truly intended to do so, the repetitive themes around openness and ideological differences boosted the open network score of this department. Thus in terms of belonging to similar identity, there is high degree of homogeneity among Department D members but still, emphasis on openness lowered closed network percentage to 52. This score may have been overvalued due to the fact that the JDP government has started to battle against the community during the data collection period. That is to say, participants may have intentionally positioned the university as one recruiting from open networks or they may have hide their identities for their own security concerns.

Table 33. Mean Percentage Distribution of Networks Among Sample Departments

Department	Open Network	Closed Network
A	6.00	94.00
B	50.00	50.00
C	33.40	66.60
D	48.00	52.00
E	48.20	51.80

Similarly, Department B also represents an interesting pattern, though it is founded around the conservative foundation X and expected to mirror more of homogeneity with respect to political identities, actual pattern reveals half-and-half. Two separate reasons can be thought of; first after a certain stage it might be more challenging to find those people whom are both embedded in scientization logic and coming from their own political network. In that case, without abandoning the scientization orientation of the department, the decision-makers may have opted for compromising their network. Especially the latest recruitments match with this path and contributed to more heterogeneity of political identities among department members.

One common point to note about both Department B and D is that although they both referred to openness to differences and have recruited several academics in that way; those ones are not firmly opponent to the founding ideology. It can be argued that, those academics who are not affiliated with the respective political identity and embedded in open network are more docile. They have been consciously selected to be sure that they would not act against the political identity of the university. In Department D case, those unaffiliated academics though they are not from the religious community, they are conservative to a certain degree with respect to their world-views and life styles. So what is deemed open or in other words liberal at these two departments are not that liberal in degree when compared with the academics working at a university associated with secularist identity. Finally, for Department E though the process starts with the intention of recruiting from open network, in due time it had been evolved into recruiting academic from the decision-maker's social network hence resulted with closed network but not attuned to political ideology. Therefore, the level of similarity between the political network embeddedness of the decision-maker and each hired staff is second highest following Department A ($MED_E = 0.262$).

Department C having decision-maker being embedded in open political network hence would be expected to hire academicians embedded in any political network. We found support for this Hypothesis 2a, in comparison to other cases, the level of

separation between the decision-maker and each hired staff with respect to political network embeddedness is very high (i.e. $MED_C=0.647$).

All in all, Table 34 summarizes all departments with respect to level of similarity between the decision-makers' logic and network embeddedness and that of each hired academician. Being represented in mean Euclidean distance terms, the levels of similarity between the decision-makers and each hired staff with regard to institutional logic embeddedness have shown relatively similar results in all sample universities. What is more, even in University A and C where the decision-maker is embedded in a single logic and would be expected to hire academicians in the same single logic, the mean Euclidean distances are not that low comparatively. These scores are very close to Department D and E where the decision-makers are embedded in multiple logics and would therefore be expected to hire academicians from any prevailing logic. On the contrary, the multiple logic enactment of the decision-makers at these departments resulted in recruiting academic staff enacting same logic combinations. Furthermore, the levels of similarity between decision-makers and each hired staff have shown remarkable variation with respect to political network embeddedness. Among these cases, in accordance with our propositions University A represents highest level of similarity whereas University C represents the lowest score. However, for University B unexpectedly, relatively lower level of similarity in terms of political network embeddedness could be explained with dissolving the initial closed network structure via the recruitment of academics affiliated with liberal and liberal-left ideologies. Again, for University E, very high level of similarity stems from how decision-maker' professional/social network carried out ideological traces.

Table 34. Mean Euclidean Distances of Departments

University	MED_InstitutionalLogics	MED_PoliticalNetworks
A	0.278	0.102
B	0.508	0.566
C	0.223	0.647
D	0.359	0.415
E	0.202	0.262

Consequently the comparison of these cases with regard to both (i) the level of similarity between the decision-makers and each hired staff (Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a) and (ii) the departmental level homogeneity with respect to embeddedness in institutional logics and political networks (Hypotheses 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b) are summarized in Table 35. The contingency factors leading to deviations from the proposed typology is going to be further elaborated in Discussion and Conclusion chapter.

Table 35. A Comparison of Five Departments

Departments	Expected Outcome	Actual Outcome	Hypotheses	Contingency Factor(s)
A	Cell 1	Cell 1	1a and 1b supported	None
B	Cell 1	Cell 4	1a and 1b not supported	- Private Ownership - Dynamism of the hiring process
C	Cell 2	Cell 2	2a and 2b supported	None
D	Cell 3	Cell 2	3a weakly ⁵⁸ supported 3b not supported	- Political context - Center-periphery - Dynamism of the hiring process
E	Cell 4	Cell 1	4a and 4b not supported	- Social Network

⁵⁸ Hypothesis 3a is weakly supported because of homophilic influence within heterophily with respect to embeddedness in institutional logics which going to be further elaborated in Discussion Chapter.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Discussion of the Findings

In this dissertation, I have proposed a theoretical model that explains how academic hiring decisions in management departments of newly established universities in Turkey are shaped by the interplay between decision-makers' identification with the field-level institutional logics and their embeddedness in political networks at the societal level. Considering the filtering effects of organizational identities in institutional and political respects, I have mainly suggested that the degree of individual decision-makers' embeddedness in prevailing institutional logics (single versus multiple) and their degree of embeddedness in political networks (closed versus open) interactively shape their decisions in hiring new academic staff members with varying identification with institutional logics and embeddedness in political networks. In this relationship, I particularly proposed that the embeddedness of decision-makers in a single logic and/or closed political network drive them to hire academicians similar in terms of logic and/or political network identification whereas the embeddedness of decision-makers in multiple logics and/or the open political networks lead them to hire academicians dissimilar in terms of logic and/or political network embeddedness.

By developing a conceptual framework based on the Turkish higher education case, I aimed to make two theoretical contributions; first I suggested that, where an organizational field is a political arena in which rival political camps attempt to control resources, such as the higher education field in Turkey, decision-makers' embeddedness in political networks, in addition to their embeddedness in institutional logics, equally shape their hiring decisions. Second, I empirically

showed that the embeddedness of decision-makers in closed or open political networks, and in a single or multiple institutional logics together influences to what extent decision-makers hire academicians similar to themselves in terms of political and logic embeddedness.

The findings of this comparative multiple case study consisting of five different management departments founded between 2007 and 2014 revealed that the theoretical framework did get support with regard to two cases whereas for the rest, the model needs to be expanded by taking several contextual factors into consideration. First of all in Department A, in line with our propositions, the decision-maker embedded in a single logic and closed political network tended to hire academics embedded in the same single logic and political network. Thereby for this case, the level of similarity between the decision-maker and the each hired staff and overall level of homogeneity were expectedly very high. Secondly, for Department C, in accordance with our expectations, the decision-maker embedded in a single logic and open network tended to hire staff embedded in the same single logic and from any network.

However, in other cases the study's hypotheses did not hold due to several contextual factors and dynamism of the academic hiring process. The reasons behind the variations from the proposed typology and accordingly lack of support to several hypotheses could be able to be clarified through these contingency factors surfaced from the preliminary research. Hence in three of the cases (Departments B, D and E) the failure in supporting the corresponding hypotheses 1b, 3b and 4b is complemented by providing unique explanations of contingency factors generated from the preliminary research. More specifically these contingent factors were depicted as ownership structure, center-periphery dichotomy and political context which are accompanied with dynamism of the hiring process. Briefly, private ownership structure was a determinative feature in terms of both instantiating the premises of vocational and entrepreneurial logics through being more responsive to student demands and also incorporating academic staff from outside the associated political identity for attracting diverse student profiles. For instance private ownership structure led to deviations from Hypotheses 1a and/or 1b in Department B in which the decision-maker is embedded in a single logic and closed network. In

comparison to Department A reflecting similar embeddedness pattern both with respect to institutional logics and political networks, the overall composition of the academic staff did not display high levels of homogeneity in Department B. Although both of these departments reflected similar institutional logic and political network configurations; private ownership structure of Department B has led the department to subsequently incorporate people embedded in vocational and/or entrepreneurial logics. Besides, closed network structure has dissolved in due time because of two different reasons; first as the department strived hard in finding pro-JDP affiliated academics embedded in scientization logic, it began to incorporate individuals from liberal and liberal-left wings whom were not strictly opponent to founding ideology. Second, private ownership structure triggered impression management concerns on being open to diverse student profiles.

Secondly political context as another significant contingency factor caused substantial change from the proposed typology with respect to political network embeddedness in one representative case in which the decision-maker is embedded in religious community identity. For example, in contrast to Hypotheses 3a and/or 3b, having decision-maker embedded in multiple logics and closed networks led to hiring of academic staff not very much embedded in closed networks in Department D. In this case, I attributed this variation two factors. First, political contextual factors whereby the hostility between the ruling party and the religious community at that time led to de-legitimization of latter's identity and caused the department to also integrate unaffiliated people with the concern of giving openness message to outside world. Second, the center-periphery dichotomy, which was another contingent factor of this study, led the decision-maker to initially recruit those academics whom he had directly known and had difficulties in finding assistant professorship positions. The influence of the religious community was more predominant at the periphery whereby led to incorporation of affiliated academics.

Finally, for Department E, Hypotheses 4a and/or 4b about having academic staff embedded in any network and multiple logics in line with decision-maker's embeddedness in multiple logics and open networks did not get support due to decision-maker's resort to her professional networks (Boğaziçi connection) which also indirectly implied predominance of the single (i.e. scientization) logic. The

prevalent professional network and network dependent institutional logic embeddedness resulted with faculty cadre being embedded in the same single logic and closed network. Another thing to note encompassing Departments B, D and E is the effect of homophily within heterophily. Though this was not foreseen, the findings revealed that irrespective of the decision-makers' multiple logic embeddedness, the recruited academic staff enacted the exactly same combination of the logics as of the decision-makers (Department D and E). Hence the hypotheses expecting "any logic" was indeed resulted with multiple yet same logic instantiations. Very similarly, the effect of homophily within heterophily was manifested with respect to political network embeddedness. In Departments B and D, although closed network structure has begun to be dissolved in due time, the later recruitments were still selected from those candidates whom are not extremely opposed to the founding political ideology.

In what follows, I detail the study's implications for research on institutional logics, political networks and identities. I then conclude by outlining limitations of the study as well as potential avenues for future research.

6.1.1. Implications for Research on Institutional Logics

In terms of the theoretical contribution to institutional complexity literature, the main contribution of this study is taking the societal level political environment into consideration. Institutional scholars mostly take institutional logics as the sole factor that forms the identities of the decision-makers and organizational level decision-making (Rao et al., 2003; Glynn, 2008). This study on the contrary argued that political networks at the societal context could also influence professional behavior. Therefore, I suggested that together with individual-level manifestations of logics, political networks in which both decision-makers and organizations are embedded in delineate their identities.

In regards to institutional complexity, I showed how individual actors reconcile their logic and political network based identities in responding to complexity. In this endeavor, I challenged the extant literature that has mainly viewed institutional logics and networks as interwoven (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Glynn, 2000;

Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006; Greenwood et al., 2011; Smets et al., 2012). In contrast to the argument that individual and organizational identities are constructed within a network of field-level actors associated with institutional logics, I theoretically and empirically showed how logic independent networks and more specifically identities formed around political networks could shape responses to institutional complexity.

Greenwood et al. (2011) study argued that organizational identity serves as an important filter through which organizations can manage conflicting logics and environmental complexity. However to date, it has been largely neglected that identities to which individuals and organizations are affiliated can be independent from institutional logics and can shape their behaviors through expectations and norms. As institutions themselves are anchored in wider political arrangements and organizational processes are imprinted by wider polity arrangements, in addition to the identities formed by the institutional logics at the field level, individuals and organizations may also acquire identities emanated from certain political and religious networks in they are embedded in. I aimed to extend Greenwood et al. (2011) conceptualization by empirically showing how these political identities may also shape the way organizational actors interpret and respond to institutional complexity depending on their alignment with those identities. I deemed that how organizational actors interplay between logic-based identities and political network identities in responding environmental complexity as a theoretically significant issue to study.

In an attempt to extend the literature on networks and institutional logics, findings revealed that these two may co-exist independently and influence the way organizations respond to institutional complexity. The extant literature in contrast argued that factors such as socialization and strength of ties unite individuals to the logic with which they are identified. Early work by DiMaggio (1997) revealed that social networks played a major role in the activation of schemata and logics of action. Further, Pache and Santos (2013b) underlined that strong ties may cause individuals to get blinded to other ways of seeing the world. Very recently Dufays and Huybrechts (2015) showed that individual social network structure determines the degree of freedom of the individual with regard to the expected conformity to the

institutional logic so that in a relatively dense network individual are less likely to deviate from the established norms and values.

In the midst of these studies, this research stood out amongst others by showing particularly how political networks may not determine the way individuals enact prevailing logics. Our findings showed that being affiliated with any of the political identities did not dictate the instantiation of any of the prevailing logics. Hence it is not possible to say secularist identity prioritizes materialization of scientization logic whereas the conservative identity prioritizes vocational logic, which also indicates that logics and political networks act independently in shaping academic hiring decisions. One thing to note is that, in line with the neoliberal transformation in higher education, universities have increasingly embraced the premises of the entrepreneurial logic both discursively and practically (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Siegel, 2006; Saunders, 2010). However, neoliberalism which has acquired hegemonic status in Turkey did not create any disjunctive consequences among the universities. Neoliberalism was so hegemonic and above any political ideology in the sense that it did not lead to any variation in terms of being affiliated with any one of the political ideologies. Findings of this research supported this argument in the sense that it is not possible to argue that departments embedded in scientization logic are against to the principles of neoliberalism (i.e. Department B).

Though influencing independently, both institutional logic and political network embeddedness have varying impacts on hiring decisions. Therefore, predictive value of institutional logic embeddedness in forming new academic staff has shown variation across cases. Although in some cases embeddedness in various institutional logics has become more pronounced, in others political network embeddedness surmounted the former. It is rather in departments reflecting open network structures that the institutional logic embeddedness prevailed over the political network similarity. In contrast, in the rest of the cases showing closed network structures, academic hiring decisions to a very large extent resulted with incorporating people within that closed network whom are also embedded in the desired institutional logic(s). In case of few people whom were hired but not totally embedded in that closed network were still those whom were not strict opponents to that political ideology. More interestingly, in contrast to the extant literature on logic-based

identities, our cases showed that it is rather the societal level political networks yet implicitly determine embeddedness in specific institutional logics. However this does not mean that one specific political identity prioritizes the manifestations of a specific institutional logic but rather institutional logic embeddedness emerges to be the *required*, albeit not the *sufficient* hiring criterion.

In terms of influencing final academic hiring decisions, network closure has resulted in different configurations (i) among departments embedded in a single logic but different in terms of most prevalent logics (ii) between departments embedded in single versus multiple logics. For the former, when the decision-maker is embedded in vocational logic as opposed to scientization, it is more viable for him/her to recruit from the pool of individuals strongly affiliated with that political identity. Thus, the decision-maker embedded in conservative network and single (i.e. vocational) logic does not opt for hiring academics embedded in same logic but from any network but rather selects those academics embedded in vocational logic from the pool of conservative identity affiliated candidates (Department A). Only when the decision-maker fails to find academics embedded in the same single logic from his/her own associated closed political network, s/he resorts to others whom are not in direct opposition but rather from former allies (i.e. Department B). In this case, relatively limited number of academics embedded in scientization logics and conservative network led the department to more orient towards open network. For the latter, network closure in departments embedded in single versus multiple logics did not lead to any dominant pattern.

Although the research design of this study does not lend to the discussion of generalizability, still so, to what extent the findings of this study with respect to the interplay between embeddedness in different political networks and institutional logics influence managerial decisions can be extended to other contexts is intriguing. Illustratively, in contexts strongly characterized by social cleavages based on societal level political dynamics such as in Turkey (Mardin, 1973; Özbudun, 1981; Secor, 2001), these political dynamics may have prevailed over the influence of institutional logic embeddedness in organization level decision-making. The ruling impact of political network closure over institutional logic embeddedness indeed can become more visible in societal contexts like Turkey where political polarizations

and fragmentations along secular, religious and ethnic lines are very predominant (Keyman, 2014). Hence in these societies that have strengthening polarization to the point of fragmentation, political networks emerge to be very distinctive in determining hiring decisions.

Relatedly, I think that the theoretical model of this study is more generalizable to contexts such as having strong majority government and weak opposition and characterized by neopatrimonialism, semi-authoritarianism and clientelistic state-society relations such as former Soviet Union, Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Far Eastern countries (Budd, 2003; Özen and Akkemik, 2012) or characterized with ethnic cleavages Sub-Saharan African countries (Posner, 2007). Neopatrimonialism interferes through the coexistence of the Weberian legal-rational bureaucracy with top-down, arbitrary actions of the decision-makers. Being mainly manifested through arbitrary state interventions, political uncertainties adversely affected both business life (Buğra, 1994) and also higher education in Turkey. Clientelism on the other hand underlines party politics as a means of participating in resource allocation through preferential treatment by political patronage (Heper, 2002). This was manifested through the prominence of pro-ruling party centered staffing in higher education. I believe that these three aspects make Turkish case unique in the sense that political network connections may contribute to arbitrariness and may prevail over the influence of institutional logic embeddedness in decision-making.

Although I mainly aimed to shed light on how the interplay between individual embeddedness in field level institutional logics and societal level political networks influence both the academic hiring decisions of the decision-makers and ultimately level of homogeneity at the department level; the findings of this research generated insights on institutional ambidexterity. The question of how individuals (i.e. academics) balance competing logics (i.e. scientization, vocational and entrepreneurial) within the organization which are part of the ordinary and everyday nature of their work rather than exceptional phenomena has bifurcated the discussion in the direction of research and teaching as separate tracks.

Institutional ambidexterity refers to the ability to simultaneously perform contradictory processes when both are critical to organizational success (Tushman and O'Reilly, 1996). In contrast to resolving institutional complexity in favor of the prominence of one logic over others, it underlines balancing its components in pursuit of different outputs (Reay and Hinings, 2009; Goodrick and Reay, 2011). Ambidexterity literature is based on two different approaches namely structural and blended hybrids. The former based on compartmentalization attaches compliance with different expectations to different organizational units. In this respect separate subunits deal with particular logic, compartmentalizing an organization into different mindsets, normative orders and practices. On the other hand blended hybrids refers to allowing different logics to pervade the organization and relying on individuals to achieve a balance (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Smets et al., 2012). However in contrast to Battilana and Dorado's (2010) finding that blended hybridization may cause slippage towards either logic, balanced complexity may be realized through distinct but coexisting logics. Our findings revealed that our focus on the founding stage of these departments and associated insufficiency of academic staff constrained the development of different sections/units enacting particular logics. Instead, the findings generated empirical support for this literature in which academics have switched between different logics with regard to research and teaching dimensions.

This research has responded to the calls of practical doing of ambidexterity by individuals by focusing on how actors do ambidexterity together with focusing on the characteristics of the context. One of the practical instantiations is through switching which resonates with the concept of compartmentalization (Kraatz and Block, 2008). Rather than different logics are separated into different divisions and actors, switching and/or segmenting (Smets et al., 2014) refers to the individual level and entails that the single actor may shift between logics by enacting them at different times or in different spaces. This conceptualization actually has roots in DiMaggio (1997) theorization of the capacity of individuals to participate in multiple yet inconsistent cultural traditions. Our study showed how the same actors switched between multiple logics, promulgated different discourses and enacted associated practices.

In accordance with Smets et al.'s (2014) findings, segmenting frequently occurred because of the need to accommodate referent audiences with opposing interests. The structural features of these departments in which academic staff typically enacted these three logics in separate spaces enable segmenting. Individuals segmented their practices pertaining to competing logics by assigning them to different locations with different referent audiences. For instance, staff instantiated the premises of scientization logic with respect to research whereas enacted vocational and/or entrepreneurial logics in teaching in order to meet the student demands. This shows that these individuals not only have a general understanding of which multiple logics to enact in which kind of situation, but also have practical understanding of the distinct exigencies of a particular situation (p.960). However in contrast to Smets et al.'s (2014) argument that these segmented practices trigger the situation specific integration of logics through bridging and more specifically these logics are balanced through fluid iterations of all three balancing mechanisms did not find support in this study.

I argue that the reason behind the non-working of other two balancing mechanisms (i.e. bridging and demarcating) is due to the contextual factors leading to lower level compatibility between prescriptions of these logics prevailed at business education field. Contrarily, in North American context, scholars in management departments that are fully integrated with business are engaged in research activities guided by the managerial problems and subsequently publish their findings highly respected, mainstream journals (Ireland, Reutzel and Webb, 2005).⁵⁹ Hence they fruitfully combine the premises of different logics in their research practices. For instance, how research can affect management practices has been a central concern for Academy of Management at least the beginning of Academy of Management Journal (AMJ) in 1958. AMJ puts very much emphasis on these which was also manifested on its website stated as: To be published in *AMJ*, a manuscript must make strong empirical and theoretical contributions and *highlight the significance of those contributions to the management field*" (emphasis added). In practice, these contributions typically appear in a section near the end of AMJ papers that discusses

⁵⁹ As of an indicator, Ireland et al. (2005) documented the fact that AMJ has been publishing a significant number of articles pertaining to entrepreneurship especially since the mid 1990s.

implications for managers and/or practice (Bartunek 2007: 1324). Yet, in our case individuals do not connect their segmented practices and balance competing logics according to their salience in different situations. Thus, in Turkish case, applied based research does not generate publications at internationally indexed journals, these logics cannot be integrated that would make them conflicting-yet-complementary (Smets et al., 2014). So low level of compatibility of these prevailing logics in business education field in Turkey pertains to context specific factors. Though remaining at speculative level, the reasons for low compatibility between these logics are manifold. One of the reasons may be related to individual intention, for instance whether academics embedded in entrepreneurial logics also intend to make publications generated from these projects at indexed outlets or whether they engage in projects for the sake of generating income. On the other hand, academics embedded in scientization logic are mostly not concerned with making publications devoted to solution of managerial problems encountered by firms. Another reason could be attributed to implicit status differentiation between these prevailing logics i.e. embeddedness in scientization logic mostly despises vocational and professional logics. This covert disdainfulness on the part of the academics embedded in scientization logic led them to stray away from premises of the vocational and professional logics.

Pache and Santos (2010) highlighted the need for an increased understanding of when particular strategies may or may not be used in response to institutional complexity. For instance, several other studies mentioned triggering elements such as urgency (Smets et al., 2012) and the extent to which complexity is internally or externally imposed (Pache and Santos, 2010). In the sample cases, I showed that the ownership structure of the university particularly private-foundation universities hence associated with the susceptibility to market demands triggered the academics to materialize premises of vocational logic in their teaching as opposed to their research. This finding was indeed illustrates traces of the broader conceptualization of institutional orders which represents a governance system that provides a frame of reference that preconditions actors' sense-making choices (Thornton et al., 2012: 54).

At the societal level scholars identify seven distinct institutional orders and associated logics: family, community, religion, state, market, profession and corporation (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2004; Thornton et al., 2012). The instantiations of logics within fields, organizations and individuals draw from and are nested within these societal-level logics. Market and profession as being two of these interinstitutional system ideal types (Thornton, 2004; Thornton et al., 2012) have manifested itself through scientization, vocational and entrepreneurial logics at the field of business education. Scientization and vocational logics are indeed field-level manifestations of professional logic. However the increasing shift from professional to market logic⁶⁰ in higher education field had repercussions in two aspects. First, the prioritization of market logic had triggered orientation towards vocational and entrepreneurial logics with specific emphasis on teaching, skill-building and student employability. Second, increasing attention on the premises of market logic has also created certain level of diversity in the network structure with the aim of attracting diverse student profiles. Hence it can be argued that market logic interferes with the professional in determining which of the field-level logics related to professional logic are going to be increasingly manifested at the organizational level practices. However this argument may pertain more to private-foundation universities and more specifically those that are labeled as serious and dubious demand absorbers drawing mid-to-low performing students, offering a large variety of programs mostly answering the job market (Mızıkacı, 2010: 146).

Furthermore, it has been argued that organizations are composed of individuals who either adhere to a logic or resist it. However as contended by Pache and Santos (2013a), individuals inside organizations may indeed be indifferent to these logics or comply with it without necessarily embracing all of its core tenets. In this vein, the findings underlined that individual level instantiation of entrepreneurial logics remained relatively low and if ever exists; it is mostly remained at the level of entrepreneurship education with relatively lower emphasis on entrepreneurial projects with the industry. This has also surfaced in the findings that I deem it to be related to degree of availability and accessibility of these logics. In a similar vein,

⁶⁰ The shift from professional to market logics is elaborated in several different studies pertaining to different fields. See Thornton and Ocasio (1999) for higher education publishing; Thornton, Jones and Kury (2005) for accounting and architecture; Goodrick and Reay (2011) for pharmacists.

Pache and Santos (2013b) proposed that availability refers to the knowledge and information that individuals have about a given logic whereas accessibility is the degree to which knowledge and information about a given logic may come to mind. Specifically for three universities that have scored lowest in entrepreneurial logic embeddedness, two different scenarios have emerged. Individuals were either familiar or novice with entrepreneurial logic. For the former category, this knowledge is only moderately accessible to the individual because though s/he has been acquainted with the logic, s/he is neither emotionally nor ideologically committed to it. For the latter, participants do not have knowledge or resources about this logic. The point of divergence between these two groups is that the former group understands the demands imposed by the logic on the individuals and is able to comply with these demands to gain legitimacy though complying is not taken-for-granted in nature; whereas in the latter one individuals defy the enactment of these logics. The former group would be expected to resort to compartmentalization whereas the latter group's strong level of adherence to other logics will make them to consider competing prescriptions as threatening thus likely to reject them to ensure the prevalence of its preferred logic.

Moreover, this study while taking the founding stage of the management departments in Turkey after 2007 revealed the dynamic, unexpected and complex character of this process. Our findings revealed that although organizational identity may have been designed at the very beginning, the dynamism of the process leads to its reconstruction on the basis of contingencies, actors and networks. This was in line with suggestion of Raynard (2016) on how organizational responses evolve within dynamic institutional landscapes which shift and change as settlements unravel or are renegotiated. In this respect, study's findings showed multiple variations of conformity to the same institutions.

This dynamism was more prevalent among private-foundation universities. For instance, in Departments D and E, being constrained by efficiency concerns, undergraduate management education has started by recruiting full-time and/or part-time lecturers to give the courses in the first year of the curriculum, which is determined largely by imitating the mainstream business curriculum in Turkey. At this stage, the political and/or personal networks that decision-makers are embedded

in provided the main source of staff whereby similarity of institutional logics embeddedness between the decision-makers and hired individuals remained secondary.

In a similar manner, the very founding stage was more characterized with political network homophily whereby academics were selected on the basis of similar characteristics. Political identity similarity in this context indirectly dictated greater level of interpersonal trust and familiarity. This also supported the findings of Ruef, Aldrich and Carter (2003) of which founders of organizations appear more concerned with trust and familiarity at early stage than with a functional competence leading to a competency discount in founder recruitment. Hence academic hiring decisions in founding stage were strongly influenced by socially embedded patterns of interactions.

Second, as higher education systems are heterogeneous with regard to resource endowments of different universities, institutional logic embeddedness at departmental level relates strongly to the human resource characteristics regarding knowledge about the premises related with each logic. For instance, for scientization logic this is mostly associated to having been educated in North America or Britain and being aware of particular theories, methods and style. As Önder and Önder (2011) revealed the outcome of a long-standing tradition of employing people trained abroad may be a historical accident that is not originally related to publishing productivity but which helps the universities to publish more. In the light of our sample cases, we found that founding deans assigned by the universities are accidentally embedded in specific logics that may run counter to the founding will's ultimate mission. This accidental embeddedness stems mainly from the resource endowments possessed by the decision-makers. For instance in University E, the founding dean's resource endowments from her past educational and work experience equipped him/her with capacity to accidentally instantiate scientization logic in his/her recruitment decisions which to an extent conflicted with the Board of Trustee's emphasis on vocation gaining and entrepreneurship. In this way, the academic hiring decision that is ultimately reached is in conflict with the planned enactment of the institutional logic at the very beginning. But rather this decision implicitly reflects the decision-maker's mindset.

Third, there was also unexpectedness in the academic hiring process with respect to level of similarity both institutional logic embeddedness in cases where the decision-makers were embedded in multiple logics and political network embeddedness where the decision-makers were embedded in closed networks. Irrespective of political networks, in Departments D and E where the decision-makers are embedded in multiple institutional logics; the *same* multiple logic configurations were reflected in the hired staff's logic embeddedness. Hence in contrast to recruiting academics from any logic, the overall composition of the academic staff represented multiple yet same patterns with the decision-maker. For instance in Department D, the decision-maker is embedded in vocational and entrepreneurial logics and similarly majority of the academics (except two) are embedded in the same multiple logics ($MED_{D\_Logics} = 0.641$). Similarly, in Department E, the decision-maker's embeddedness in scientization and vocational logics reflected in the same way among academics' embeddedness ($MED_{E\_Logics} = 0.798$). These findings further underlines that the dean being the primary decision-maker, is a crucial figure in the construction of departmental identity because his/her identification with the institutional logics, if any, would be more likely to influence which logic-based identifications academicians to be recruited would have. It also challenges the homophily versus heterophily dichotomy in the relevant literature by arguing that there is even the influence of homophily within heterophily situations.

Fourth, institutional logics that the departments materialize have also been influenced by geographic communities. In this vein, how embeddedness in communities influence organization's behavior at a micro level has pointed out to be significant. The literature has drawn attention to how strategies of organizations are influenced by their communities, how the social environment in which the founding takes place plays a major role in the decision to start-up a venture and imprints the created organization. For instance, Lounsbury (2007) showed how mutual fund strategies differed depending on the legitimate model of investment in Boston and New York where the former focused on conservative and latter on aggressive investing strategies. Moreover Marquis and Battilana (2009) argued for both social-normative and cognitive influence of the geographic community in which the founder is embedded. In this regard they posited that communities provide deeper set

of shared frameworks that individuals draw to create common definitions of a situation and these are tied to longstanding identity. That is so; physical proximity may influence whom one is connected to and what social expectations should be met (Marquis et al., 2007). Our findings showed that geographic communities contributed to additional variation in how multiple logics appear within organizations. More specifically in the two peripheral cities, decision-makers' ties with geographic communities had directed the departments towards prominence of either vocational or entrepreneurial logics. Especially in the city known as having preponderance of firms named as Anatolian Tigers (Demir, Acar and Toprak, 2004), socio-economic features of the city triggered the entrepreneurial orientation on the part of the department. On the demand side, the student profile coming from the affluent families of the city/region demanded the department to be formed around entrepreneurship. Students coming from these families are going to continue their family businesses. On the supply side, the founding holding has provided its practitioners of its companies as of lecturers in the department. In addition to current literature, the influence of geographic communities is manifested through hometown loyalties. Prioritizing the decision-makers from the same city of origin was critically defended with the rationalization that s/he would have contact with local businessmen and could more effectively persuade people in staff composition.

Fifth, recent political context had created dynamism with respect to manifestations or withdrawal of practices associated with specific logics and political networks. For University D, the hostility between the JDP and Gülen community during the data collection period and subsequent de-legitimization of religious community identity caused them to suspend the instantiations of scientization and entrepreneurial logics. The former is mainly due to policies of research funding bodies suspending financial support, whereas for the latter university-industry partnerships were interrupted stemming from political context. For University A, hostility between JDP and Gülen Community before the failed coup attempt had resulted the university to liquidate and/or not recruit academic staff affiliated with religious community identity. Rather, the university has become more intensively associated with Erenköy community as a source of academic staff. This community has become more prominent in the efforts to counterbalance Gülen influence on the hiring process.

For University B that has initially been designed in accordance with embeddedness in closed networks, later stages were more characterized with recruiting people not affiliated with conservative identity. Private-foundation universities avoid limiting their admission pool to the students with certain political identification compatible with that of their political identification, if any. This imperative may result in avoiding having a faculty cadre entirely homogenous in political view even if the strong political identification of the university requires so as in Cell 1 and 3. In other words, they do not want to look “too homogenous” in political sense, even if they want actually to be so. Accordingly, they might recruit few academicians, who have political views different from, but not radically opposing to, the political identity of the university. This again hints the effect of homophily in heterophily situations. The common decoupling strategy in this case is not to assign such academicians to administrative positions, and/or not to allow them to involve in strategic decisions. Thus, they prefer to use them as “window dressing” to give a signal to audiences that they are open to all political views. This decoupling strategy can also be used when a university with a certain politically identity has difficulties to find academicians necessary to fulfill the basic requirements of being an academic institution and/or to realize the requirements of institutional logic(s) it adopts in management department, for instance, lecturing, publishing in internationally indexed journals, or conducting industry-oriented projects. As stated earlier, particularly public or private universities located in remote and less developed cities in Turkey have this problem. Then, what they do in this case is to follow exactly what the regulations requires in recruiting academicians without any decoupling, but, after hiring academicians, decouple those incompatible with the political identity of the university from managerial decisions (Özen and Öztürk, 2016: 37).

All in all, until the work by Besharov and Smith (2014) the literature has depicted logic multiplicity as uniform in its effects on organizational functioning. Their key assertion was that implications of logic multiplicity depended on how logics are instantiated within organizations. Put it differently, why multiple logics produce internal conflict in some organizations but become seamlessly blended in others indeed depend on two dimensions as logic compatibility and centrality. Therefore, their typology incorporating compatibility and centrality of different logics

highlighted how different types of logic multiplicity lead to different organizational responses and conflict. However the findings of my research have implications that would expand their theorization about heterogeneous ways in which multiple logics manifest within organizations and their implications by showing two different things. First, as opposed to their conceptualization of extensive conflict when multiple logics are core to organizational functioning and these logics provide contradictory prescriptions for action; I argued that there may be several individuals embedded in different multiple and contradictory institutional logics in an organization and if they are strongly embedded in the same closed political network, the resulting conflict would be relatively low. Organizational members may enact different logic prescriptions however the overall encompassing political ideology may be very influential in bypassing any potential logic related conflict.

Second, with regards to our case where the prevailing logics signal low levels of compatibility by providing contradictory prescriptions for action, when this is coupled with low levels of centrality (i.e. one logic is core to the organizational functioning), Besharov and Smith's (2014) framework implied no conflict. Corresponding to our study's conceptual framework this pattern rules for higher-level homogeneity, however the sample cases resulted with contrary findings. On the contrary, in organizational settings where one logic is core to organizational functioning and others are peripheral but yet organizational members are embedded in different political networks, there is higher degree of possibility for hidden conflict. This has found support in Department B where the organizational members are embedded in scientization logic however there emerged conflict between strongly conservative academics and others on even the issue of sheltering street cats at the campus. To put it differently, the findings of this research amplify Besharov and Smith's (2014) study and can be conceptualized as follows; political identification moderates the relationship between institutional logic multiplicity and conflict in Turkish context. The relationship between logic multiplicity and conflict actually depends on the level of political homogeneity. In cases where the level of political homogeneity is high, the conflict among the academic staff tends to be low whereas conflict is more salient where there is low level of political homogeneity.

I also suggest expanding their work by responding to two of their future calls. First, in understanding the implications of logic multiplicity within organizations; I analyzed organizations that embody more than two logics. In a similar vein, Greenwood et al. (2011: 332) urged the need to better understand the challenges of organizations that embrace more than two logics. They concluded that by restricting attention to only two logics “the extent of complexity experienced may be underestimated or misinterpreted; and the particular responses may not be properly understood.” This was further considered by Cappellaro, Tracey and Greenwood (2016) in their study of introduction of the private logic into a mature Italian hospital that was previously governed as a hybrid of professional and public logics in which they named it as “tribrid.” Second and more importantly, I aimed to extend their work by connecting field-level factors to broader societal forces. The extant literature has showed the links between the role of religion, geographic communities, social movements and the state (Dunn and Jones, 2010; Greenwood et al., 2010; Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007). However the role of political networks and identities at the societal level impacted the variation in how multiple logics are manifested within organizations was elaborated with this study.

6.1.2. Implications for Research on Political Networks, Identities and Ideology

Building on Granovetter’s (1985) conceptualization of social structure in terms of inter-actor ties and relationships; embeddedness is a broad concept that has been classified as structural, political, cognitive and cultural embeddedness (Zukin and DiMaggio, 1990). It argues that economic activity is nested in patterns of social relationships and bounded by existing inter-actor ties. In this research, I considered political embeddedness not in the form of formal and informal, individual and organizational ties to the state (Michelson, 2007), but rather political ties that intervene into and are significant in the hiring decisions of the academic staff. Therefore this study pointed to the political nature of these formal and informal ties to different political ideologies represented through political parties and social movements and also whether these political ties bring strong and cohesive relations. Earlier studies had given hints on how links with regulatory structures, political authorities create organizational opportunities and outcomes (Baum and Oliver,

1992). While political context provides distinct patterns of activity, on the contrary to the constraining nature of this context, several other studies revealed how political networks constituted the basis of organizational action (McGuire and Granovetter, 1999; Scott and Meyer, 1994). Political embeddedness necessitates more emphasis as it connects both micro and macro levels with respect to meaning systems, mental models, ideologies and cultural logics (Haveman and Rao, 1997).

Institutional logics drive behavior by shaping identities, in turn, filter possible responses of organizational actors to strategic issues and environmental changes (Kraatz and Block, 2008; Glynn, 2008). Identities and values are likely to color the experience of complexity by filtering how institutional demands are conceptualized (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2014; Lok, 2010; Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006). Identity theory postulates that identities are related to culturally defined social roles that comprise the set of categories that people learn to apply to themselves and others (Burke, 2004: 9). Actors may hold multiple identities that are aligned with different logics (Thornton et al., 2012). Our study challenged this assumption by showing how political identities not necessarily aligned with institutional logics can function together with logics in responding to institutional complexity. In addition to the identities formed by institutional logics at the field level; individuals and organizations may be embedded in identities stemming from political, religious, and social networks. Hence I aimed to extend the scope of individual responses to institutional complexity by integrating the discussion of political identities. I find this particularly important to understand organizational behavior contexts characterized by political cleavages where institutional logics at the field level and political ideologies at the societal level influence organizational level decisions.

This study has also extended the work on institutional logics and ideology. Although earlier publications in the field of new institutionalism had made references to ideology (Meyer, 1986; Meyer and Rowan, 1987), later work has remained relatively disinterested with regard to integrating ideology in organizational research. Institutions are ideological in the sense that they constitute social entities and the social categories that are at the foundation of any social order. As mentioned by Meyer (1987: 29); “in modern social systems it is fruitful to see social structures not as the assembly of patterns of local interactions but as ideological edifices of

institutionalized elements that derive their authority from more universal rules.” Berger and Luckmann (1966: 123) linked their understanding of ideology to power interests such that when a particular reality comes to be linked to a concrete power interest, it may be called an ideology. They argued that the ideology is distinct in the sense that same universe is interpreted in diverse ways depending on concrete vested interests in that context.

Meyer, Sahlin, Ventresca and Walgenbach (2009) argued that, being located at periphery of institutional research, ideology was resided either in connotation with critical approaches or the framing approach to social movement literature. They viewed this as surprising since many core features of institutional theory, institutional logics being one of the vivid one, are closely interwoven with ideology. Hence, in spite of the calls to focus on actors, interests, and political and cultural embeddedness of agency in relevance to ideology, the extant scholarly work has lagged behind. More recent studies by Lounsbury, Ventresca, Hirsch (2003) and den Hond and de Bakker (2007) retraced the patterns of strategic action of institutional agents to the ideological stances they act upon either to sustain or to challenge the prevailing power arrangement which led them to the comprehensive picture of dynamics at both the organizational and the field levels. Several other studies readdressed the role of ideology in new institutionalism via showing the ideological interest-laden component of institutional logics (Delmestri, 2009). Delmestri (2009) argued that ideologies are the institutionalized interest-laden glue that justifies material practices through and connecting them to the symbolic constructions that make up institutional logics.

Similarly, Weik (2009) argued that ideology is of importance in understanding how institutional logics are transmitted to individual actors and how they influence them. This is yet promising in opening up new avenues to show how similar institutional logics hold on to distinctive spheres of material life in different contexts. In this regard, it has been argued that institutional logics constitute actors’ identities in culturally specific ways. In this vein, he argued that an account of institutional logics that takes power and interests seriously should begin with understanding how ideologies, which represent the interest-laden component of the symbolic

constructions to which institutional logics, are associated. On the one hand institutions try to control ideologies in order to promote their own goals and values. On the other hand, actors resort to certain ideologies to enact their self-identity. In this vein, ideology is proposed to be a condition for individual identity construction as it provides “preconstituted experiencings” displayed through language.

The silence on the part of integrating ideology in new institutionalism in spite of the emphasis by earlier studies has been partially resolved with recent studies. Still however, they have taken the interrelatedness between institutional logics and ideology at their core by revealing ideological interest-laden component of institutional logics. Apart from its link with institutional logics, ideology on its own is linked to a set of social representations forwarded by a certain group of actors sharing the same interests; and these interests attach a political dimension to ideology. Rather than logic dependent ideologies, the question of how political ideologies at the societal level and political discourses impinged on them are linked to institutional logics remained to be disregarded. Institutional logics literature in this sense did not incorporate the political ideologies in its discussion on organizational and individual responses to institutional complexity. However, in several contexts these political ideologies and identities, being diffusive in nature, may both prevail over these logics and constrain its impact by serving as a filter for interpreting and responding to environmental changes.

In semi-authoritarian contexts such as Turkey, ideological power networks are usually split (Jacoby, 2005). That is to say these ideological networks may be deployed by organized elites to either limit the efficacy of existing power relations or may serve to intensify the cohesion, confidence and therefore the power of an already established social group (Mann, 1986: 23-4). In the empirical setting of this study, the embeddedness in the conservative identity created a stronger link among the individuals that would also prevail over determinant power of logic embeddedness. The cohesion generated by these political ideologies therefore to a large extent led to hiring academic staff whom were embedded in those.

6.2. Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The limitations of this study mainly pertain to issues related to research context and data collection. In empirical contexts characterized by the absence of Weberian legal-rational authority accompanied with cadrelization and partisanship practices in public employment, collecting data about political identities becomes a deeply challenging issue. As personal relationships rooted in friendships, ethnicity, religion and political ideology have always been significant in getting posts in these polities, individuals usually opt for hiding their connections. Hence my research questions mostly caused some suspicion and discomfort on the part of the participants.

Furthermore, data collection through semi-structured interviews posed to be a challenge with respect to two related aspects. Stemming from the research topic aiming to reveal the individual's embeddedness in various political networks and associated identities, some participants may have refrained from explicitly mentioning their affiliations. Although other secondary sources may provide strong support for their embeddedness in specific identities, they have given evasive answers that aggravated the reveal of their level of embeddedness. This is understandable in higher education context whereby political ideology as a network source bears the exclusive nature towards others whom are not within these networks (Buğra and Savaşkan, 2010). As the field of higher education has always been characterized with political cleavages (Toprak et al., 2009), more expectedly participants were more inclined to disguise their identities. I argue that, the semi-authoritarian nature of the state in Turkish context leads individuals to become more adaptive in altering their political identities with subsequent ruling elites. From Jacoby's discussion on semi-authoritarian incorporation as a conceptualization of militarized regimes, semi-authoritarian states are characterized with limited electoral democracies which permitted broadly non-compliant political parties to exist. These regimes also ensured that anti-statist groups could not develop extensive or grassroots movements with sufficient organizational power to threaten the despotic authority and infrastructural capacity of the semi-authoritarian regime (Jacoby, 2005: 643). The nature of political identity in this context thus may have caused

participants not to present themselves as strictly affiliated with one specific identity.

Another related issue with regard to data collection is rooted in the timing of the study. This has tended to be very critical in several terms. First, the initial point of data collection and the subsequent periods have highlighted tremendous change in Turkish political context characterized by the former fierce hostility between the JDP and Gülen Community and subsequent confiscation of Gülen Community affiliated universities by the state.⁶¹ This dynamism in the political context had several implications with regard to collection of network data and ultimate academic staff composition. In terms of data collection, I strived hard to convince these people to participate in interviews⁶² and during the interviews I quite often encountered difficulties in establishing the rapport due to the sensitivity of the time period.

However, the frankness of participants in mentioning their identities had varied with respect to the specific identity that they are affiliated with. Gülen identity affiliated participants have tended to protect themselves by resorting to open political network discourse. Contrarily, I more easily collected data from pro-JDP universities. This may stem from the nature of the dominant single party era where these participants were not concerned with disguising and even more interested to reveal their identities to show their allegiance to the ruling party and their corresponding distance to opposition and other religious/ideological communities. In terms of academic staff composition, if the data had been collected at a different point in time, more probably the ratio of Gülen affiliated individuals in the sample universities would have been higher.⁶³

Another limitation of this study is not taking into consideration the professional networks formed around institutional logics within the field. Although not very common, some research argued that academic meetings held in the management and organization field since 1992 enabled academicians from different universities and ranks to build open networks with bridging ties and resulted in the enlargement of

⁶¹ All Gülen affiliated universities (except one) founded during the JDP rule were first appointed trustees and closed down by statutory decree after July 15th failed coup attempt.

⁶² In many of the cases, the interview arrangement is facilitated through my PhD advisor's direct personal connections with the interviewees.

⁶³ One interviewee in Department B told that due to the political context, one candidate holding PhD degree from Harvard University was eliminated due to his/her alleged Gülen connection.

co-authorship and the fields of studies networks of particularly younger scholars (Kırkbeşoğlu, Sözen and Kurt; 2014; Sargut, Sözen and Kırkbeşoğlu, 2015). It can be argued that the effect of logic-related networks may suppress the effects of political networks because individuals are connected to each other through professional ties rather than political ties. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the degree of decision-makers' embeddedness in logic-related networks would moderate the effect on the relationship between decision-makers' identification with institutional logics and his/her hiring decision.

In regards to the sample size of the study, limited number of cases fails to enable robust theory testing which further urges the testing of the hypotheses in relatively larger samples. Still however, since this study is one about theoretical model formation and then initial test of several combined features of individual-level logic and network embeddedness; future research can apply and expand our framework in a number of ways to develop a richer understanding of implications of both logics and political networks within organizations. One important direction is to test our framework in large n studies and run hierarchical cluster analyses to group all newly-founded universities from 2007-2014. Future research can also extend our framework by comparatively applying it at hiring decisions in (i) other departments of the universities and (ii) already established universities. This framework may have different implications in the hiring decisions at the faculties of political sciences where identity may be more prioritized or at engineering faculties where entrepreneurial logics may be more invoked. Comparative elaboration of newly founded versus already established universities may reveal insights. As already established ones are expected to have well-established organizational identities, historically rooted institutional logics and their instantiations at the individual level may have been more pronounced compared to newly established counterparts. Lastly, in line with Besharov and Smith's (2014) future research should theorize and empirically test the implications of these varying levels of institutional logics and political network embeddedness for internal conflict. Future studies may also combine the delineation in Smets et al. (2014) and Besharov and Smith's (2014) studies in order to provide a conceptual framework on segmenting, bridging and demarcating institutional logics at varying levels of compatibility and centrality.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

Questions directed to both decision-makers and academic staff:

1. Sizin kadroya alınmanızda süreç nasıl işledi?
2. Akademik kariyerinizde ne yaptığınızda çok mutlu olursunuz?
3. İdeal işletme eğitimi nasıl olmalı?
4. Bölümdeki diğer hocalarla işletme alanında araştırma, yayın ve eğitim-öğretim konularında bakış açılarınızın farklılaşıyor mu?
5. Bölümün temel hedefi/önceliği nedir?
6. İdeal bir akademisyenin özellikleri nedir?
7. Sizce İşletme alanda araştırmanın önemi nedir? Araştırma programınızı oluşturmada öncelikleriniz neler oluyor? Nasıl bir araştırma programı oluşturdunuz?
8. Araştırma konularınızdan bahseder misiniz? (literatürdeki boşluklar, öğrencilere mesleki beceri kazandırmak, girişimcilik/yeni süreçler/faydalı modeller)
9. Nasıl bir insan tipi oluşturmayı hedefliyorsunuz?
10. Öğretim faaliyetlerinizde öncelikleriniz neler oluyor/ Lisans derslerinde öncelikleriniz neler oluyor? (öğrencilerin bilimsel bilgi edinmesi, mesleki bilgi edinmesi, yeni iş fikirleri üretmeleri/girişimci olmaları)
11. Eğitim ve araştırmanın pratik dünya ile bağı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Yeterli buluyor musunuz?
12. Üniversite sanayi iş birliği konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?
13. Projelerde yer alıyor musunuz?
14. X Üniversitesi ile tanışmanız nasıl oldu? Nasıl haberdar oldunuz? Teklif mi geldi siz mi başvurdunuz? Birileri aracılığıyla mı oldu? Teklif edilme gerekçeleriniz neydi? Nasıl bir süreç yaşandı? Seminer verdiniz mi?

15. Sizce işe alımınızda en etkili isimler kimler olmuştur? Ve sizin onlarla olan bağlantınız nedir?
16. Bölüme yeni alınacak öğretim üyelerinin seçiminde kim (kimler) en çok belirleyicidir?
17. Bölümdeki öğretim üyelerini daha önceden tanıyor muydunuz?
18. Son 5 yılda akademik camiadan en sık kimlerle görüşüyorsunuz?
19. Kimlerle ortak projeler, araştırmalar, eğitimler gerçekleştiriyorsunuz? (Tübitak projesi yapılıyor mu? Kodu kaç?)
20. Bölüme katılmanızdan sonra araştırma grupları oluştu mu, bunlarda yer aldınız mı?
21. Kimden en fazla görüş/yardım alırsınız?
22. Hocalar ve sizin aranızda görüş farklılığı ortaya çıktı, hangi konuda ortaya çıktı? Nasıl çözdünüz çözebildiniz mi?
23. EK 3- Türkiyedeki vakıf üniversiteleri belli bir düşünsel taban/ siyasi parti / ideoloji üzerine inşa ediliyor. X Üniversitesinin de belirli bir düşünsel tabana yerleşik olduğu algısı var, bu durum sizin bilimsel üretim sürecinize engel oluyor mu?
24. EK 4- Belirli bir düşünsel taban, ideoloji ve siyasi parti ile ilişkilendirilen üniversitelerde çalışmak bu gruplarla düşünsel yakınlık/ aidiyet gerektirir mi? Sizin gözlemleriniz nelerdir? Bunu sadece sizin çalıştığınız üniversite için sormuyorum, siz alanı biliyorsunuz, genel bir değerlendirme yapabilir misiniz?
25. X Üniversitesi çalışanlarının hayat tarzları, dünyaya bakışları benzer mi? Ortak düşünce söz konusu mu? Burada hayat tarzı benzerliği ve ortaklığından söz edilebilir mi?

Questions directed only to decision-makers:

1. İşletme Bölümünün kurulma aşamasında yer aldınız mı? O dönemdeki öğretim üyelerinin seçiminde ve eğitim programında önceliğiniz neler oldu?
2. Akademik kadroya yeni alınacak olan bir aday için karar alma süreci nasıl işliyor?

3. X bölümünde/fakültesinde araştırma ne kadar önemli peki? Araştırmaların türlerini düşünecek olursak; sizce somut projelere ve pratiğe yönelik araştırmalar mı yapılmalı, yoksa daha teoriye katkının amaçlandığı araştırmaları mı teşvik ediyorsunuz?
4. Gerek şu anki görev yerinizde gerekse daha önceden görev aldığınız yerlerde, bölgedeki iş dünyası temsilcileriyle ilişkiniz var mıydı?
5. Bölümde sektörde önemli isimlere ve yöneticilere ders verdiriliyor mu/planlanıyor mu?
6. Peki sektörle öğrenciler arasında network kurma gibi bir planınız var mı? Bu doğrultuda yapmayı planladığınız seminerler, firma gezileri, staj imkanları hakkında da bilgi verebilir misiniz?
7. Lisans eğitiminde Türkiye bağlamına yönelik dersler açılıyor mu? Yoksa daha evrensel dersler mi?
8. Yüksek lisans ve doktora müfredat içeriklerinizde uygulamaya yönelik dersler mi ağırlıkta yoksa teorik dersler mi?
9. Lisans, yüksek lisans ve doktora eğitimi, sizce bunlardan hangisi bir üniversite için daha önemlidir?
10. Kadronuzu belirlerken yayının önemi nedir? Sizce yayında başarı ölçütü ne olmalı?
11. Elemanların uluslararası konferanslara katılımını teşvik ediyor musunuz?

APPENDIX B

Institutional Logic Manifestation from Academic CVs of the Interviewees

D ep .	Partic ipant Codes	Rese arch proj ects (Tüb itak ARD EB)	Non- scientific projects(t raining)	Non- scientific projects (industry, entrepren eurship)	SS CI	Rese arch book s	Text book s	Pop ular boo ks	Research&P ublication awards	Teac hing excell ence awar ds	Pro ject awa rds	MYO exper ience	Aggregate_S cientization	Aggregate_ Vocational	Aggregate_Ent repreneurial
A	DM	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0.20	0.60	0.20
A	A	0	0	3	0	6	2	0	3	2	0	1	0.53	0.29	0.18
A	B	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.33	0.33	0.33
A	C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.00	1.00	0.00
A	D	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.33	0.67	0.00
A	E	2	0	0	3	0	4	1	0	0	1	0	0.45	0.36	0.18
B	DM	1	0	0	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.90	0.10	0.00
B	A	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.00	0.00	0.00
B	B	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	1.00
B	C	2	2	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0.30	0.70	0.00
C	DM	0	9	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.15	0.77	0.08
C	A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00

C	B	0	3	1	0	1	8	0	0	0	1	0	0.07	0.79	0.14
C	C	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.50	0.50
C	D	0	1	1	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0.22	0.67	0.11
D	DM	0	6	13	3	4	4	9	0	6	0	1	0.15	0.37	0.48
D	A	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0.33	0.33	0.33
D	B	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.50	0.00	0.50
D	C	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.00	0.67	0.33
D	D	1	1	4	6	0	0	0	3	1	5	0	0.48	0.10	0.43
D	E	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.00	0.00	0.00
D	F	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0.60	0.40	0.00
E	DM	0	1	1	11	2	0	0	5	3	2	0	0.72	0.16	0.12
E	A	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.75	0.00	0.25
E	B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
E	C	0	1	2	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0.70	0.10	0.20
E	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.50	0.50	0.00

APPENDIX C

List of Universities Founded in Turkey Between 2007-2014

Name of the University	Name of the Faculty	Year of foundation	Year of student acceptance to Management department
Abdullah Gül	Yönetim Bilimleri Fakültesi	2010	2013
Acıbadem	None	2007	None
Adana Bilim ve Teknoloji	İşletme Fakültesi	2011	2011
Adıyaman	İİBF	2006	2009
Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen (Ağrı Dağı)	İİBF	2007	2012
Ahi Evren	İİBF	2006	2012
Aksaray	İİBF	2006	2006
Alanya Hamdullah Emin Paşa	None	2011	None
Ankara Sosyal Bilimler	Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi	2013	-
Amasya	None	2006	None
Anka Teknoloji	None	2013	None
Antalya AKEV	İİBF	2014	None
Artvin Çoruh	İİBF	2007	2010
Ataşehir Adıgüzel Meslek Yüksekokulu	None	2012	None
Avrupa Yüksek Meslek Okulu	None	2009	None

Ardahan	İİBF	2008	2009
Bayburt	İİBF	2008	2009
Batman	İİBF	2007	2010
Bezm-i Alem	None	2010	None
Bilecek Şeyh Edibali	İİBF	2007	2007
Bingöl Üniversitesi	İİBF	2007	2009
Biruni İstanbul	None	2014	None
Bitlis Eren	İİBF	2007	2015
Bozok	İİBF	2006	2006
Bursa Teknik	İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri	2010	-
Çankırı Karatekin	İİBF	2007	2007
Düzce	İşletme	2006	2010
Erzincan	İİBF	2006	2009
Erzurum Teknik	İİBF	2010	2012
Faruk Saraç Tasarım Meslek Yüksek Okulu	None	2010	None
Fatih Sultan Mehmet	None	2010	None
Gedik	İktisadi, İdari ve Sosyal Bilimler	2011	No dept.
Giresun	İİBF	2006	2008
Hacı Bektaş Veli	İİBF	2007	2007
Hakkari	İİBF	2008	-
Hitit	İİBF	2006	2006
Gümüşhane	İİBF	2008	2009

İstanbul Arel	İİBF	2007	2008
İğdır	İİBF	2008	2012
İstanbul Bilim	None	2006	None
İstanbul Esenyurt	İşletme ve Yönetim Bilimleri	2013	2014
İstanbul Medeniyet	İİBF	2010	2016
İstanbul Medipol	İşletme ve Yönetim Bilimleri	2009	2015
İzmir Katip Çelebi	İİBF	2010	2013
Karabük	İİBF	2007	2010
Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey	İİBF	2007	2007
Kastamonu	İİBF	2006	2011
Kırklareli	İİBF	2007	2009
Kilis 7 Aralık	İİBF	2007	2008
Konya Necmettin Erbakan	Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler	2010	2010
Konya Gıda ve Tarım	Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler	2013	No dept.
Namık Kemal	İİBF	2006	2010
Osmaniye Korkut Ata	İİBF	2007	2009
Ordu	İİBF	2006	2010
Özyeğin	İşletme	2007	2008
Piri Reis	İİBF	2008	No dept.
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	İİBF	2006	2009
Sanko	None	2013	None
Siirt	İİBF	2007	2013

Sinop	İİBF	2007	2011
Şırnak	İİBF	2008	2009
Türk Alman	İİBF	2010	2013
Avrasya	İİBF	2011	2011
Bursa Orhangazi	İİBF	2011	2012
Canik Başarı	İİBF	2010	2012
Gediz (İzmir Bakırçay)	İİBF	2008	2009
Hasan Kalyoncu	İİBF	2008	2009
İpek	İşletme ve Yönetim Bilimleri	2011	2011
İstanbul Gelişim	İİBF	2011	2011
İstanbul Kemerburgaz	İİBF	2008	2011
İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim	İİBF	2010	2012
İstanbul Şehir	İİBF	2008	2010
İstanbul 29 Mayıs	İİBF	2010	No dept.
KTO Karatay	İşletme ve Yönetim Bilimleri	2009	2010
Mardin Artuklu	İİBF	2007	-
MEF	İktisadi, İdari ve Sosyal Bilimler	2012	2014
Mehmet Akif Ersoy	İİBF	2006	2012
Melikşah	İİBF	2008	2009
Mevlana	İşletme	2008	2010
Munzur (Tunceli)	İİBF	2008	2010
Muş Alparslan	İİBF	2007	2008

Niřantaşı	İİBF	2012	2012
Nuh Naci Yazgan	İİBF	2009	2011
Selahaddin Eyyubi	İİBF	2013	2014
Süleyman Şah	İřletme ve Yönetim Bilimleri	2010	2010
TED Üniversitesi	İİBF	2009	2012
Toros	İİBF	2009	2010
Turgut Özal	İİBF	2009	2010
Türk Hava Kurumu	İřletme	2011	2012
Uluslararası Antalya	İİBF	2010	2012
Üsküdar	İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri	2011	No dept.
Uşak	İİBF	2006	2006
Yalova	İİBF	2007	2007
Yeni Yüzyıl	İİBF	2009	2015
Yıldırım Beyazıt	İİBF	2010	2012
Yüksek İhtisas	None	2013	None
Zirve	İİBF	2009	2009

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı: ÖZTÜRK

Adı: DENİZ

Bölümü: YÖNETİM VE ORGANİZASYON

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce):

AT THE NEXUS OF INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND POLITICAL NETWORKS:

THE CASE OF ACADEMIC HIRING IN NEWLY FOUNDED MANAGEMENT DEPARTMENTS IN TURKEY

TEZİN TÜRÜ:

Yüksek Lisans

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☐☐☐

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- 2) Öztürk, D. & Aşçıgil, S.F. (2017). Workplace Bullying among Public Sector Employees: Reflections Upon Organizational Justice Perceptions and Organizational Citizenship Behavior. *Business and Professional Ethics Journal*, 36(1), 1-39.
- 3) Özen, Ş., & Öztürk, D. (2016). Institutional Logics and Political Networks: A Theoretical Framework for Academic StaffinF Decisions in Newly-Founded Management Departments in Turkey. *Journal of Management and Organization Studies*, 1, 5-46.

- 4) Öztürk, D., & Özen, Ş. (2016). Kurumsal Mantıklar ve Siyasal Kimlikler: Akademik Personel Seçimine Yönelik Bir Kuramsal Çerçeve ve Pilot Çalışma. 24. Ulusal Yönetim ve Organizasyon Kongresi, Sabancı Üniversitesi, İstanbul, Türkiye.
- 5) Institutional Logics and Networks: Academic Staffing in Management Departments of Newly Founded Universities in Turkey, 2008-2013, 11th New Institutionalism Workshop, Vienna, Austria, 25-27 March, 2015.
- 6) When MNCs cause social movements: Joint venture as a remedy, *European Consortium for Political Research Graduate Student Conference*, Innsbruck, Austria, 02-05 July, 2014.
- 7) Kaynak bağımlılığı yaklaşımı ışığında Markafoni'nin doğuşu. 22. *Ulusal Yönetim ve Organizasyon Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı*, Konya, Türkiye, Mayıs 2014.

TURKISH SUMMARY

Giriş

Son yıllarda, örgütsel alandaki çoklu kurumsal mantıklara, ya da kurumsal karmaşıklığa karşı örgütlerin, mevcut kimliklerine, yapılarına ve sahipliklerine bağlı olarak farklı tepkiler verdikleri ileri sürülmektedir (Battilana ve Dorado, 2010; Dunn ve Jones, 2010; Pache ve Santos, 2010 ve 2013; Goodrick ve Reay, 2011; Greenwood vd. 2011). Bu bağlamda, süzgeç işlevi görerek kurumsal mantıklarla bireysel davranış arasındaki bağı oluşturan örgütsel kimliklerin, örgütsel aktörlerin kurumsal karmaşıklığı nasıl yorumlayacaklarını ve ne tür tepkiler vereceklerini biçimlendirdiği vurgulanmaktadır (Kraatz ve Block, 2008; Glynn, 2008; Greenwood vd. 2011; Battilana ve Lee, 2014). Greenwood vd. (2011) ise, örgütsel aktörlerin kurumsal karmaşıklığa verdikleri tepkilerinin onların örgütün kimliği ile ne ölçüde kendilerini ilişkilendirdikleri ile ilgili olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Aktörler örgütsel kimlikle daha fazla özdeşleştikleri durumlarda örgütün mevcut kimliğine karşı kurumsal mantıklara direnirken; tam tersi durumda kurumsal karmaşıklığın desteklediği yeni kimliklerle mevcut örgütsel kimliği uzlaştırabilmekte ya da yerine koyabilmektedir.

Örgütsel alan düzeyinde kurumsal mantıklar örgüt içindeki bireysel davranışı belirleyen faktörlerden sadece biridir. Bunun yanı sıra örgütsel davranış bireylerin ve bulundukları örgütlerin yerleşik oldukları sosyal ağlarla da açıklanabilir (Raider ve Krackhardt, 2005). Mevcut yazın ise kurumsal mantıklar ve sosyal ağları iç içe geçmiş olarak ele almaktadır (Friedland ve Alford, 1991; Glynn, 2000; Greenwood vd., 2011; Smets vd., 2012). Bu doğrultuda, bireysel ve örgütsel kimlikler örgütsel alan düzeyindeki aktörlerin oluşturduğu ağlarla ilişkili kurumsal mantıklar çerçevesinde oluşmakta ve örgütsel alandaki aktörlerle olan güçlü ve zayıf bağlar da kurumsal karmaşıklığa bireylerin ve örgütlerin verdikleri tepkileri etkilemektedir.

Mevcut yazın, daha ziyade kurumsal mantık temelli bireysel ve örgütsel kimliklere odaklanarak, alandaki aktörler ile kurulan güçlü ya da zayıf bağların kurumsal karmaşıklığa karşı tepkilerdeki farklılaşmayı belirlediğini ortaya koymaktadır

(Besharov ve Smith, 2014). Ancak, bireylerin ve örgütlerin içinde yer aldıkları sosyal ve siyasi ağların kurumsal mantıklardan bağımsız bir biçimde, ağ içerisinde oluşan beklentiler, normlar ve kimlikler aracılığıyla davranışı biçimlendirebileceği yazında yer bulmamıştır. Örneğin alan düzeyinde kurumsal mantık temelli oluşan kimliklerin yanı sıra, birey ve örgütler yerleşik oldukları bir takım siyasi, dini ya da etnik ağlardan kaynaklanan kimliklere sahip olabilirler. Greenwood vd. (2011) çalışmasından esinlenerek, bu çalışmada siyasi kimliklerin ve bu kimliklerle uyumun da, aktörlerin çevresel karmaşıklığı nasıl yorumladıklarını ve ne tür tepkiler verdiğini belirlemede etkisi olabileceği önerilmektedir. Buradan yola çıkarak çalışmanın amacı bu yazını, toplumsal düzeydeki siyasi kimlikleri ve ağları da analize katarak genişletmektedir. Çalışmanın çıkış noktası, örgütsel aktörlerin eylemlerini sadece kurumsal mantıklara dayalı örgütsel kimliklerin değil, ideolojik temelli siyasi kimliklerin ve bu kimliklerin olduğu toplumsal ağların da etkileyebileceği düşüncesidir (Meyer vd. 2009; Sauderland, 2015). Kurumsal yazın, bireylerin ve örgütlerin kurumsal mantık temelli ağlarına odaklanırken (örn., Friedland ve Alford, 1991; Glynn, 2000; Greenwood vd., 2011; Smets vd., 2012; Besharov ve Smith, 2014), kurumsal mantıklardan bağımsız siyasi ağların ve kimliklerin de örgütsel davranışları şekillendirebileceğini göz ardı etmiştir. Bu konunun Türkiye’deki yüksek öğretim alanında akademik işe alım kararlarını anlamada, özellikle de alan düzeyinde kurumsal mantıklar ile toplum düzeyinde siyasi ideolojilerin örgütsel davranışı etkilemede rolü olduğu bir örgütsel alanda önemli olduğu düşünülmektedir. Örgütsel aktörlerin mantık temelli kimlikleri ile siyasi ağ temelli kimliklerinin davranışlarını belirlemede nasıl etkileşim haline gireceği kuramsal olarak önemli bir meseledir.

Bu çalışma kuramsal olarak kurumsal karmaşıklık yazınına siyasi ağların etkisini de dikkate alarak genişletmektedir. Görgül olarak ise, Türkiye’de işletme yüksek öğretim alanındaki çoklu kurumsal mantıklar ile toplum düzeyindeki siyasi ideolojilerin bir aradalığının bu alandaki akademik işe alım kararlarını nasıl etkilediğini anlamak amaçlanmaktadır. Türkiye’deki yüksek öğretim alanından yola çıkılarak geliştirilen kuramsal çerçeve ile iki yönlü kurumsal katkı sağlanmaktadır. İlk olarak, Türkiye’deki yüksek öğretim alanı gibi, örgütsel alanının siyasi bir arena olduğu ve birbirine rakip siyasi kampların kaynakların kontrolünü elde etmeye

çalıştığı durumlarda, karar vericilerin kurumsal mantıklara yerleşikliği kadar siyasi ağlara yerleşikliğinin de işe alım kararlarını biçimlendirdiği ortaya konulmaktadır. İkinci olarak ise, karar vericilerin kapalı ya da açık siyasi ağı yerleşikliği ile tekli ya da çoklu kurumsal mantığa yerleşikliğinin, işe alınan her bir akademisyenin karar verici ile siyasi ve mantıksal yerleşikliği konusunda benzerlik düzeyini belirleyeceği önerilmektedir.

Bu çalışmada, örgütsel aktörlerin alan düzeyinde çoklu kurumsal mantıklara ve toplum düzeyindeki farklı siyasi ağlara yerleşik olmasının örgütlerdeki yönetsel kararları nasıl şekillendirdiğine ilişkin kuramsal çerçeve, Türkiye’de 2007 yılından sonra kurulmuş işletme bölümlerindeki akademik işe alma kararlarını temel alarak oluşturulmaktadır. Oluşturulan bu çerçeve de, siyasi kimlik, merkez-taşra ve devlet-vakıf boyutlarındaki çeşitliliği temsil eden beş işletme bölümünde karşılaştırmalı örnek olay analizi ile incelenmektedir.

İlgili Yazın

Daha önce de belirtildiği üzere, kurumsal mantıklar kimlikleri şekillendirerek davranışı oluşturmakta, bu da dolayısıyla örgütsel aktörlerin çevresel değişimlere verdikleri tepkiler açısından süzgeç işlevi görmektedir (Kraatz ve Block, 2008; Glynn, 2008). Greenwood vd. (2011) çalışmasında kimliğin kurum ve örgüt düzeyinde ele alınması gerektiği ifade edilirken, kurumsal düzeyde kimlik standardize olmuş sosyal kategorilere yönelik savlar bütünü, örgütsel düzeyde ise söz konusu örgütü aynı sosyal kategoride yer alan diğerlerinden ayırt etmeye yarayan kalıcı özellikler şeklinde belirtilmektedir. Örgütsel kimlik bir takım kurumsal beklentileri ve baskıları önceliklerken bir yandan da bunlara yönelik olası tepki dağılımını oluşturur (Glynn, 2008). Örgütsel aktörlerin kurumsal karmaşıklığa tepkileri de, örgütsel kimliğin güçlü olup olmadığına ve bu kimliğin olumlu ya da olumsuz algılanmasında göre farklılık gösterir (Greenwood vd., 2011). Örgütsel aktörler güçlü örgütsel kimliği olumlu yönde algıladıklarında, alan düzeyinde baskılara direnecekler ve örgütsel kimliği koruyacaklardır. Aksi takdirde ise, uzlaşma yoluna gidecekler ya da mevcut örgütsel kimliğin yerine kurumsal karmaşıklığın yükelttiği yeni kimlikleri koyacaklardır.

Örgütsel alan düzeyindeki kurumsal mantıklar çerçevesinde oluşan kimlikler doğrultusunda, örgütsel aktörler çoklu kurumsal mantıkları birleştirme, uzlaştırma ya da ayırıştırma yoluna gidebilir (Pache ve Santos, 2013b; Marquis ve Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton ve Ocasio, 1999; Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006). Çoklu mantıkların canlandırılması farklı şekillerde olabilir: (1) her bir kurumsal mantıktan alınan pratiklerin birleşiminin canlandırılması yoluyla çoklu mantıklar uzlaştırılabilir (birleştirme) veya (2) çoklu kurumsal mantıkların kabul edilebilir bir biçimde dengelenmesi ile yeni bir form yaratılabilir (uzlaştırma) veya (3) örgütsel aktörler bir kurumsal mantığın öngördüğü pratikleri sembolik olarak desteklerken, fiilen bir diğer kurumsal mantığın teşvik ettiğini uygulayabilirler (ayırıştırma) (Pache ve Santos, 2013).

Tekli veya çoklu kurumsal mantıklarla özdeşleşme derecesi bu mantıkları örgüt içerisinde ne şekilde somutlaştırıldığı ile ilgilidir. Bu da aslında örgütlerin çoklu kurumsal mantıkları içermesi vurgusundan ziyade örgütlerin bu çoklu mantıkları benimsemelerindeki farklılık derecelerine yönelik olmalıdır. Bu bağlamda, Besharov ve Smith (2014) çalışması homojenlik çerçevesi geliştirmekte ve çoklu mantıklar arasındaki ilişkiyi uyumluluk ve merkeziyet boyutları üzerinden betimlemektedirler. Uyumluluk, mantıkların somutlaştırılması sonucunda ne ölçüde tutarlı örgütsel eylemlerin oluştuğunu ifade eder. Uyumluluk derecesi, mantıkların birbirleriyle bağdaşır eylemleri öngördüğü durumda yüksektir. Merkeziyet ise bir kurumsal mantığın diğerlerine göre örgütsel işleyişte esas alınmasıdır. Merkeziyet derecesi, çoklu mantıkların işleyişte temel alınması durumunda yüksektir. Yazarlar toplum düzeyinde kurumsal mantıkların örgütün içerisinde coğrafi, tarihi ve kültürel bağlam doğrultusunda farklı şekilde tezahür edeceğini kabul etmektedir. Çalışmaları, örgütsel aktörlerin çoklu mantıkların eyleme dönüştürülmesinde etkilerini ve bu mantıkların bir arada olmalarının zaman içerisindeki değişimini göstermektedir.

Bu çalışmada kurumsal mantıkların karar vericilerin ve örgütlerin kimliklerini belirlemede tek unsur olmadığını öne sürerken, kurumsal mantıklara ek olarak, bu aktörlerin yerleşik oldukları sosyal ağların da kimliklerini belirleyeceğini vurgulanmaktadır. Kişilerin kendilerini ilişkilendirdikleri sosyal ağlar kurumsal

mantıklarla iç içe geçebileceği gibi onlardan bağımsız da olabilir. İkinci durumda, bireylerin diğerleriyle örneğin ortak etnik kimlik, din, siyasi görüş, mezun olunan okul ya da arkadaşlık temelinde bağları olabilir. İlk durumda ise, örgütlerin ya da bireylerin bağlı oldukları ağlar alan düzeyindeki tekli veya çoklu mantıklar etrafında oluşabilir. Örgütsel aktörlerin kurumsal mantıkları canlandırmaları sırasında gösterecekleri eyleyenlik derecesi ağların doğasıyla şekillenir. Örneğin, bu kişilerin alan düzeyindeki aktörlerle güçlü bağları, belirli bir kurumsal mantığın diğerleri üzerindeki etkilerini pekiştirebilirken, buna karşıt olarak zayıf bağlar belirli bir kurumsal mantıktan sapmayı mümkün kılabilir (Greenwood vd., 2011).

Kurumsal kuram yazını özellikle de kurumsal mantıklar ve yayılma çalışmaları sosyal ağ meselesini bu açıdan ele almaktadır. Ancak, örgütsel aktörlerin kurumsal mantıklar ile ilişkili olmayan ağları da kurumsal mantıklarla birlikte örgütsel kararları biçimlendirmektedir. Bir diğer deyişle, aktörlerin kurumsal mantıklar ve sosyal ağlarla ilişkili çoklu kimlikleri pratiklerinde nasıl uzlaştırdıkları hakkında fazla çalışma yapılmamıştır. Bu çalışma da kuramsal çerçevenin oluşturulmasında kullanılan ağ kavramını, sosyal ve özellikle de siyasi nitelikli ve kurumsal mantıklardan bağımsız olarak tanımlamaktadır. Ağ yaklaşımının en temel önermesi, ekonomik eylemin (bu çalışmada ise işe alım kararları), sosyal ilişki yapılarına yerleşik olduğudur (Granovetter, 1985). Bu çalışmada ise siyasi yerleşiklik kavramından yararlanılmakta ve bu da resmi ve gayri resmi olarak birey ve örgütlerin devlete olan bağlarına işaret etmektedir (Michelson, 2007: 353). Bu bağlar, sadece devletle değil, bunun yanı sıra geleneksel (siyasi partiler) ve geleneksel olmayan (toplumsal hareketlere) siyasi oluşumlarla bireylerin ve örgütlerin resmi ve gayri resmi bağlar olarak ele alınmaktadır. Ancak ağ yazınından farklı olarak, bu çalışmada bireylerin genel olarak siyasi görüşleri, siyasi parti üyeliklerinden ziyade akademik işe alım kararlarında siyasi ağlara ne ölçüde başvurulduğu ve bu ağlara yerleşikliğinin yarattığı etkiyle ilgilenilmektedir.

İlişkilerin ağ yapıları, bağların sağlamlığına ve kaynaştırıcılığına göre farklılık gösterir (Gulati vd., 2005). Sağlamlık, aktörlerin aralarında etkileşimlerinin yoğunluğuyla ilişkilirken, kaynaştırıcılık söz konusu aktörün diğerleriyle doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak bağlantılarıyla ilişkilidir. Her zaman olmamakla birlikte güçlü

bağlar genel olarak kaynaştırıcı, zayıf bağlar ise köprüleme görevi üstlenir (Burt, 1992). Bağların bu örtüşümü ise egosentrik (benmerkezci) ağlarda iki temel yapısal biçime evrilir; kapalı ve açık ağlar (Adler ve Kwon, 2002). Kapalı ağlarda, ilişkiler çoğunlukla güçlü ve kaynaştırıcı bağlara yerleşiktir. Bu yapısal görünüş güven ve karşılıklılık temelinde olup, sadece kapalı ağ içerisindeki kişilerle ilişkiler kurulması yoluyla kolektif kimliğin oluşmasını vurgular (Uzzi, 1996). Zayıf ve köprüleme bağlarının genelde mevcut olduğu açık ağ yapısında ise, aktörler yeni bilgi ve fırsatları zayıf ve dolaylı bağları ile elde etmekte ve birbirleriyle bağlantıları olmayan aktörlerin aralarındaki yapısal boşluklardan faydalanmaktadır (Burt, 1992 ve 2007; Granovetter, 1973).

Açık ve kapalı ağ görünümleri akademik işe alım kararlarında iki ayrı çıkarımı içerir. İlk olarak, bu iki görünüm grup baskıları ve zorunlulukları doğrultusunda farklılaşabilir. Kapalı ağlarda, ağ üstü kapalı olarak dayanışmanın önemini, normlara uymayı ve aynı ağ içerisindeki diğer kişilerin işe alım kararlarında kayırılmasını gerektirir. Açık ağ durumunda ise, düşük düzeyde ağ baskısı sonucunda, karar vericilerin farklı ağlardan gelen kişilerin işe alımı konusundaki eyleyenlik dereceleri yüksektir. İkinci olarak ise, bu iki görünüm sağladıkları bilginin çokluğu konusunda farklılık gösterir (Burt, 1992; Uzzi, 1997). Gereğinden fazla bilginin dolaştığı kapalı ağlarda, boş akademik pozisyonlar için yeni üyeler arayan karar vericiler, bu kişileri genellikle bu bilginin çok hızlı bir şekilde yayıldığı kapalı ağların içerisinde seçerler. Diğer taraftan da, yeni ve ihtiyaç dahilinde olan bilginin sağlandığı açık ağlarda, karar vericilere ulaşan iş arayan aktörler daha çok bu karar vericileri daha önceden tanımayan ve boş pozisyon bilgisine de dolaylı bağlantıları ya da kamuya açık iş ilanları sonucunda ulaşmış kişilerdir.

Yukarıdaki tartışmalarda vurgulanan akademik işe alım kararlarının hem karar vericilerin yerleşik oldukları kurumsal mantıklar hem de siyasi ağlardan etkilenebileceğidir. Her ne kadar akla karar vericilerin kendileriyle aynı kurumsal mantıklara ve siyasi ağlara yerleşik olan kişilerin alımına öncelik vereceği gelse de (aynı türlük varsayımı), aslında karar vericiler işe alım kararları sonucunda kendilerinden farklı kurumsal mantıklara ve siyasi ağlara yerleşik kişileri de alabilir (farklı türlük varsayımı). Burada temel soru ise işe alım kararlarında, karar

vericilerin yerleşik oldukları tekli ya da çoklu mantıklar ile açık ya da kapalı ağların ne ölçüde farklılık gösterdiğidir.

Türkiye’deki işletme yüksek öğretim alanında kurumsal mantıklar

Türkiye’deki yüksek öğretim alanının tarihi 1933 yılında İstanbul Üniversitesinin kurulmasına dayanır. Ülkenin modernleşme ve gelişiminin devletin öncülüğünde sağlandığı devletçi politikalarda, üniversiteler modernleşme ve ulus inşası sürecine katkı sağlayan kamu kurumlarından sayılmaktadır. 1980lerin başına dek, kurulan yeni üniversiteler Kıta Avrupası geleneğini doğrultusunda biçimlenen İstanbul Üniversitesinin kurumsal modelini benimsemiş bir yandan da özellikle 1950li yıllardan sonra Amerikan temelli üniversite modeli yayılmaya başlamıştır (Üsdiken, 1996).

Türkiye’deki işletme yüksek öğretim alanı farklı yabancı modellerin etkisini taşır. Bu modeller birbirinden farklı maddi pratikleri ve inanç sistemleri olarak tanımlanabilecek kurumsal mantıkları somutlaştırırken bir yandan da sadece bu alanda değil genel olarak yüksek öğretim alanında hakim düzenleyici şablonları içerir. Türkiye’deki yüksek öğretim alanı Avrupa ve Amerikan geleneklerine gömülü ve farklı tarihi yörüngelerden kaynaklı çoklu kurumsal mantıklarla biçimlenmiştir (Üsdiken, 2003a). Bununla aynı yönde, işletme yüksek öğretim alanında de erken Cumhuriyet döneminden günümüze kadarki süreçte çoklu kurumsal mantıklar tezahür etmektedir. Bu çoklu etkilerden ilk olarak Fransız (erken 1930lara dek), sonrasında Alman (1930ların ortaları ile 1950liler arası) ve son olarak da Amerikan (1950lilerden günümüze dek) bahsedilebilir (Üsdiken, 2004). Bu farklı modellerin yayılımı ise ulusal düzeyde eğitim alanındaki kurumsal çerçevelere, tarihi etkileri barındıran alan düzeyindeki kurumsal süreçlere, örgütler arası kaynak ve etkilere ve son olarak da her bir modelin savunucularına bağlı olarak değişir (Kipping vd., 2004). Üsdiken (2003a) Türkiye’de işletme lisans eğitiminin içeriği ve şekillendirici etmenle üzerine yaptığı çalışma, her ne kadar yöndeşik baskılar olsa, üniversitelerin işletme müfredatlarının erken dönemlerde etkili olan kurumsal modellere göre farklılık göstereceğini göstermektedir. Kurumsal çevrede çoklu mantıkların hüküm sürmesinin bir diğer anlamı da alana yeni girenlerin farklı modelleri

benimseyebilecekleri fakat bu seçimin kuruldukları dönemde mevcut diğer örgütlerle olan bağlarının niteliğine göre değişebileceğidir. Bu durumda da, yeni kurulan üniversitelerden mevcut olanlarla bağları olanların bu üniversitelerin halihazırdaki kurumsal pratiklerini benimsemeleri daha muhtemeldir.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'deki işletme yüksek öğretim alanında temel amaçları, değerleri, çıktıları, müfredatı ve işlevleri açısından üç temel kurumsal mantık belirlenmiştir: Mesleki, Bilimci ve Girişimci mantıklar. Bunlardan ilki olan mesleki mantık öğrencilere mesleki eğitim vermeyi önceliklerken, bölüm mezunlarının yönetici becerilerine haiz uygulayıcılar olmasını öngörür. Bunun müfredata yansımaları ise pratiğe atfedilen vurgu ile somutlaşır. Öğrencilerin pratik beceriler kazanmasını önemseyen eğitim programının yanı sıra işe alınan akademisyenler de pratik temelli yetkinlikleri ölçüsünde seçilmekte ve araştırma deneyimi görece arka plana konulmaktadır. Çıktı olarak ise, mesleki mantığa göre işletme bölümlerinin mesleki becerileri olan uygulayıcılar yetiştirmesi beklenirken, iş ve pratik becerilerin öğrencilere mesleki yetkinlik kazandıracağı ve bunun da öğrencilerin yetenekleri ve endüstrinin istekleri arasındaki uygunluğa katkıda bulunacağı önem taşır. Bu nedenle de bu mantığı en temel işlevi eğitim öğretim olup araştırma ve yayın işlevleri ikincil öneme sahiptir.

Bilimci mantık ise işletme eğitiminin bilim temelli olmasını ve bunun da bilim temelli araştırmadan türetilen bilgiye dayalı pratikleri içermesini öngörür (Üsdiken, 2007). Söylem olarak bilimci mantık yönetsel ve akademik mantıkların harmanlanması gibi ifade edilse de, fiili durum akademik yönelimin yönetsel unsurun önüne geçtiğini göstermektedir. Amerikan etkisiyle ilişkili olan bilimci mantık hem çıktıları hem de müfredat kurgusu olarak liberalleşme misyonunu aşar. Bu doğrultuda, işletme eğitimi birçok farklı alanda yetkin yöneticilerin yetiştirilmesini amaçlarken, müfredatta ise liberalleşme unsuru öğrencilerin hem temel bilimler alanında dersler hem de verilen profesyonel eğitimle yetiştirilmelerini ifade eder (Üsdiken, 2004). İşlevsel vurgu açısından bilimci mantık için bilimsel bilginin üretimi ve geliştirilmesi nihai amaçtır. Nitekim, yönetsel pratiklere yol gösterici görgül araştırmalar ve yöneticilerin gerçek hayatta karşılaştıkları sorunları çözmeye yönelik olan araştırmalar, kuram geliştirme ve kuramın testi hedeflerinin

hep gerisinde kalmaktadır. Bu mantık araştırma temelli işletme eğitimi vurgularken, akademisyenlerin de araştırma odaklı olmalarını bekler. Bu doğrultuda bu mantığa gömülü üniversitelerde hem işe alımda hem de terfide uluslararası endeksli yayın performansına yönelik baskılar hakimdir.

1990lı yıllardan itibaren özellikle de neo-liberal politikaların ve Amerika'daki işletme eğitiminin izlerini takiben, Türkiye'de işletme eğitimi dış kaynaklı değişime sürülmüştür. Girişimci mantık ise bu anlamda üniversite eğitimi "piyasa odaklı bilginin bireysel tüketim için özel bir mal gibi üretilmesi" şeklinde kurgular (Berg ve Roche, 1997: 154). Dolayısıyla bu mantığın temel çıktısı piyasa odaklı ve eylem araştırmalarıdır. Bunun yanı sıra, dış paydaşlarla işbirlikleri, sanayi bağlantıları, sürekli eğitim, öğrencinin istihdam edilebilirliği ve şirket başarısına katkı bu mantığın önemli unsurlarıdır. Müfredat yapısı olarak ise, dersler öğrencilerin taleplerini ve kariyer hedeflerini karşılamaya yönelik tadil edilebilir (Üsdiken, 2007). Eğitim öğretim görece daha fazla proje ve uygulama odaklı, akademik kadro ise sanayiden paydaşlarla araştırma yapmaya daha yönelimlidir.

Siyasi bağlamda Türkiye'de yüksek öğretim

Yüksek öğretimin siyasi bağlamına yönelik yazın, bu alanın tarihsel olarak politik bir alan olduğunu öne sürmektedir (Buğra ve Savaşkan, 2014). Buna dayanarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan kalan patrimonyal devlet geleneği çerçevesinde Türkiye'de devletçi politikaların olduğu ve kayırmacılık temelinde (clientelism) devlet toplum ilişkilerinin hüküm sürdüğü dile getirilmektedir (Heper, 1985; Sunar, 1974). Yasal-rasyonel bürokrasi ile bir arada var olan patrimonyal devlet yapısı, yöneten siyasi ve bürokratik elit kesimin aldığı tepeden inme keyfi kararların çoğu zaman toplumda görece dezavantajlı grupların çıkarlarına ters olması şeklinde ifade edilebilir. Bir diğer yandan Türkiye'deki devletçi politikalar merkez ve çevre çatışmasını da içerir (Mardin, 1973). Merkez, siyasi, bürokratik, iş ve entelektüel elit kesimi simgelerken; çevre ise resmi devlet ideolojisinin bir ya da birkaç unsuruna (örneğin laiklik, devletçilik, milliyetçilik) karşı çıkan yükselmekte olan orta sınıf, kırsal üst sınıf, esnaf, dini ve etnik gruplardan oluşmaktadır (Berkman ve Özen, 2008). Çevrede yer alan bu gruplar, yerine getirilmeyen taleplerini siyasi partiler

aracılığıyla harekete geçirmişlerdir. Çevreden doğan siyasi hareketlerden en güçlüsü olan muhafazakar hareketin ana temsilcisi olarak Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi 2002 yılındaki seçimlerden bu yana iktidarda yer almaktadır.

Türkiye’de politik yapının önemli bir diğer unsuru olan kayırmacılık ise, taraflar arasındaki çıkar aracılığının primordiyal bağlar aracılığıyla gerçekleşmesidir. Türk ekonomi politığında mevcut bu siyasi çatlaklar yüksek öğretim sistemine de zuhur etmektedir. Üniversitelerin siyasi kimliklerine yönelik olarak ise, altının çizilmesi gereken bir unsur Türkiye’de üniversiteler çeşitli siyasi görüşlerle özdeşleşme konusunda farklılaşsa da, ortak olan nokta siyasi kimliklerin (eğer varsa) açıkça beyan edilmesinden kaçınılmasıdır. Bunun bir nedeni Türkiye’de üniversitelerin belirli bir siyasi kimliği açık olarak yansıtmalarının hukuken gayri meşru olması, diğer önemli nedeni ise üniversitelerin siyasi kimliklerini ifşa ederek kendilerini sadece benzer siyasi görüşe sahip öğrenci adaylarının tercihleriyle sınırlandırmak istememeleridir. Bu nedenle, üniversite düzeyinde siyasi kimlik yüksek öğretim alanındaki teknik gereklilikler ile toplum düzeyinde siyasi ideolojilerin arasındaki çatışmayı simgeleyen örtük bir kimlik halini almaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Türkiye’de yüksek öğretim alanındaki işe alım kararlarında etkili olan muhafazakar ve seküler kimlikler ele alınmaktadır. Muhafazakar kimliği büyük ölçüde dönemin iktidar partisi olan Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi temsil etmektedir. Her ne kadar özellikle devlet üniversitelerinin iktidardaki siyasi eğilimi bir ölçüde yansıtması beklenirken, bazıları hem söylem hem de pratikte iktidar partisiyle olan bağlantıları hususunda daha istekli olabilmekte ve bu durumu da örgütsel kararlarına yansıtmaktadır. Yükseköğretimde etkili olan ve muhafazakar kimlikle bağlantılı ikinci eğilim ise, 1980’lerden sonra ortaya çıkan dini burjuvazinin desteklediği ve bazı vakıf üniversitelerini kontrol eden cemaatçilik eğilimidir. Bu cemaatler içinde, dışa kapalı olma ve gerek devlet gerekse çeşitli vakıf üniversitelerini örtük ya da açık biçimde kontrol etme politikası izleyen Gülen cemaati öne çıkmaktadır. Son olarak, seküler kimlik, bu kimlikle ilintili devlet ve vakıf üniversitelerinde ne iktidar partisi ile ne de diğer dini temelli topluluklarla ilişkili olan, resmi ideolojinin değerlerinin (örneğin, sekülerizm ve milliyetçilik) öne çıkarılması şeklinde tecelli etmektedir

Kuramsal Çerçeve

Geliştirilen kuramsal çerçeveye kurumsal mantıklar ile siyasi ağların etkileşiminin işletme bölümlerindeki işe alım kararlarını nasıl biçimlendirdiğini açıklamak amaçlanmaktadır. Buna göre işletme bölümlerine akademik personel seçiminde etkili olan karar verici (kurucu dekan, bölüm başkanı ve/veya rektör) ile seçecekleri akademisyen arasındaki kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ yerleşikliği açısından benzerlik derecesi, bir yandan karar vericinin alandaki tekli ya da çoklu kurumsal mantıklara yerleşik olma derecesine, diğer yandan da, karar vericinin bağlantılı olduğu siyasi ağların kapalı ya da açık olma derecesine (Burt, 1992 ve 2007; Uzzi, 1996 ve 1997) bağlıdır. Bu iki boyut arasındaki etkileşimin karar vericinin kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ yerleşikliğine yönelik dört farklı kombinasyonu oluşturacağını savunmaktayız: 1) tekli mantık-kapalı ağ, 2) tekli mantık-açık ağ, 3) çoklu mantık-kapalı ağ ve 4) çoklu mantık-açık ağ. Bu dört kombinasyonun da işe alınan kişilerde farklı düzeylerde kurumsal mantıklara ve siyasi ağlara yerleşikliğe yol açacağını beklemekteyiz. Bu çerçevedeki dört hücrede yer alan hipotezlerin gerisindeki düşünce, tekli mantığa ve/veya kapalı siyasi ağa yerleşik karar vericinin, benzer tekli mantığa ve/veya siyasi ağa yerleşik akademisyeni seçmeye eğilimli olacağı, çoklu mantıklara ve/veya açık siyasi ağlara yerleşik karar vericinin ise, kendisinden farklı herhangi bir kurumsal mantığa (ya da mantıklara) ve/veya herhangi bir siyasi ağa (ya da ağlara) yerleşik akademisyeni seçmeye eğilimli olacaktır. Böylelikle de, bu iki boyut arasındaki etkileşimin karar verici ile işe alınan akademisyen arasındaki mantık ve siyasi ağ yerleşikliği açısından benzerlik derecesini etkileyeceği beklenmektedir.

Karar verici tekli kurumsal mantık ve kapalı ağa yerleşik ise, seçilen akademisyenin benzer tekli mantığa ve benzer siyasi ağa yerleşik olması beklenmektedir. İlk olarak, karar verici kuvvetli bir şekilde tek bir mantık ile ilişkili olduğu için, işe alınacak akademisyende aranılan özelliklere yönelik algılamaları ve yorumlamaları özdeşleşmiş olduğu kurumsal mantıktan süzülecektir. Bu nedenle de, kendisinden farklı mantıklara yerleşik kişilerden ziyade, kendisiyle aynı tekli mantığa yerleşik kişileri seçmesi daha muhtemeldir. İkinci olarak, seçilen akademisyenin benzer kapalı siyasi ağdan gelmesi beklenir çünkü karar vericinin bu ağa yerleşik olması bu

ağın içerisinde oluşacak dayanışma, karşılıklılık ve bağlayıcılık prensiplerinin de etkisiyle, bu ağda yer alan kişilere karşı yükümlülük hissinin oluşmasına neden olacaktır. Sonuç olarak, karar verici ile işe alınan kişiler arasındaki benzerlik, karar vericinin tekli mantığa ve kapalı siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumda en yüksektir.

Hipotez 1a: Karar verici ile işe alınan akademisyenin yerleşik olduğu kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ benzerliği, karar vericinin tekli kurumsal mantığa ve kapalı siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumda en yüksektir.

Benzer olarak, karar verici kendisiyle benzer kurumsal mantığa ve ağa yerleşik kişileri kadroya dahil edeceğinden, oluşturulacak nihai bölüm kadrosunun homojenlik düzeyi de en yüksek olacaktır.

Hipotez 1b: Oluşturulan akademik kadronun kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağa yönelik homojenlik düzeyi, karar vericinin kapalı siyasi ağa ve tekli kurumsal mantığa yerleşik olduğu durumda en yüksektir.

Karar vericinin tekli kurumsal mantık ile açık siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumda ise, kendisiyle benzer kurumsal mantığa ancak herhangi bir ağa yerleşik kişileri işe alması muhtemeldir. Karar verici daha düşük düzeyde ağ baskısı ve yükümlülüğü sayesinde farklı ağlarda yer alan kişileri işe alabilecek ve görece daha fazla eyleyenliğe sahip olacaktır. Bu durumda, farklı türden olan ağlar kişilerin farklı ağ kaynaklarını harekete geçirebilmesinde teşvik edici bir rol üstlenecek aynı zamanda bu farklılık karar vericinin boş pozisyonlar için olası adaylar hakkında daha zengin bilgiye sahip olmasını sağlayacaktır. Bu nedenle, karar verici ile işe alınan kişiler arasındaki benzerliğin, karar vericinin tekli mantığa ve açık siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumda orta düzeyde olması, kurumsal mantık açısından benzer fakat siyasi ağlar açısından farklı olması beklenmektedir.

Hipotez 2a: Karar verici ile işe alınan akademisyenin yerleşik olduğu kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ benzerliği, karar vericinin tekli kurumsal mantık ve açık siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumda orta düzeyde olup, kurumsal mantık özdeşliği bakımından benzer ancak siyasi ağ açısından farklıdır.

Karar verici tekli kurumsal mantık ve açık ağı gömülü olduğu için, oluşacak kadronun homojenlik düzeyinin kurumsal mantıklar açısından yüksek fakat siyasi ağlar açısından düşük olması beklenir. Karar verici farklı siyasi ağlardan gelen kişilerin işe alımında görece serbest olmakla birlikte, bu kişiler karar verici ile benzer tekli kurumsal mantığa yerleşik kişiler olacaktır.

Hipotez 2b: Oluşturulan akademik kadronun kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağı yönelik homojenlik düzeyi, karar vericinin açık siyasi ağı ve tekli kurumsal mantığa yerleşik olduğu durumda kurumsal mantıklar açısından yüksek ancak siyasi ağlar açısından düşüktür.

Karar vericinin çoklu kurumsal mantıklarla kapalı siyasi ağı yerleşik olduğu durumda ise, kendisiyle benzer siyasi ağı ancak herhangi bir mantığa yerleşik kişileri işe alması muhtemeldir. Karar vericinin yerleşik olduğu çoklu kurumsal mantıklar, bu mantıklardan farklı unsurların bir araya getirilmesini içermekle birlikte, karar verici yerleşik olduğu kapalı ağdan kişilerin kadroya dahil edilmesi hususunda ısrar edecektir. Dolayısıyla, benzerlik derecesi ikinci hipotez grubunda olduğu gibi orta düzeyde olacak fakat bu sefer siyasi ağı yerleşikliği bakımından benzer ancak kurumsal mantık özdeşliği açısından farklılık gösterecektir.

Hipotez 2a: Karar verici ile işe alınan akademisyenin yerleşik olduğu kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağı benzerliği, karar vericinin tekli kurumsal mantık ve açık siyasi ağı yerleşik olduğu durumda orta düzeyde olup, kurumsal mantık özdeşliği bakımından benzer ancak siyasi ağı açısından farklıdır.

Karar verici çoklu kurumsal mantıklar ve kapalı siyasi ağı gömülü olduğu için, oluşacak kadronun homojenlik düzeyinin kurumsal mantıklar açısından düşük fakat siyasi ağlar bakımından yüksek olması beklenir. Bu durumda karar vericinin çoklu kurumsal mantıklara yerleşik olması farklı ağlardan aktörleri içermekle birlikte, kapalı ağı yerleşikliği karar vericinin ağı dışında yer alan kişilerin işe alımının önüne geçmektedir. Karar verici, kendisiyle benzer siyasi ağı yerleşik kişileri işe alacak ve bu durumda siyasi ağı bakımından yüksek düzeyde homojenlik oluşturacaktır. Fakat,

çoklu kurumsal mantıklara yerleşik olması ise farklı mantıklardan gelen kişilerin alımını öngöreceği için, kurumsal mantıklar açısından homojenlik düzeyi düşük olacaktır.

Hipotez 3b: Oluşturulan akademik kadronun kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağa yönelik homojenlik düzeyi, karar vericinin kapalı siyasi ağa ve çoklu kurumsal mantıklara yerleşik olduğu durumda siyasi ağlar açısından yüksek ancak kurumsal mantıklar bakımından düşüktür.

Son olarak, karar verici çoklu kurumsal mantıklara ve açık ağa yerleşik ise, seçilen akademisyenin herhangi bir kurumsal mantığa ve siyasi ağa yerleşik olması beklenmektedir. Ağ yapısı açık olduğundan, farklı ağlara yerleşik kişilere yönelik işe alım kararı alınabilecektir. Bu durum çoklu kurumsal mantıklar ile birleşince de, kadroya dahil edilecek her bir yeni kişinin yerleşik olduğu farklı kurumsal mantıklarla ilintili unsurları canlandırması beklenir. Bu nedenle, karar verici ile işe alınan kişiler arasındaki benzerliğin, karar vericinin çoklu mantıklara ve açık siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumda en düşük düzeyde olması öngörülmektedir.

Hipotez 4a: Karar verici ile işe alınan akademisyenin yerleşik olduğu kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ benzerliği, karar vericinin çoklu kurumsal mantıklara ve açık siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumda en yüksektir.

Karar verici çoklu kurumsal mantıklar ve açık siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu için, oluşacak kadroda herhangi bir kurumsal mantıkla özdeşleşen kişilerin bulunması beklenir. Bu nedenle de kurumsal mantık açısından bölüm düzeyindeki homojenlik düzeyi düşük olacaktır. Benzer şekilde, karar verici açık siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğundan, işe alınan kişilerin farklı ağlara yerleşikliği bu boyut açısından da bölüm düzeyinde düşük düzeyde homojenlik yaratacaktır.

Hipotez 4b: Oluşturulan akademik kadronun kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağa yönelik homojenlik düzeyi, karar vericinin açık siyasi ağa ve çoklu kurumsal mantıklara yerleşik olduğu durumda en düşüktür.

Yöntem

Çalışmada Türkiye’de 2007 yılından sonra kurulmuş olan ve farklı örtük siyasi kimliklere yerleşik olup merkez veya taşrada kurulu üç vakıf iki devlet üniversitesi ele alınıp karşılaştırmalı örnek olay analizi yöntemiyle önermelerin testi amaçlanmıştır. Bu beş üniversite, öncesinde yürütülen pilot araştırma sonucunda, bahsi geçen zaman aralığında kurulan üniversitelerden yirmi tanesinin işletme bölümlerindeki kurucu dekan ve bölüm başkanlarıyla gerçekleştirilen mülakatlardan ortaya çıkan merkez-taşra ve vakıf-devlet gibi koşulsal etmenler ışığında belirlenmiştir. Çalışmanın bağımsız değişkenleri (i) karar vericilerin işletme yüksek öğretim alanında hakim kurumsal mantıklara ve (ii) siyasi ağlara yerleşikliği. Bu bağımsız değişkenler farklı araçlarla ölçülmüştür. Kurumsal mantık yerleşikliği ilk olarak karar vericilerle yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar ve ikinci olarak da akademik özgeçmişlerinin analizi sonucunda yaratılmış endeks değer ile ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu endeks değer ise birey düzeyinde hem mülakatlardan hem de özgeçmişlerden belirli kodlara göre her bir kurumsal mantığa yerleşiklik yüzdelerinin ortalaması şeklinde hesaplanmıştır. Siyasi ağ yerleşikliği ise ilk olarak mülakatlardan elde edilen verilerin açık veya kapalı siyasi ağ sürekliliği varsayımı üzerinden kodlanması ve karar vericilerin kamuya açık Twitter hesaplarından yaptıkları paylaşımların örtük siyasi kimlikleri yansıtan anahtar kelimelerle ilişkilendirilmesi sonucunda elde edilmiştir. Twitter verisi kişinin yerleşik olduğu ağ yapısının açık veya kapalılığını yansıtmadan ziyade, daha çok sosyal medya üzerinde bireyin inşa ettiği siyasi kimliği göstermektedir. Hem anahtar kelime sayma hem de tematik analiz sonucu varılan bilgiler, mülakatlardan elde edilenlerle yan yana konularak, bu kimliklerin akademik işe alım kararlarındaki etkileri ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Çalışmanın iki bağımlı değişkeninden ilki karar verici ile işe alınan her bir kişinin kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ yerleşikliği açısından benzerlik derecesidir. Alınan akademisyen karar verici ile benzer olan tekli ya da çoklu kurumsal mantıklara ya da açık ya da kapalı ağlara yerleşik olabilir. Benzerlik derecesi kuramsal modelde ele alınan aynı türlük kavramının bir ölçütü olarak, karar vericinin tekli kurumsal mantığa ve/veya kapalı ağa yerleşikliği durumunda işe alınan akademisyenin de aynı

kurumsal mantığa ve kapalı ağa yerleşik olmasıyla ilişkilidir. Benzerlik derecesi, çeşitlilik yazınındaki farklı sınıflandırmalara atıfla (Harrison ve Klein, 2007; Bearney ve Kiemann, 2010), ayrışma olarak ele alınmıştır. Ayrışma ise, bir birimdeki üyelerin diğerlerinden fikir, tutum ya da inançlar gibi sürekli değişkenler üzerinden farklılık göstermesidir. Bu doğrultuda ayrışma ilgili yazında Ortalama Öklid Uzaklığı ile ölçülmektedir. Her bir işe alınan akademisyenin (i) kurumsal mantıklara ve (ii) siyasi ağlara yerleşikliği boyutlarında karar vericiden olan Öklid uzaklıkları hesaplanmış ve toplam Öklid uzaklığının katılımcı sayısına bölünmesiyle Ortalama Öklid Uzaklığı değeri elde edilmiştir. İkinci olarak da bir sonuç değişkeni olarak bölüm düzeyinde farklı kurumsal mantıklara ve siyasi ağlara yerleşiklik açısından homojenlik düzeyini ölçmek için ise, her bir katılımcının değerleriyle bu değişkenlerin her bir alt boyutundaki ortalama değerlerin ele alınmış ve ortalama Öklid Uzaklığı hesaplanmıştır.

Bu çalışmada kullanılan farklı veri kaynakları ile (a) birey düzeyinde (b) bölüm düzeyinde kurumsal mantıklara ve siyasi ağlara yerleşiklik ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Birey düzeyi için, (i) karar vericiler ve akademisyenlerle yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlar, (ii) akademik özgeçmişlerin içerik analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bölüm düzeyinde ise (iii) üniversitelerin resmi Twitter hesaplarından ve karar vericilerin kamuya açık hesaplarından yapılan paylaşımlar ve (iv) bölüm başkan mesajları, bölüm misyon ve vizyonları içerik analizi ile incelenmiştir.

Toplamda 27 kişi ile ortalama birer saat süren mülakatlarda, karar vericilerden bölümün kuruluş sürecini anlatmaları istenmiş, sonrasında yöneltile sorularla işletme yüksek öğretimi alanında mevcut mantıkların hangilerini ne şekilde benimsedikleri ve önemsedikleri ortaya çıkartılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunun ardından ise, hem kendilerinin hem de işe aldıkları diğer öğretim üyelerinin işe alım süreçlerine ilişkin sorular sorulmuştur. Benzer olarak, İşletme bölümü öğretim üyelerine de mevcut mantıkların hangilerini ne şekilde benimsediklerine dair sorulan sorularda, bölümdeki diğer öğretim üyeleriyle işletme alanında araştırma, yayın ve eğitim-öğretim konularında bakış açılarının farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığına bakılmıştır. İşe alım süreçlerine dair sorulan sorularla, her iki grubun da siyasi kimliklerini ve

ağlarını ortaya çıkartabilmek amaçlanmış, bunu yaparken de üniversitenin ilişkilendirildiği örtük siyasi kimlik dikkate alınmıştır.

Bulgular

Çalışmanın bulguları tüm bölümlerin değişen düzeylerde üç kurumsal mantığa da yerleşik olduğunu fakat bazı bölümlerde çoklu mantıkların, diğerlerinde ise tekli mantığın tezahür ettiğini göstermiştir. Örneğin A, B ve C bölümlerinde akademik kadronun tekli mantığa yerleşiklik derecesi görece daha yüksektir. A ve C bölümlerinde mesleki mantığın B bölümünde ise bilimci mantığın hakim olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. D ve E bölümleri ise çoklu (ikili) mantıklara yerleşiktir. Teorik önermeler doğrultusunda A ve C bölümlerinde, tekli mesleki mantığa yerleşik olan karar vericiler kendileriyle benzer mantığa yerleşik kişileri alma yoluna gitmişlerdir. Ancak, karar vericilerin çoklu mantıkları canlandığı durumlarda işe alacakları akademisyenlerin de herhangi bir mantığa yerleşik olabileceği varsayımı D ve E bölümlerinde destek bulmamıştır. Kurumsal mantıklar açısından hesaplanan Ortalama Öklid Uzaklığı değerlerinin karşılaştırması D ve E bölümlerinin skorlarının tekli kurumsal mantığın tezahür ettiği A ve C bölümlerine yakın olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu durum, karar vericilerin çoklu kurumsal mantıklara yerleşik olduğu durumlarda dahi onların işe aldıkları kişilerin çoklu ve fakat benzer mantık canlandırmalarını göstermektedir.

Örnekleme yer alan bölümler arasında B en yüksek düzeyde bilimci mantığa yerleşik olandır, onu E bölümü takip etmektedir. Bu iki üniversite de merkezde yer alan vakıf üniversiteleridir. Her ne kadar vakıf üniversitelerinin doğası gereği öğrenci taleplerini karşılamaya, gelir elde etmeye yönelik olduğu o nedenle de mesleki mantığın hakim olması beklense de, B ve E bölümlerindeki durum farklı gerekçelerle izah edilmelidir. B üniversitesinin kuruluş misyonu muhafazakar kanadın araştırma üniversitesi olmaktır ve bu doğrultuda da işgücü yetiştirme veya öğrencilere gerekli mesleki becerili kazandırma gibi amaçları geri plandadır. E bölümünde ise, kurucu vakfın öngördüğü mesleki ve girişimci mantıkla ilintili misyonun aksine, kurucu dekanın yerleşik olduğu Boğaziçi Üniversitesindeki bağlantılarından kaynaklı sosyal ağı, kuruluş döneminde bilimci mantığa yerleşik

kişilerin kadroya dahil edilmesine yol açmıştır. Taşrada yer alan vakıf üniversitesi olan D’de ise, kurucu vakfın girişimcilik vurgusu yönünde işe alınan akademisyenlerin bu mantığa yerleşik olmasına öncelik verilmiştir. Girişimci mantığa yerleşiklik açısından da; A, B ve C bölümleri benzer skora sahip, D bölümünde ise bu mantığa yerleşiklik en yüksek değerdedir. Bu durum karar vericinin girişimci mantığa yerleşikliği ve kurucu vakfın rolü ile üniversitenin bulunduğu şehrin sosyo-ekonomik yapısıyla açıklanabilir.

Siyasi ağ yerleşikliği konusunda ise A bölümünün en yüksek oranda siyasi ağ homojenliği gösterdiğini ve bu durum da çalışmanın önermelerinden olan karar vericinin kapalı siyasi ağa yerleşik olduğu durumlarda işe alınan elemanların bu aynı siyasi ağdan seçileceği varsayımını desteklemektedir. Aksine, belirli bir muhafazakar cemaatle ilişkili olan D bölümünde, görece daha yüksek oranda homojenlik beklenmekle birlikte; karar verici ile alınan her bir akademisyen arasındaki benzerlik derecesi düşük çıkmıştır. Bu durumun son dönemdeki siyasi bağlamdan etkilendiğini ve özellikle üniversitenin cemaat dışından kişilerin alımına giderek, meşruiyetini sağlamaya çalıştığı söylenebilir. Bir diğer ilginç durum ise muhafazakar bir vakıf tarafından kurulan B üniversitesinde beklenen siyasi kimlik homojenliğinin fiili duruma yansımamasıdır. Karar vericinin açık siyasi ağlara yerleşik olduğu C bölümünde ise işe alınan akademisyenlerin herhangi bir siyasi ağa yerleşik olacağı önermesi, diğer bölümlere kıyasla yüksek Ortalama Öklid Uzaklığı değeriyle destek bulmuştur. E bölümünde ise karar vericinin yerleşik olduğu açık siyasi ağ yapısı zaman içerisinde kapalılığa doğru evrilmiştir, bunda en temel neden karar vericinin sosyal ağının siyasi olmamakla birlikte benzer kişilerin alınmasını dolaylı olarak telkin etmesidir.

Genel olarak tüm bölümler karşılaştırıldığında, kurumsal mantık yerleşikliği açısından benzerlik dereceleri Ortalama Öklid Uzaklığı cinsinden benzer değerlere sahiptir. Karar vericilerin yerleşik oldukları tekli mantık doğrultusunda benzer kişileri işe almasının beklendiği A ve C bölümlerinde dahi, Ortalama Öklid Uzaklıkları çok düşük değildir. Hatta bu değerler D ve E bölümlerinin Ortalama Öklid Uzaklığı değerlerine çok yakındır. Bunun yanı sıra siyasi ağ yerleşikliği açısından bölümlerin benzerlik dereceleri kayda değer farklılık göstermektedir.

Çalışmanın önermeleriyle aynı doğrultuda A bölümünde en yüksek, C bölümünde ise en düşük benzerlik derecesi bulunmuştur. Ancak, B bölümündeki düşük düzeydeki benzerlik, ilk dönemdeki kapalı siyasi ağ yapısının sonraki dönemlerde liberal ve liberal-sol kanattan akademisyenlerin alınmasıyla çözülmesinden kaynaklıdır.

Tartışma ve Sonuç

Bu çalışmada Türkiye’de yeni kurulan işletme bölümlerinde akademik işe alım kararlarına yönelik bir kuramsal model geliştirilirken, bunun karar vericilerin alan düzeyindeki kurumsal mantıklara ve toplum düzeyindeki siyasi ağlara yerleşikliğinin etkileşimi sonucunda biçimlendiği vurgulanmıştır. Örgütsel kimliklerin kurumsal ve siyasi anlamda süzgeç işlevini göz önünde bulundurarak, karar vericilerin alanda hakim tekli veya çoklu kurumsal mantıklar ile kapalı veya açık siyasi ağlara yerleşikliğinin işe alınan kişilerde bu iki açıdan farklı düzeylerde özdeşleşme olacağı ileri sürülmüştür. Bu doğrultuda yazına iki kuramsal katkı verilmesi amaçlanmıştır; ilk olarak örgütsel alanının birbirleriyle rakip siyasi kampların kaynakları kontrol etme mücadelesiyle şekillendiği durumlarda, karar vericilerin kurumsal mantık yerleşikliğinin yanında siyasi ağ yerleşikliğinin de işe alım kararlarını etkilediği ortaya konmuştur. İkincisi, bu çalışma karar vericilerin açık veya kapalı ağa yerleşikliği ve tekli veya çoklu mantıklara yerleşikliğinin, ne ölçüde kendilerine kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ yerleşikliği olarak benzer kişilerin alımına gideceklerini görgül olarak göstermiştir.

Beş örnek olayın ele alındığı bu çalışma, kuramsal modelin sadece incelenen iki vakayla ilgili olarak desteklendiğini, geriye kalanlar için ise modelin bir takım bağlamsal faktörler dikkate alınarak tadil edilmesi gerektiğini ortaya koymuştur. Bu bölümlerden ilk olarak A’da, karar vericinin tekli kurumsal mantık ve kapalı ağa yerleşikliği sonucunda işe alınan akademisyenler de benzer tekli mantığa ve siyasi ağa yerleşiktir. İkinci olarak C bölümünde ise, karar vericinin tekli mantık ve açık ağa yerleşikliği işe alınan kişilerin de benzer tekli mantığa ve herhangi bir ağa yerleşik olmalarıyla sonuçlanmıştır.

Önergelerin desteklenmediği diğer bölümlerden B bölümünde, karar vericinin tekli mantığa ve kapalı siyasi ağa yerleşikliği bölüm düzeyinde, A bölümüne kıyasla, yüksek seviyede homojenlik göstermemiştir. Bu farklılığın ilk nedeni, B bölümünün vakıf üniversitesi olmasından dolayı zaman içerisinde bölümün mesleki ve girişimci yönelime kaymasıdır. İkincisi ise yine zaman içerisinde bölümde hakim kapalı siyasi ağ yapısında çözülme yaşanmasıyla ilintilidir. İlk olarak bölümün bilimci mantığa yerleşik fakat muhafazakar gelenekten gelen kişileri bulmakta zorluk çekmesinden dolayı liberal ve liberal-soldan kurucu vakfın ideolojisine zıt durmayan kişilerin alınmasına gidilmiştir. İkinci olarak da, vakıf üniversitesi olmasından kaynaklı farklı öğrenci profillerine de açık olduğu imajını verebilmek için kendi kurucu tabanına yerleşik kişilerin yanında farklı siyasi görüşlerden akademisyenler de kadroya dahil edilmiştir. Cemaate yakın D bölümünde ise önermelerin aksine, çoklu mantıklara ve kapalı siyasi ağa yerleşik olan karar vericinin işe aldıkları kişiler çoklu mantıklara fakat herhangi bir siyasi ağa yerleşiktir. Bu durum siyasi bağlamın etkisiyle açıklanabilir; bu çalışma gerçekleştirildiği dönemde cemaatin siyaseten ve hukuken gayrimüşrulaşması sözkonusudur. Bu nedenle de bölüm bu cemaatle ilişkili olmayan kişileri de işe almıştır. Son olarak, E bölümde ise karar vericinin işe alım kararlarında kendi profesyonel ağlarına başvurması hem bölümde kapalı ağ yapısına hem de ağ temelli belirli bir kurumsal mantığın hakim olmasına (bilimci) yol açmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın kurumsal karmaşıklık yazınına temel katkısı, kurumsal karmaşıklığa verilen tepkilerin incelenmesinde toplum düzeyinde siyasi bağlamın ele alınmasıdır. Kurumsal yazın, kurumsal mantıkları karar vericiler ve örgüt düzeyindeki karar alma sürecinde kimlikleri oluşturan tek etmen olarak almaktadır (Rao vd., 2003; Glynn, 2008). Bu çalışma ise bunun aksine, toplumsal bağlamdaki siyasi ağların profesyonel davranışı etkileyebileceğini savunurken, birey düzeyinde kurumsal mantıkların tezahürü ve karar vericilerin ile örgütlerin yerleşik oldukları siyasi ağların kimliklerini belirleyebileceğini ortaya atmaktadır. Kurumsal karmaşıklık yazınına istinaden, aktörlerin kurumsal mantık ve siyasi ağ temelli kimliklerini farklı şekillerde uzlaştırmalarının kurumsal karmaşıklığa verilen tepkileri etkileyebileceği ifade edilmektedir. Greenwood vd. (2011) çalışması örgütsel aktörlerin kurumsal karmaşıklığa verdikleri tepkilerinin onların örgütün kimliği ile ne ölçüde kendilerini

ilişkilendirdikleri ile ilgili olduğunu ifade etmekle birlikte, yazında bu zamana dek aktörlerin ve örgütlerin kurumsal mantıklardan bağımsız olarak geliştirdikleri kimliklerinin davranışlarını nasıl belirlediği yer bulmamıştır. Kurumlar daha geniş siyasi düzenlemelere gömülü olduklarından ve örgütsel süreçler de bu siyasi düzenlemelerin damga etkisini taşıdıklarından, örgütsel alan düzeyinde kurumsal mantık temelli oluşan kimliklerin yanı sıra, bireyler ve örgütler bir takım siyasi ve dini ağlara yerleşiklikleri dolayısıyla kimlikler edinebilirler. Bu çalışma da Greenwood vd. (2011) çalışmasını ilerleterek, siyasi kimliklerin örgütteki aktörlerin kurumsal karmaşıklığı nasıl yorumlayıp tepki vereceklerini görgül olarak göstermiştir.

Bu çalışmanın bulguları kurumsal mantıkların ve siyasi ağların birbirlerinden bağımsız şekilde bir arada olmalarının örgütlerin kurumsal karmaşıklığa verdikleri tepkiyi etkileyeceğini göstermiştir. Bunun aksine ilgili yazın güçlü bağların bireylerin dünyayı farklı yönde algılamalarının önüne geçebileceğini (Pache ve Santos, 2013) ve bireyin sosyal ağ yapısının belirli bir kurumsal mantığa uyumuna yönelik serbestlik derecesini belirleyebileceğini bu açıdan da görece daha sıkı bağların kişinin yerleşik norm ve değerlerden sapabilmesinin önüne geçeceğini söylemektedir (Dufays ve Huybrechts, 2015). Bu çalışma ise bunlardan farklı olarak, siyasi ağlar bireylerin alanda hakim mantıkları canlandırma şekillerini belirlemeyeceğini söylerken, herhangi bir siyasi kimlikle ilişkili olmanın belirli bir mantığın somutlaştırılmasını gerekli kılmadığını göstermektedir. Kurumsal mantıkların ve siyasi ağ yerleşikliğinin işe alım kararları üzerinde çeşitli etkileri vardır. Bu nedenle de, kurumsal mantık yerleşikliğinin bu kararlar üzerindeki açıklayıcı değeri örnekleme yer alan farklı bölümlerde farklılık göstermiştir. Bazı vakalarda kurumsal mantık yerleşikliği işe alım kararlarında daha ön plana çıkmış olsa da, bazı vakalarla da siyasi ağ yerleşikliği diğerini galebe çalmıştır. Kurumsal mantık yerleşikliğinin daha ön planda olduğu durumlar genel olarak açık siyasi ağ yapısına yerleşik bölümlerdir. Bunun aksine, kapalı ağ yapısı gösteren diğer bölümlerde, işe alınanlar çok büyük ölçüde bahsi geçen kapalı ağa yerleşik kişiler arasından istenilen kurumsal mantığı benimseyen arasından olmuştur. İşe alınan bazı kişilerin tam olarak kapalı ağa yerleşik olmamaları halinde ise yine de bu kişilerin kurucu siyasi ideolojiye tamamen zıt kişiler olduğu söylenememektedir. Bunun

ötesinde, kurumsal mantık temelli kimliklerin aksine, bu çalışmada ele alınan vakalar toplumsal düzeydeki siyasi ağların dolaylı olarak belirli kurumsal mantıklara yerleşikliği belirlediğini göstermiştir. Ancak bu belirli bir siyasi kimliğin belirli bir kurumsal mantığın tezahürünü öngörmesinden ziyade, kurumsal mantık yerleşikliğinin gerekli ama yeterli işe alım kriteri olmamasıdır.

Ağ yapısının kapalılığının işe alım kararlarına olan yansıması farklı açılardan olmaktadır. İlk olarak tekli mantığa yerleşik olan fakat hakim tekli mantığın farklılaştığı bölümlerde, eğer karar verici bilimci mantığın aksine mesleki mantığa yerleşik ise, onun siyasi kimlikle güçlü şekilde ilişkili olan kişilerin bulunduğu havuzdan işe alım kararına gitmesi daha kolay olmaktadır. Bir diğer deyişle, A bölümünde muhafazakar ağına ve tekli mesleki mantığa yerleşik olan karar verici, bu mantığa yerleşik olan ama herhangi bir ağdan gelen kişilerin alımından ziyade, yine bu mantığa yerleşik fakat bu siyasi kimlikle kuvvetle ilişkili kişilerin alımına gitmiştir. Karar vericinin yerleşik olduğu kapalı ağ yapısından istediği tekli mantığa yerleşik kişileri bulamaması durumunda ise, karar verici bu kimliğe tamamen karşıt olmayan ve hatta daha önceki dönemlerde yakın ilişkiler kurulan siyasi görüşlerden kişilere yönelmiştir.

Türkiye gibi politik ayrışmaların ve kutuplaşmaların yüksek olduğu toplumlarda (Mardin, 1973; Özbudun, 1981; Secor, 2001), siyasi ağ dinamiklerinin kurumsal mantık yerleşikliğinin önüne geçtiği ve daha etkili olduğu söylenebilir. Bu noktadan hareketle, bu çalışmada geliştirilen kuramsal model neopatrimonyalizm, yarı-otoriteriyenlik ve kayırmacılık üzerine kurulu devlet toplum ilişkilerinin olduğu bağlamlara genellenebilir.