

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF BUSINESS AND LAW

Southampton Business School

**THE ROLE OF ORGANISATIONAL *HABITUS* IN ORGANISATIONAL
RESPONSES TO INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITIES**

by

Cagla Yavuz

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this doctoral study is to gain insight into the role of organisational habitus in organisational responses to institutional complexities from a process relational perspective. The study seeks for a better understanding of organisations' experience of, and subsequent responses to institutional complexities, by undertaking multi-level examination, focusing on the inter-institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics of the process, and placing emphasis on the role of distinct characteristics of organisations stemming from their historical origins (*habitus*).

Relying on constructivist paradigm, I employed cross-cultural comparative study by comparing data derived from six different universities, situated in different socio-political fields, namely, Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, aiming to delineate variations in field level institutional complexities and subsequent response patterns. The findings of this study are based on 113 interviews, two meeting observations and one focus group, as well as macro and meso level documentary data.

Comparing the six universities situated in different contexts revealed that when complexities were experienced as a challenge or 'conflicting', universities were more likely to compartmentalize their practices by separation of formal structures and external parts from their internal organisational core. However, when complexities caused by the demands of market logic were perceived as 'compatible' with their own organisational resources, dispositions and strategic focus, identifying the demands of newly coming institutional logics was seen as an opportunity for status extension, and to distinguish themselves from their rivals. These universities were more likely to assimilate new, and augment

existing practices aligned with the demands of market logic, or to enact with 'acquisition' strategy. Moreover, by experiencing the demands of market logic as 'complementary', and identifying institutional complexities as an opportunity for 'status reconfiguration', such universities were more likely to develop synthesizing strategy by combining and layering practices taken from market logic with their core identity and practices.

The contributions of this research are multiple: First, employing cross-comparative research design, my study advances the research on institutional complexity by linking inter-institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics, demonstrating the recursive relationship between these dynamics to provide a better understanding of the dynamics of organisational responses. By undertaking multi-level examination of the dynamics of organisational responses through the concept of *habitus*, which is a powerful concept in linking meso to macro level analysis reciprocally, I provide deep insights in understanding organisational response strategies to institutional pressures in a more systematic way. Second, linking intra-organisational and macro level analysis by unpacking the mechanisms through which managerial interpretations of institutional complexity are influenced by wider social beliefs could contribute to institutional logics and behavioural theory in the firm literature. Third, by showing variations in field level institutional complexities in the same fields, situated in different national contexts, and their organisational level implications, this study complements recent works which suggest co-existence of institutional logics produces both competitive and cooperative tensions. Finally, this study provides a number of research implications for academics and practical insights for practitioners, including university managers and policy makers.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Cagla Yavuz, declare that this thesis entitled 'The Role of organisational *habitus* in organisational responses to institutional complexities' and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:

Conference papers

Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M., and Howells, J. (July, 2016). The role of organizational *habitus* in organizational responses to institutional complexities. **32nd EGOS Colloquium**, Naples, Italy.

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Research papers-in-progress

Socio-materiality and strategy practice in higher education, with M. Karatas-Ozkan, J. Howells and M. Atiq, in preparation for Organisation Studies

The role of organizational *habitus* in organizational responses to institutional complexities, (is extracted from my PhD thesis) in preparation for Organisation Studies

Signed: Cagla Yavuz

Date: February, 20, 2017

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Definitions and Abbreviations

HEF	Higher Education Field
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
NPM	New Public Management
NM	New Managerialism
YOK	Higher Education Council (Turkish context)
HEAC	Higher Education Auditing Council (Turkish context)
OYP	Training Academic Staff Programme (Turkish context)
FG	Federal Government
WSS	Workplace Skills Strategy (Canadian context)
CCL	Canadian Council for Learning (Canadian context)
CFI	Canada Foundation for Innovation (Canadian context)
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise (UK context)
REF	Research Excellence Framework (UK context)
IU	Istanbul University
METU	Middle East Technical University
UoS	University of Southampton
UoM	University of Manchester
UoA	University of Alberta
UoM	MacEwan University

PART ONE: OVERVIEW AND FOUNDATION OF THE THESIS

Chapter 1: Introduction Chapter

1.1 Scope of the study

The aim of this chapter is to present a general overview of the thesis in terms of the conceptual, methodological, theoretical and managerial contributions. This doctoral study seeks a better understanding of the organisational experience of, and subsequent responses to institutional complexities, by undertaking a multi-level examination, focusing on the inter-institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics of the process. Emphasis is placed on the role of distinct characteristics of organisations, stemming from their historical origins (*habitus*). The core argument of my thesis is that organisational experiences of institutional complexities and response patterns are not only shaped by societal level systems, such as polities and field level arrangements, but are also driven by meso-level mediators.

In the process of my investigation, I interrogated the dynamics of organisational responses by looking at the organisational *habitus*, which allowed me to unpack the recursive relationships between these dynamics. More specifically, the concept of organisational *habitus* allowed the relational and multi-dimensional understanding of organisational responses. It is a valuable concept not only for gaining in-depth understanding of intra-organisational level processes, but also for linking the macro to meso foundations of organisations in a reflexive account, which helped to fulfil the theoretical interest of this study in a more holistic way.

The chapter begins with the conceptual overview and research questions. This is followed by an introduction to the methodological underpinnings of the study, and the contributions section. The final section is concerned with the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Conceptual overview and research questions

One of the main challenges for organisations is to survive within complex institutional environments, in which divergent institutional demands from external audiences are prescribed. In unpacking these challenges, institutional scholars have been concerned with understanding how organisations cope when confronted with conflicting institutional demands. In particular, there is a growing interest in understanding the organisational experience of institutional complexities and navigation within these contexts, considering the nature of institutional demands (institutional logics), characteristics of the institutional environment and organisational characteristics, as well as social interactions and sense-making processes within organisations.

Although current literature clearly highlights the importance of societal systems (e.g. Nicolini *et al.*, 2016), and field-level, organisational-level and intra-organisational-level dynamics (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011) in the organisational experience of, and, in turn, responses to institutional complexities, it does not offer a reflexive account of the macro and meso dynamics by linking inter-institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics. This calls for further attention, according to institutional scholars (Nicolini *et al.*, 2016; Raynard, 2016; Vasudeva *et al.*, 2013). In other words, although scholars provide holistic insights into how mundane practices inside organisations influence wider societal beliefs (e.g. Smets *et al.*, 2012), and how such practices are influenced by wider societal dynamics (e.g. Waldorf *et al.*, 2013), the reflexive relationship (intertwined nature) between these has not been captured.

This study takes this gap in the knowledge as a starting point to move the discussion further by undertaking a multi-dimensional examination of the dynamics of organisational responses to institutional complexities, viewing the development of organisational agency as a reflexive process. Bourdieu's (1990, 1993, 2000) core concept of *habitus* at the meso-relational level is employed in understanding the macro and meso level influences on organisational responses, in order to provide a reflexive, process-relational and multi-layered picture of organisational responses. In this thesis, I argue that managerial interpretations of institutional complexities should be understood as being inextricably linked to the organisational *habitus* and macro-field of

organisations. Thus, focusing on the distinct organisational features stemming from the historical origins that characterize an organisation as a whole, rather than analysing the characteristics of particular disciplines and sub- *habituses*, the motivation of this study is to understand how organisational *habitus* is influenced by societal systems, field level structures and processes at a macro level, framing managerial perceptions of institutional pressures, and influencing institutional level changes.

More specifically, the research objectives are set out:

- to understand how organisational responses to institutional complexities are situated in macro-level field dynamics
- to explore the role of the organisational *habitus* in framing managerial perceptions of institutional pressures, and, in turn, the organisational responses.

1.3 Methodological Overview

This research focuses on the field of higher education, whereby universities are exposed to institutional pressures due to the prevalence of ‘market logic’, which is embedded in broader level ‘new managerialism logic’, in line with the introduction of New Managerialism (NM) and New Public Management (NPM) reforms, as a new policy paradigm (Deem *et al.*, 2007). In order to understand the influence of macro-contextual factors on organisational *habitus* and, in turn, managerial perceptions of institutional complexity, I chose Canada, UK and Turkey higher education fields, where the implementation of NPM reforms differs, due to their distinctive characteristics in terms of basic values and dominant ideologies (Sozen and Shaw, 2002).

Relying on constructivist paradigm, I employed a cross-cultural comparative study in order to explore the role of organisational *habitus* in organisational responses to institutional complexities. More specifically, this study is based on a qualitative comparative case study, with the aim of comparing data derived from six different universities situated in different socio-political fields, to delineate the variations in field level institutional complexities. I chose two universities from each context, based on their polar characteristics, in order to

capture variances in meso-level dynamics, and gain in-depth insights into the phenomenon of *habitus* which helps to interrogate meso and macro foundations. Cross-cultural comparisons were particularly valuable in the search for linkage between meso and macro dynamics of organisations, which is the theoretical interest of this study. In the process, I compared Turkish, Canadian and UK higher education fields according to their distinctive characteristics, as detailed in Chapter 5.

The data sources of this study relied on two main types of data. While the primary data included semi-structured interviews, focus group, meeting observations and research notes, the secondary data included a field-level and organisational-level documentary review in the form of archival data of the universities, together with a review of the relevant extant literature. While interviews were used as the main source of data, supplemented by organisational level documents and other data sources for an understanding of each case, field level documents were used as the main source of understanding of the socio-political dynamics and existing institutional logics within each context. In analysing the data, I followed qualitative data procedures, as advised by Miles and Huberman (1994) and Strauss and Corbin (1990), and adopted an iterative and interpretative approach in moving between theory and data.

1.4 Contributions

This thesis makes an important contribution to management and organisation studies in general, and the field of organisation theory in particular, providing multi-dimensional explanations of the possible organisational responses to divergent institutional demands from an institutional theory perspective. This study also provides a number of practical insights for practitioners, including university managers and policy makers.

This doctoral study seeks for a better understanding of the organisational experience of, and subsequent responses to institutional complexities. Examining six universities, situated in Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, and interrogating their experience of, and responses to institutional complexities in relation to changes in the broader societal context, I have focused on the inter-

institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics of processes by placing emphasis on the role of the distinct characteristics of organisations stemming from their historical origins (*habitus*). I show how strategic responses of organisations are not only informed by higher level institutions and field level arrangements, but importantly shaped by meso-level mediators. By linking inter-institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics, and providing the recursive relationship among these dynamics, as called for further attention by institutional scholars (Nicolini *et al.*, 2016; Raynard, 2016; Vasudeva *et al.*, 2013), this study builds on other studies, which examine the influence of meso level processes on macro level structures (e.g. Smets *et al.*, 2012), and from macro to meso linkages (Waldorf *et al.*, 2013). This advances our understanding of organisational responses to institutional complexities in several ways:

First, employing cross-comparative research design gave me the opportunity to observe the role of polities in the experience of complexities. The majority of past studies are based on liberal polities reflecting characteristics of the Western world (e.g. Tempel and Walgenbach, 2007; Nicolini *et al.*, 2016). In this doctoral study, I have compared statist polity and liberal polity, enhancing our understanding about the drivers of variation in institutional complexity at the broader polity (Besharov and Smith, 2014). In doing so, I show how particular combinations of logics vary across different national settings. For example, interaction of the state, market and professional logics result in variances in the nature and degree of institutional complexities in Turkish, Canadian and UK settings. Showing the variations in field level institutional complexities in the same fields, but situated in different national contexts, and the organisational level implications, this study complements recent works (e.g. Goodrick and Reay, 2011; Pallas *et al.*, 2016; Waldorf *et al.*, 2016 Besharov and Smith, 2014; Jay, 2013; Meyer and Hollerer, 2010) which suggest the co-existence of institutional logics can produce both competitive and cooperative tensions. This also resonates with the assumption that the multiplicity of institutional logics and institutional complexities does not always pose a challenge to organisations, but might provide opportunities and a basis for organisational agency (Dalpiaz *et al.*, 2016).

Second, I draw attention on how interrelationship among internal dynamics including organisational habitus, strategic focus and embodiment of particular institutional logics within the organisations influence organisational experience

of and responses to institutional complexities. Importantly, articulating recursive relationships among these meso-level dynamics, I put in that organisational *habitus* functions not only as carrier of historical practices, but also shapes the strategic focus of organisation and embodiment of particular institutional logics within the organisations through informing about historical origins of organisations and providing broader available repertoire of practices,

In doing so, this study provides in-depth insights on internal dynamics of organisations in organisational experience of complexities as 'opportunity' or 'threat', and responds to call for further attention on necessity to examining these internal dynamics (Thornton *et al.*, 2012, p. 186). Although a few studies have provided insights into some aspects of distinctiveness, such as the role of identity (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013), organisational origin or culture (Burnett and Huisman, 2010) or internal representation of institutional logics (Pache and Santos, 2010), little is known about how the distinctiveness of an organisation, which is rooted in a combination of several aspects, is crucial in organisational experience and responses to institutional pressures (Besharov and Smith, 2014).

Third, this study aims to contribute the process relational and multi-layered framework of organisational responses by showing multi-dimensional explanations of organisational response dynamics and linking macro to meso foundations of organisations as a reflexive process through the concept of organisational *habitus*, I demonstrate that this concept is not only crucial in getting inside the organisations, but also to capture the reflexive relationship between meso and macro level analysis reciprocally. This is fundamental in providing holistic insights into the organisational responses to institutional complexities (e.g. Smets *et al.*, 2012; Thornton *et al.*, 2012; Pache and Santos, 2010). This also generate insights into various conditions that influence effectiveness of hybrid structures and particular responses, as called for warrant attention (Raynard, 2016). Importantly, examining field level and organisational level antecedents of organisational response dynamics, informs us about the reflexive and dynamics relationship between agency and structure. Understanding organisational agency is crucial in resolving the 'paradox of embedded agency' (Holm, 1995).

Fourth, this study contributes to the Bourdieu's social theory of practice in general and his core concept of *habitus* by showing how *habitus* could be

operationalised at meso level, which has been generally employed without being defined and operationalised at all (Sweetman, 2009). There is a large body of literature that argues for the use and value of Bourdieu's theory of practice in management and organisation studies (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005; Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2009; Karatas-Ozkan and Chell, 2010; Karatas-Ozkan, 2011; Karatas-Ozkan and Chell, 2013; Swartz, 2008; Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). It provides a more comprehensive, realistic and context-specific understanding of such social phenomenon. Based on the existing studies (e.g. Karatas-Ozkan, 2011) and the data evidence of this study, I show that habitus could be operationalised as a combination of several elements rooted in historical context, which are: general resourcefulness, institutional heritage deriving from establishment roots, distinctiveness in particular departments, institutional orientation and organisational culture.

Lastly, this study provides practical implications for leadership, strategy making process. My study has revealed that universities experience institutional changes in a way that forces them to develop diverse response strategies, Alignment with the core values and vision of the organisation, consultative and collaborative approach, and engagement with internal stakeholders are crucial dimensions of strategy making process. On the other hand, policy makers should pay attention to the institutional complexities and cultural dynamics of universities, and they should not impose regulatory or other changes on universities for the sake of efficiency and effectiveness.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This PhD thesis consists of four parts and nine chapters. The first part is concerned with delineating an overview of the thesis, literature review and research setting, including the chapters of introduction, theoretical underpinnings and higher education fields (Chapters 1, 2 and 3). The present chapter, the Introduction, presents a conceptual overview, research aims and research question, which I aim to explore in this doctoral study. The methodological overview, theoretical and managerial contribution, and overall dissertation structure are then introduced. In the next chapter (Chapter 2), I critically elucidate the literature pertinent to the conceptual foundations of institutional complexity and organisational implications, placing emphasis on

the process-relational, multi-dimensional understanding of organisational responses, which comprise the key theoretical argument of this doctoral dissertation. Bourdieu's social theory of practice and the concept of *habitus* are introduced and evaluated as justification for theoretical explanation of my argument in this study at the end of the chapter. Chapter 3 outlines the research setting of this doctoral study, which is the higher education fields in Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts. I continue this chapter with an illumination of the logic underpinning the new public management reforms, with a particular focus on its implications in the higher education fields in different national contexts.

Part Two is dedicated to the methodology of the thesis. Chapter 4 outlines the data sources, data collections and analysis procedures which are informed by the constructivist paradigm. In this section, I detail out the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions of constructivism, with a brief history of its development as a counter paradigm to positivism. I present the data sources, data analysis techniques, and strategies for the trustworthiness of the qualitative work, together with the ethical considerations.

Part Three is concerned with the macro and meso level findings of this study, comprising Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 5 provides macro-field level findings associated with the research setting of the thesis. In this chapter, I discuss the salient characterisations of the higher education fields in the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts in relation to the broader level polities, focusing on the co-existence of a multiplicity of institutional logics, which provide the basis for variations in the nature and degree of institutional complexities in these contexts. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are devoted to the meso level analysis of universities, aiming to depict the role of organisational *habitus* in linking meso and macro level foundations in the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, respectively. These chapters start with an introduction of the case accounts, providing cross-comparative analysis, in which resourcefulness, institutional orientation, institutional heritage, distinctive departments and organisational culture are evaluated as the components of organisational *habitus*. I then look at the organisational level experiences of institutional complexities and organisational response patterns. These findings chapters offer an account of how the salient characterizations (*habitus*) of selected universities in different

national contexts demonstrate variations in the apprehension of institutional complexities, and in turn organisational responses, in relation to the broader level polities, field level arrangements, and meso-level mediators.

Part Four is devoted to the discussion and concluding remarks. Furthering my analysis on the findings (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8), and evaluation of the theoretical grounding of the study, I provide discussion on the cross-country multi-level understanding of organisations' experiences of complexities, and subsequent response patterns. Revisiting the research questions, and in light of the research findings, the chapter also includes a summary of this PhD work, as well as assessing the theoretical and practical contributions, limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinnings

2.1 Introduction to the chapter

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical grounding of this study, which relies on the dynamics of organisational response strategies to institutional complexities in the field of higher education. The chapter begins with a discussion on earlier arguments of institutional theory, which engages with structure-based perspectives in the understanding of the organisational responses. Then evolution of the institutional theory literature towards recognition of a multiplicity of institutional logics, complexities and agency, is examined, along with the value of these concepts. This is followed by a section that engages with the discussion of current literature on organisational-level experience of, and responses to institutional complexities, with a particular focus on multi-level understanding of the dynamics of organisational responses. The theoretical underpinnings on how organisational responses are shaped by macro-field, meso-organisational and intra-organisational level dynamics are also reviewed here. The chapter ends with a presentation of Bourdieu's sociology, the concept of *habitus* and the value of *habitus* as an encompassing concept of the dynamics of organisational response to institutional complexities, which form the core theoretical arguments of this dissertation.

2.2 Roots of institutional theory

Early arguments of neo-institutional theory are based on the assumption that structures, forms and processes of organisations are shaped in response to changes in the institutional environments in which they are embedded (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Scott and Meyer, 1983; Zucker, 1977), the main concern being that of legitimacy and support. Explaining organisational homogeneity and conformity within organisational fields (e.g. Tolbert and Zucker, 1983), while attaching a central role to legitimacy as the main driving force of the institutionalisation process (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), was the main concern of these studies. Di Maggio and Powell (1983) hypothesized that institutional isomorphism, which is the tendency to be the same, or the propensity for convergence, is the result of three mechanisms,

namely, coercive forces, mimetic forces and normative forces. Powell and DiMaggio (1991) subsequently put forward three revised isomorphic processes: mimetic, normative and cognitive. They argued that structural change in organisations is driven by these mechanisms, rather than competition and efficiency, as suggested by Weber. For example, in their study exploring the process of municipal agencies' adoption of civil service reforms, Tolbert and Zucker (1983) found that while earlier officials adopted these reforms based on rational, 'internal' reasons, such as the demographics and characteristics of cities, later adopters were motivated by pressures of conformity. Similarly, Palmer *et al.* (1993) found that large US corporations' adoption of multi-divisional form (MDF) was influenced mainly by mimetic, coercive and normative pressures. In these studies, institutional environments are characterized as 'rational myths', in which organisations adapt to gain legitimacy and to survive (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The importance of taken-for-granted practices came to the fore of the debate in these early studies, with the emphasis on 'objectivity' and 'exteriority' of institutionalized acts, as stated by Zucker (1977):

"Institutionalization is both a process and a property variable. It is the process by which individual actors transmit what is socially defined as real and, at the same time, at any point in the process the meaning of an act can be defined as more or less taken for granted part of this social reality. Institutionalized acts, then, must be perceived as both objective and exterior" (Zucker, 1977, p.728)

That said, these early works of institutional theory, which take a structure-based perspective (Battilana *et al.*, 2009; Leca *et al.*, 2008) focused on top-down models and isomorphic 'convergent' change (Scott, 2001; 2004). Regarding actors as passive 'cultural dopes' (Hirsh and Lounsbury, 1997), and neglecting the change agency role of actors in institutional change process (Battilana *et al.*, 2009; Reay *et al.*, 2006), the homogeneity of organisational responses to different demands of stakeholders has been assumed in these earlier studies.

The re-introduction of agency into institutional theorizing, with the concepts of 'institutional entrepreneurship' and 'institutional logics' has shifted the focus of discussions from institutional 'effects' and 'top down' models to institutional 'process' and recursive models, recognizing 'bottom-up' models of influence (Scott, 1995, 2001, 2004). Accordingly, the agency role of actors and their ability to influence and change institutional spheres has been largely discussed by

institutional scholars. Within the scope of this doctoral study, my focus is on the development of organisational agency as a reflexive process in exploration of organisational responses to institutional complexities. I argue how the multiplicity of institutional logics and inter-relationships among these logics result in institutional complexities of varying nature and degree, and in turn provide the basis for organisational agency. I start my discussion with elaboration on the value of institutional logic perspective, the co-existence and multiplicity of institutional logics (Kraatz and Block, 2009) and the concept of institutional complexities (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011), encapsulating their uses within the scope of this doctoral work. The next section is devoted to this.

2.3 Institutional logics and institutional complexities

Institutional logics perspective, which is brought to the fore of the debate by Friedland and Alford (1991) in their chapter on bringing society back into organisational analysis, highlights the situatedness of individual and organisational behaviour, which cannot be fully understood without locating it in a societal context. Institutional logics are defined as ‘...symbolic systems, way of ordering reality, and thereby rendering experience of time and space meaningful’ (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p. 243). Building on Friedland and Alford’s framework, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) extend and define institutional logics as:

the socially constructed, historical pattern 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 (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, p.804).

While classical social theorists considered that the world was built from the ground up with the material conditions for human life (e.g. Durkheim’s religion of individuality, Marx’s materialist ideas) (see Friedland and Alford, 1991), institutional logics perspective puts forward the value of material and symbolic aspects of institutions. In other words, this institutional perspective is associated not only with objective structural conditioning, but also with subjectivity and the making of meaning through drawing attention to the exploration of interwoven institutional, organisational and individual level dynamics in a comprehensive understanding of social theory (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton *et al.*,

2012). More specifically, this approach conceives institutions as 'both supra-organisational patterns of activity through which humans conduct their material life in time and space, and symbolic systems through which they categorize that activity and infuse it with meaning' (Friedland and Alford, 1991, p.232).

While Friedland and Alford (1991) give examples of the central institutions of the Western world, as 'capitalist market, bureaucratic state, democracy, nuclear family, and Christian religion'; Thornton (2004) provides a more general framework for institutional orders, as 'the market, the corporation, the professions, the family, the religion and the state' that shape individual and organisational preferences, behaviours and practices. Contradictory relations between these institutional logics and the differentiated prescriptions demanded by each logic have been emphasized in earlier studies by Friedland and Alford (1991), who noted that these institutional orders 'cannot be analysed in isolation from each other, but must be understood in their mutually dependent, yet contradictory relationships'.

More specifically, we already know that organisations face institutional complexities in face of the multiplicity of institutional logics that might prescribe divergent institutional demands (i.e. values, expectations, identities) (D'Aunno *et al.*, 1991; Greenwood *et al.*, 2010; 2011; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Scott, 2001). Greenwood *et al.* (2010), firstly, used the term, 'institutional complexities' when articulating the incompatible demands of different stakeholders in times of paradigmatic changes, while Negro *et al.* (2010) used the term 'categorizational complexity', when discussing how 'the multiplicity of audiences and their category systems can generate diverging pressures to conform'. Accordingly, early studies on institutional logics focused on conflicting institutional logics, the main assumptions being based on incompatibility in the demands of these logics, resulting in the replacement and dominance of a particular institutional logic. However, more recently the co-existence of conflicting institutional logics, rather than the dominance of a particular logic within the field has been documented well (e.g. Dunn and Jones, 2010; Jarzabwoski *et al.*, 2010; Reay and Hinings, 2009; Schneiberg and Clemens, 2006). These conflicting institutional logics which might co-exist within the field could be, for example, banking and development logics in

commercial micro-finance organisations (Battilana and Dorado, 2010); care versus science logics among professionals (Dunn and Jones, 2010); social welfare versus commercial logic in the field of social integration enterprises (Pache and Santos, 2013); medical professionalism versus business logics in the healthcare field (Reay and Hinings, 2009); and trustee or performance logics in the mutual fund industry (Lounsbury, 2007).

In alignment with this, studies show variations (heterogeneities) in organisational practice adoption in line with the new logic (e.g. Lounsbury, 2007; Thornton, 2002, 2004). In his study examining the spread of contracting to independent professional money management firms among U.S. mutual funds from 1944 to 1985, Lounsbury (2007) showed how the spread of a new practice is shaped by competing logics, namely trustee and performance logics, generating variation in organisational adoption behaviour and practice in the field of mutual fund industry on the basis of geographic location. His study depicted the importance of macro level conditions, such as field structures in adopting new practices in response to institutional complexities.

Importantly, these studies paved the way for better understanding of how the multiplicity of institutional logics is not always a challenge for the organisations, but they may shape constellations of organisational structures and practices (e.g. Goodrick and Reay, 2011; Pallas *et al.*, 2016; Schildt and Perkmann, 2016; Waldorf *et al.*, 2013). For example, Waldorf *et al.* (2013) elucidate that different societal level institutional logics, including professional, state and market logics in constellation enable and constrain micro actions of actors in Denmark and Canada healthcare institutions. Their study is crucial in terms of implying the importance of the interrelationships between institutional logics that might facilitate the adoption of particular practices. Other studies on the hybridization of institutional logics (e.g. Battilana and Dorado, 2010; forthcoming; McPherson *et al.*, 2013; Pache, 2016) also triggered discussions on how organisations deploy practices enacted by different institutional logics, in order to achieve organisational accomplishments.

Pertinently, alignment with evidence on the co-existence and constellation of institutional logics has shifted current conversation towards unpacking the

interrelationships between institutional logics, the different kinds and degrees of institutional complexity and organisational implications. More specifically, Raynard (2016) extends the current understanding on ‘incompatibility’ (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011) and ‘centralisation’ (prioritisation of institutional logics within the field) (Besharov and Smith, 2014) of institutional logic. She explains the importance of the degree of ‘jurisdictional claims’ in the logics overlap as an additional factor in a better understanding of the sources and variations of institutional complexities. Moreover, she interrogates the interrelationships between institutional logics by unpacking their degree and sources of ‘incompatibility’, ‘prioritization and ‘jurisdictional overlap’. She then delineates how these factors address four distinct patterns of complexity: ‘segregated, restrained, aligned and volatile complexity’, with particular focus on the varying degree of institutional complexities and possible organisational implications of each configuration (Raynard, 2016).

Raynard (2016) explains that if institutional complexities stem from unsettled prioritisation of incompatible institutional logics, which do not target the same jurisdictional domains, this results in a modest level of institutional complexity, termed ‘segregated complexity’. Such conditions provide flexibility to organisations in enacting the demands of these prioritised institutional logics. Second, ‘restrained complexity’ is at stake if prioritisation of the logic is settled. In these conditions, although the demands of institutional logics are incompatible, and their targeted jurisdictional domains are the same, the institutional complexities are suppressed because of the dominance of one of the logics. These conditions constrain organisational choices, which are more likely to engage in conforming to the demands of the dominant logic. Third, although the targets of the jurisdictional domains may be the same, and prioritisation of the field unsettled, if the demands of multiple institutional logics are compatible, they may facilitate each other, which is referred to as ‘aligned complexity’. In these conditions, institutional complexities are more likely to facilitate opportunities for organisations to benefit from potential synergies of combinations of a multiplicity of institutional logics. Fourth, in the case of multiple incompatible and non-dominant institutional logics targeting the same jurisdictional domain, field level ambiguities address ‘volatile complexity’. While these conditions provide the highest degree of contestation due to their instability, they can also provide flexibility for organisations to pursue the

demands of selected institutional logics (Raynard, 2016). Taken together, unpacking the interrelationships between institutional logics co-existing in the field matters in better understanding of the sources and variations of institutional complexities and their organisational implications.

However, this theorizing is incomplete in the comprehensive understanding of organisational level responses, since organisational experience of, and responses to institutional complexities are driven by an interweaving of field level, organisational level and micro level dynamics (Besharov and Smith, 2014). Multi-layered examination of organisational responses is crucial in situated understanding of the phenomena, which is the aim of this doctoral study. The next section presents discussions on the literature pertinent to organisational response to institutional complexities, placing particular emphasis on field level, organisational level and inter-organisational dynamics that influence organisational experience of institutional complexities.

2.4 Organisational response strategies to institutional complexities

Under conditions of institutional complexity, organisations are more likely to respond to the needs of important audiences, which is known as 'loose coupling' (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). D'Aunno *et al.*, (1991) also note that organisations respond to institutional pressure on the basis of two criteria: -'credibility for the organisational legitimacy;- visibility to external groups, which cannot easily monitor all organisational practices and beliefs' (D'Aunno *et al.*, 1991, p.642).

This phenomenon has been studied from different perspectives and different levels of analysis, as noted by Greenwood *et al.* (2011). Focusing on organisational responses as an outcome, one stream stresses organisational level strategies in coping with institutional complexities stemming from the multiplicity of institutional logics (e.g. Oliver, 1991; Pache and Santos, 2010; Kraatz and Block, 2008); others consider organisational responses as an ongoing process. This stream of scholars engage in the understanding of how organisations adopt different structures and practices from different (contesting or constructive and reinforcing) institutional logics, by turning, for example, to

hybrid organisations (e.g., Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Dunn and Jones, 2010; Fox-Wolfgramm *et al.*, 1998; Jarzabkowski *et al.*, 2010; Pache and Santos, 2013; Smets *et al.*, 2012). On the other hand, determinants of organisational responses in different levels of analysis, including field level and organisational level, have been reviewed by Greenwood *et al.* (2011). This section begins with the evaluation of how organisations develop strategic responses in the face of institutional complexities, and then moves on to discussion on the enabling conditions of these organisational responses and agencies in different levels of analysis.

To start with, Oliver's (1991) typology of organisational responses can be considered as prominent and influential in paving the way to the emergence of this literature. Through elucidating the possible organisational response strategies constituting a wide array of tactics, she unpacks the mechanisms by which the nature of institutional pressures and pertinent strategies are characterized. She presents organisational response strategies as showing increasing degrees of agency, namely, '*acquiescence, compromise, avoidance, defiance, and manipulation*', when faced with institutional pressures (Oliver, 1991). Since organisational response strategy literature is built around her review study, her typology of organisational responses is important in detailing the possible tactics employed by organisations in pluralistic institutional environments. She maps a bigger picture of response strategies. Particular strategies have been demonstrated empirically in an increasing number of studies (e.g. Pache and Santos, 2013; Perkman and Schildman, 2013). Additionally, Kraatz and Block (2008) suggest that organisations can respond in four different ways to institutional complexities, by: 1) resisting or eliminating the tensions of complexity; 2) striving to balance the various institutional demands by increasing the competitiveness; 3) building durable identities that immunize the organisations against external and multiple pressures for compliance; 4) compartmentalizing identities (giving only ceremonial and symbolic commitment to certain logics, while preserving a core identity (see also Greenwood *et al.*, 2011).

Based on these foundational works on strategic responses, a recent stream of research highlights organisational awareness of alternative choices and strategic

responses to institutional pressures, rather than blindly complying with them (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Binder, 2007; Greenwood *et al.*, 2010; Lounsbury, 2007; Oliver, 1991; Pache and Santos, 2013; Reay *et al.*, 2009). For example, organisations may hybridize practices and structures through enacting and incarnating elements drawn from different (competing or mutually reinforcing) logics, and integrating their own cultures and structures, as illustrated in a number of studies (Scott, 2001; Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Bjerregaard and Jonasson, 2013; Pache and Santos, 2013). More importantly, recent studies have attempted to unpack hybridisation processes (e.g. Perkman and Schildman, 2013) by documenting the main rationale underpinning the adoption of these strategies. Accordingly, for example, in the face of the multiplicity of institutional logics, adopting a ‘unitary dedicated structure’ and only responding to the demands of one particular institutional logic, whilst ignoring others (Oliver, 1991; Raynard, 2016) may be chosen as an alternative strategy for organisations, when relations between institutional logics are incompatible and their prioritization within the field is unsettled (‘segregated institutional complexity’) (Raynard, 2016). However, this strategy means ignorance of prescriptions demanded by other institutional logics, and threatens institutional legitimacy and survival. In overcoming the shortages implicit in this threat, allocation of new organisational units, pertinent to meeting the demands of new institutional logic (referred to as ‘compartmentalisation’ or ‘structural differentiation’) is highlighted as a reasonable strategy (Boxembaum and Jonsson, 2008; Tushman and O`Reilley, 1996; Perkman and Schildt, 2013). For example, Perkman and Schildt (2013) provided an example in the creation of technology licensing offices at universities as being structurally differentiated from the existing units and practices, and promoted by commercial logic.

On the other hand, decoupling or symbolical adoption of the structures or practices, without actual implementation of required practices (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) has been well documented as a viable strategy in coping with the demands of minimal institutional logic (e,g, Boxembaum and Jonsson, 2008; Bromley and Powell, 2012; Fiss and Zajac, 2006; Westpal and Zajac, 1994, 1998, 2004). For example, strengthening existing practices with the application of activities of the new institutional logic is conceptualised as ‘augmentation’ by Perkman and Schildt (2013), and may be regarded as a decoupling strategy. They provide an example in the establishment of the Alumni Research Foundation by

universities, being a structurally different unit, as demanded by the new logic, which strengthens the research identity of universities and, in turn, reflects on current practices, such as recruiting more research-oriented academics. Furthermore, 'enrichment', or the structural blending of activities associated with the new institutional logic in line with the prerequisites of existing logic, while preserving the prevailing interpretive schema, is also associated with symbolic decoupling strategy, since new practices pertinent to new logic do not affect existing interpretive schema (Perkman and Schilt, 2013). For example, the recruitment of short-term executives to universities in order to identify entrepreneurial opportunities, which is supported by new business logic, is an example of enrichment strategy (Perkman and Schilt, 2013).

D'Aunno et al.'s (1991) study of drug abuse treatment units in health care sector in United States provides examples of how organisational units partially adopted conflicting demands from traditional mental health logic and newly coming drug treatment logic. These logics mainly differs in terms of main assumptions underlying sources of mental health problems, approach to treatment as well as hiring practices. More specifically, while according to traditional mental health logic, mental problems occur as a result of stressful events experienced. Both changing external environment of the person and psychological tests or classification systems conducted by professionals including psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers, who are trained to diagnose sources of stress and maladaptive responses, are evaluated as crucial part of treatment. In contrast, since new drug treatment logic consider mental disorder as a result of overuse of abuse substances, psychological tests are evaluated as unnecessary for the treatment. Ex-addicts or ex-alcoholics as counsellors, rather than professionals are considered as more effective in treatment process because of having first-hand knowledge about recovery process.

Lander et al.'s (2013) study of 11 Dutch accounting firms' responses to increasing pressures from commercial logic reveals that accounting firms independently and selectively adopted practices pertaining to commercial logic, while sustaining principles of professional trustee logic. These demands and partially adopted practices include, for example, changes on -governance systems from collegial decision making to non-professional-directive decision

making; - management control systems from traditional professional and collegial to performance pay systems; increasing concerns of high quality and international services. In his study conducted with US universities, Lounsbury (2001) shows that in the face of governmental pressures imposing on universities to adopt recycling programs, small universities chose to adopt expanding responsibilities of current employees to engage with waste management programs as a part time and allocating limited resources, rather than creating full-time new positions. Although symbolical adoption of practices balances the demands of internal and external referents and increases organisational survival, it is risky to sustain it over a long period of time, particularly if organisational members do not agree on maintaining the same logic, or are not in favour of decoupling. The existence of internal tensions deriving from conflicting views and interests inside organisations is inevitable (Pache and Santos, 2013).

Moreover, organisations are more likely to employ new institutional logic structurally and cognitively when the interrelationship between the existing institutional logic and the new one is compatible (Besharov and Smith, 2014; Perkman and Schildt, 2013; Raynard, 2016), as in the case of 'aligned institutional complexity' (Raynard, 2016). In these institutional situations, organisations aim to take advantage of the synergy in employing different compatible logics through 'synthesis' or 'blending' (Perkman and Schildt, 2013). For example, Battilana and Dorado (2010) show that adoption of both 'banking' and 'development' logic in the hiring practices of commercial micro-finance organisations, in a blending of social mission and financial services, resulted in achievement.

In their review paper of 95 research on organisational forms of social enterprises in which both business and charity logics were discussed, Battilana and Lee (2014) document that social enterprises need to combine organisational forms of both business and charity at their cores for sustainability. In her ethnographic study examining institutional change process in rape crises center in Israel, Zilber (2002) also reveals that combination and integration of existing 'feminist' logic and newly coming 'therapeutic 'professional' logic to the core functioning of the center contributed to the institutional maintenance. In this case, while feminist

practices were detrimental in organisational goals, formal structure and managerial procedures; therapeutic practices mattered in power structures, hiring practices and external image. Furthermore, organisations may strategically employ practices drawn from conflicting logics in order to gain legitimacy and acceptance, which is termed as 'selective coupling' (Pache and Santos, 2013). The value of selective coupling in overcoming the limitations and risks of decoupling has been put forward by some authors (Lander *et al.*, 2013; Pache and Santos, 2013). For instance, in their study conducted in the field of Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISEs) in France, Pache and Santos (2013) show that social integration enterprises embedded in market logic purposefully selected and incorporated practices from social logic, due to legitimacy considerations. They argue that selective coupling is a better strategy than decoupling, particularly for resource-constrained organisations embedded in highly fragmented and centralised fields, because this strategy allows selective and actual implementation of intact practices from other logics; it hence protects organisations from the risk of fake compliance, rather than symbolically complying with practices, as decoupling does. Similarly, McPherson and Sauder's (2013) study shows that institutional logics from other domains could be used strategically as a repertoire of tools for institutional accomplishments. They illuminate how the actors used institutional logics from different domains, namely the logic of punishment, community accountability, efficiency and rehabilitation, as a tool for institutional maintenance, as opposed to institutional change in the drug court field.

Overall, organisational level strategic responses to institutional complexities, stemming from a multiplicity of institutional logics, are shaped based on organisational experience of these complexities, which would be better understood by multi-level examination of the phenomena. This is the concern of the following section.

2.5 Antecedents of organisational responses

Organisations develop strategic responses on the basis of experience of institutional complexities as 'opportunity' or 'threat' (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013), which is mainly informed by the macro-field level and organisational level conditioning of organisations, as well as intra-organisational dynamics. In their

comprehensive review study on organisational responses to institutional complexities, Greenwood *et al.*, (2011) present a general framework of how organisations' responses are conditioned by field level and organisational level dynamics. The interface between the two is important. Their framework is useful in demonstrating the two-pronged dimension (field and organisational level) of institutional complexity and associated organisational responses. Going one step further, the importance of field level, interwoven with organisational level and intra-organisational level dynamics in organisational experimentation of institutional complexities, with possible organisational implications, has been discussed by Besharov and Smith (2014).

Furthering these current conversations in the field, I pondered the role of inter-institutional societal systems, as well as field level, organisational level and intra-organisational level dynamics for better understanding of the organisational level experiences of, and responses to institutional complexities. In the following sections, I present pertinent ongoing discussions on the antecedents of organisational responses at different level of analysis.

2.5.1 Macro-field level dynamics

At the macro-level inter-institutional societal systems, including types of broader level polities (Nicolini *et al.*, 2016), concern of field level actors about the new coming logic, and structuration of the field matter in the organisational experience of complexities (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011, Raynard and Kodeih, forthcoming; Staggs and Wright, 2014).

To start with, inter-institutional systems such as polities are important in driving variations in institutional complexities (Nicolini *et al.*, 2016) and determining the boundaries of organisational action (Jepperson, 2002). This is because polities determine the acceptance of newly coming institutional logic by field level actors, and in turn, stability and coherence within the field. For example, in statist polities, associated with a highly centralised state structure, organisations are more likely to enact the demands of state logic, which is generally regarded as the dominant logic at a macro-level. For example, Greenwood *et al.* (2010) explored how non-market logics, namely, state, family, and, to some extent, religion, shaped market logics in Spain, and caused institutional complexity for

manufacturing firms. In their case, while the highly centralised logic of the state was reinforced by market, religion and family logic under the Franco's regime in Spain until the mid-1990s, institutional complexities arose in parallel with the fall of his regime. In this line, decentralisation of the state, and the values of family businesses contending with market logic triggered pressures, particularly for manufacturing firms.

Being embedded in broader-level polities, field level structures are crucial in the construction of institutional complexities (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011, Raynard and Kodeih, forthcoming; Staggs and Wright, 2014). Organisational field refers to 'a set of organisations that, in aggregate, constitute a recognized area of life' (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p.148). DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) 'organisational field' concept is derived from Bourdieu's notion of 'social field' (Reay and Hinings, 2005, p.354; Scott, 2004), which implies relational and network features of the field. Bourdieu's field consists of a 'set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.16). It encompasses the relations among a totality of relevant individual and organisational actors in functionally differentiated parts of society, such as education, health and politics, or in art and literature (Anheier *et al.*, 1995).

The nature of these relations among key actors in terms of, for example, power relations, formalisations, or coordination within the field, is crucial for the organisational experience of complexities (Battilana, 2006; Greenwood *et al.*, 2011). More specifically, in their study examining the role of institutional infrastructure in the organisational experience of complexities in the field of science research production in Australia, Staggs and Wright (2014) show that shifts in relational structures, meaning systems and issue arenas of the field, in line with incursion of market logic, increased the degree of institutional complexities and informed organisational responses.

Moreover, Greenwood *et al.* (2011) suggest that organisational perception of institutional complexity is shaped by field level structures, which may vary according to the degree of maturity, formalization, fragmentation and institutionalization of the organisational fields. Accordingly, one division is the

‘mature and emerging distinction’ that determines the nature and dynamics of organisational response strategies. It is mainly consistent with the institutionalisation degree of fields. Less institutionalized emerging fields are characterized as having a higher degree of uncertainty and complexity, due to lack of established stable institutions, and provide more room for organisational agency (Maguire *et al.*, 2004). However in institutionalized environments, complexities are more predictable and organisations in these fields are less likely to be exposed to pressure (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011, p.336).

On the other hand, the number of uncoordinated constituents upon which an organisation is dependent for legitimacy or material resources, which points to the fragmentation degree of the field, increases the complexity confronting an organisation (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011; Pache and Santos, 2010). In their study depicting the importance of environmental complexity, Meyer *et al.* (1987) showed that environmental fragmentation increases the formal administrative burden. Additionally, the formal or informal organisation of institutional demands also influences the degree of uncertainty and pressure within the field (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011). Underpinning the argument is that ‘while informally organized pressures may lack the intensity of those arising from more formalized, coordinated constituent groups, alternatively, greater formalization may sharpen the specificity’ (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011, p.337). Moreover, Pache and Santos (2010) argued that organisations in moderately centralised and fragmented fields are more like to be exposed to institutional pressures.

From another perspective, pointing out the interwoven relationships among agency, strategy and field conditions, Dorado (2005) defines three dominant forms of field condition, namely ‘opportunity hazy, transparent and opaque’, according to the degree of multiplicity and institutionalization of the field. Authors discuss the importance of field level conditions in determining strategies of agency (Beckert, 1999; Dorado, 2005). Accordingly, highly isolated and highly institutionalized fields are characterized as ‘opportunity opaque’, and do not provide opportunity for agentic action. Partially included institutional referents and substantially institutionalized fields are referred to as ‘opportunity transparent’. In such fields, although opportunities may abound, recognizing these opportunities is dependent on the ability of actors to define new

institutional arrangements and gain support for them. Finally, low institutionalized and highly multiple (fragmented) fields are defined as ‘opportunity hazy’, providing the opportunity for strategic action. It is assumed that variations in the organisational responses to institutional complexities are more likely to occur in these fields.

Taken together, macro-level dynamics, including inter-institutional societal systems, such as polities and field level dimensions, including relational aspects and characterisations, are influential in the endorsement of newly coming institutional logic at the field level, and, in turn inform organisational level experience of, and responses to complexities. The next section engages in organisational level determinants of these dynamics.

2.5.2 Meso-organisational level dynamics

Organisational level dynamics, including organisational positioning in a given field, or organisational characteristics such as organisational structure, ownership, governance, identity and culture are critical in the organisational sense of institutional environments that determine organisational navigation (Besharov and Smith, 2014; Greenwood *et al.*, 2011).

Organisational positioning, either at the centre (e.g. Greenwood and Sudday, 2006) or periphery (e.g. Leblebici *et al.*, 1991) of a given field, and power relations with key actors within the field, are important criteria in determining the degree of pressure exposed (Lounsbury, 2001; Raynard, 2016). For example, Lounsbury (2001) shows that high status schools are more likely to experience activism, more open to sharing information with their school groups and, in turn, more likely to adopt recycling programmes staffed by a full-time recycling coordinator. Similarly, Miller (1998, p.23) explains, ‘the older, the wealthier, high status institutions like Oxford and Cambridge in the UK and Queens and Toronto in Canada have been able to mediate and moderate managerial control from the state...prestigious, wealthy faculties, schools or departments will be subject to less direct external managerial control’. This is also pertinent to organisational and institutional identity, which is important in the interpretation of complexities (Elsbach and Kramer, 1996; Greenwood *et al.*, 2011; Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013; Gioia and Thomas, 1996; Raynard, 2016). While

organisational identity is related to organisational characteristics, institutional identity is associated with organisational adherence to the social community, as in 'we are a bank' or 'we are a university (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011, Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013). In this sense, the perception of organisational or institutional identity, either positively or negatively, and strength of identity have been put forward as critical determinants of responses. While Kodeih and Greenwood (2013) show the importance of identity in organisational responses in their study conducted with four business schools in France, Gioia and Thomas (1996) elucidate how top management team members' perceptions of identity and image, especially desired future image, are key to the sense-making process, and serve as important links between the organisation's internal context and the team members' interpretations of issues under conditions of change.

As another organisational characteristic, organisational culture also matters because it constructs response repertoires through facilitating mutual sense-making processes of institutionalized practice. More specifically, culture functions as a source of cues supporting the 'sense making' action carried out by leaders and 'sense giving' action aimed at affecting internal perceptions (Ravasi and Shultz, 2006). In other words, organisational culture is critical in shaping changes of institutional claims and shared understanding of the identity of an organisation. Smart and John (1996, p.221) note that 'higher education researchers consistently define organisational culture as shared beliefs and values held by organisational members'.

Scholars have evoked the significant role of culture in universities' responses to different institutional demands (e.g. Burnett and Huisman, 2010; Bartell, 2003; Heffernan and Poole, 2005). It is assumed that organisational culture based on strength (weak or strong) and orientation (internal or external) (Bartell, 2003; Sporn, 1996), with bureaucratic, collegial, adhocracy or entrepreneurial cultural values would influence how organisations interpret and address institutional demands. For example, Burnett and Huisman (2010) claim that universities with an entrepreneurial or corporate culture are more flexible in responding to globalizing market forces, than those with a more dominant, bureaucratic or collegial culture. Universities with external orientation and strong culture are more likely to meet the expectations of different institutional demands (Bartell,

2003). This is due to the fact that a strong culture is more likely to encourage different views and strategies for the sake of improvement in the quality of decision-making and problem-solving (Bartell, 2003), and is more tolerant of heterogeneity in viewpoints. Therefore, it is expected that strong cultures are more distinctive than weak cultures (Smart and John, 1996).

While there is comprehensive literature on organisational response strategies to multiple or competing institutional demands, relatively less attention has been paid to the role of the distinctiveness of organisations, that is rooted in a combination of various organisational characteristics, including resourcefulness, status, identity and culture, among others, in the organisational interpretation of complexities, and in turn, organisational response strategies (Besharov and Smith, 2014). In this dissertation, I aim to explore the role of organisational distinctiveness in organisational responses, using the concept of *habitus*, which is explained in the last section of this chapter. The next section is devoted to the internal organisational dynamics in managerial interpretations of institutional complexities.

2.5.3 Intra-organisational dynamics and micro-processes

There have been some attempts to unpack the dynamics of organisational responses by looking inside the organisations (e.g. Bjerregaard and Jonasson, 2013; Kim *et al.*, 2007). Internal dynamics of organisations are important in the representation of how institutional conflict is dealt with (Bjerregaard and Jonasson, 2013; Pache and Santos, 2010; Yu, 2013), and in addressing the different responses of organisations in response to broader institutional forces (Greenwood and Hinings, 1991).

This perspective is pertinent to the micro-processes and sense-making/sense-giving processes (Weick, 1995; Ravasi and Shultz, 2006), and is grounded in the assumption that individual behaviour towards external stimuli is mediated by cognitive representations of those stimuli, as noted by Porac *et al.* (2002). More specifically, it supposes that the environmental interpretations of key participants who are responsible for monitoring, sensing and interacting with external audiences have critical importance in the understanding of organisational responses to the environment (Dill, 1958; Porac *et al.*, 2002). The

importance of the sense-making processes in the adoption and institutionalisation of practices, and in turn, the bottom-up institutional change process, has been recognized by institutional scholars (e.g. Kellogg, 2009; Smets *et al.*, 2012; Reay *et al.*, 2006; 2013; Zilber, 2002). In her study depicting the role of relational spaces inside organisations in the process of change, Kellogg (2009) contributes to our understanding of sense-making processes through extending the concept of free space, using the term 'relational spaces', in which the inclusion of reformers to each work position is added. In her ethnographic study of university hospitals, she shows that subordinates' isolation from defenders of the status quo and their interaction with others, not only for work purposes, but also in social events, and more importantly, their inclusion in decision-making processes (practices targeted for change) are crucial in changes to institutionalized daily practice. She draws attention to the role of sense-making processes between subordinate employees and middle managers in allowing real change to occur.

Reay *et al.*'s (2013) study is important in demonstrating the importance of collective meaning in transforming organisational ideas into practice. Examining how interdisciplinary teamwork reflected practice in healthcare organisations, they show that practice was informed by the process of collective meaning-making, and facilitated by managers through the mechanism of micro level theorizing (creating meaning at an individual level) and encouraging people to try new practices. Additionally, they have contributed to our understanding of the micro-processes in the institutionalization of practice by using the concept of habitualization, 'where repeated activities among a group of individuals became institutionalized through ongoing interaction'. This helps to capture the link between activity and construction of meaning. In a similar vein, Zilber's (2007) study is crucial in furthering our understanding of the micro-processes of sense-making within organisations through exploring the role of discourse. In her study examining the discourses of key actors in the field of higher technology after crises, she shows the importance of their discourses in the meaning-making process, which facilitated the deconstruction and reconstruction of existing institutional orders in the field. More specifically, in this case, narration aiming to share the unified story, with emphasis on the anomalies of the crises which were expressed through declaration of the

importance of technology for the future, resulted in a reconstruction of the institutional order.

Bourdieu also highlights the role of discourse in characterization in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Tatli, 2008). Situating in social contexts, discourses 'reflect contexts and constitute them' (Trowler, 2001, p.186). Discourse matters for the sense-making process and, in turn, is functional in the creation (e.g. Lawrence and Philips, 2004; Zilber, 2007), maintenance and disruption of institutional fields. For example, Lawrence and Philips (2004) elucidate how changes in the discourse of Hollywood movies (popular culture) towards anti-whaling discourse affected the adoption of a humanistic image of whales in the local context of Victoria. Similarly, Philips *et al.*, (2004) also point out the relationship between discourse and institutionalisation process. Overall, the analysis of discourse in higher education is important not only because it will provide a better insight into the higher education field, but also because that very discourse provides legitimacy for the strategies of university managers, who need to justify their strategies. Van Ameijde *et al.* (2009) refer to 'higher education discourse, in which the academic language of deans, students, and courses has become increasingly displaced by language of line-managers, customers, and products'. In this sense, for example, neo-liberal discourses in the field of higher education would strengthen the acceptance of managerialism logic and reduce the resistance of universities to institutional pressures.

Additionally, group dynamics (e.g. Bjerregaard and Jonasson, 2013), members' attitudes, and leadership team qualities (e.g. George *et al.*, 2006; Kim *et al.*, 2007) are crucial for the sense-making process and internal representation of institutional complexities. As put forward by institutional scholars, actors inside the organisations can be influential in replacement of new institutional logic (Dunn and Jones, 2010; Reay and Hinings, 2009), or determining organisational response strategies to competing institutional logics (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Bjerragaard and Jonasson, 2013; Pache and Santos, 2010). For example, Bjerregaard and Jonasson (2013) show how contestations of interest groups and the HRM systems within which these groups, operate, shape the organisational experience and enactment of novel institutional complexity. Similarly, in their study examining sources of change in logics within professions, Dunn and Jones

(2010) found that contestation among physicians supported dominance of care logic, and dampened the previously dominant science logic. In this sense, understanding the internal tensions and contradictions among members would help to draw a complete picture of the dynamics of organisational responses (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013).

Taken together, these studies draw attention to the importance of the sense-making process, which is achieved through stories told by key actors or shared platforms, facilitating the collective meaning-making process for internal and external stakeholders and, in turn, influencing the adoption of new practices and restructuration of existing institutional orders.

Overall, I have provided theoretical grounding depicting the importance of interrelationships between institutional logics, and their embodiment within the organisation in different variations, conditioned by the interweaving of macro-field level, meso-organisational level and internal dynamics of organisations which, in turn, shape organisational responses to institutional complexities. Within the scope of this doctoral study, focusing on organisational distinctiveness, I aim to explore organisational responses to institutional complexities from a relational perspective by viewing the development of organisational agency as a reflexive process. In this sense, Bourdieu's (1990, 1993, 2000) core concept of *habitus* at the meso-relational level is employed in understanding the macro, meso and micro level influences on organisational responses, in order to provide a reflexive, process-relational and multi-layered picture of organisational responses. In this thesis, I argue that managerial interpretations of institutional complexities should be understood as being inextricably linked to the organisational *habitus* and macro-field of organisations. In the next section, I have introduced Bourdieu's sociology and the concept of *habitus* with its operationalization and value in understanding managerial interpretations of institutional complexity.

2.6 Bourdieu's theory of practice and the concept of *habitus*

Bourdieu's theory of practice (1986, 1990, 1993, 2000) offers an effective framework to transcend such dualisms of agency versus structure, and meso versus macro through his core concept of *habitus*. The theory is employed for this study at an organisational level in linking macro to meso foundations of organisations as a reflexive process for the in-depth understanding of the dynamics of organisational responses to institutional complexities. I start the discussion of Bourdieu's theory of practice with a presentation of alternative perspectives aiming to tackle the dualism of agency and structure, after which the basic concepts offered by Bourdieu are introduced.

Alternative approaches such as critical realism (e.g. Leca and Naccache, 2006) and relational sociology (e.g. Delbridge and Edwards, 2007, 2008; Edwards and Jones, 2008; Mutch, 2007) have emerged, aiming to unpack such dualism of rational choice model of agency and structural determinism in an attempt to resolve the 'paradox of embedded agency' (Holm, 1995; Seo and Creed, 2002). In their study examining different relational perspectives by taking into account the philosophical foundations (i.e. ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions) of those approaches, Mutch *et al.* (2006) suggest that these approaches should pay attention to different dynamics of relationships, although each of them acknowledges the interface of agency and structure. As such, the authors maintain that the works of Archer (1995), who is a prominent writer of critical realism, together with those of Emirbayer and Mische (1998), as scholars of relational paradigm, are useful in illuminating the agency and structure relationship, and enabling frameworks for explaining innovation and change. On the other hand, Bourdieu's core concept of *habitus* is referred to as being powerful in explaining both continuity and change, rather than innovation *per se*. *Habitus* is a concept which transcends the dichotomy of agency versus structure, as will be spelt out in the ensuing paragraphs. In another article making a case for a Bourdieuan relational framework in understanding change in the information systems domain, Tatli *et al.* (forthcoming) argue that most of the extant literature on critical realist approaches fails to offer empirical

evidence in their treatment of the dualism between human agency and social structure.

Bourdieu's social theory of practice generates a roadmap for understanding the interplay between structure and agency, and hence offers a relational framework. Its empirical operationalization in different subject domains in management and organisation studies is evident in the following studies: Tatli (2009), Karatas-Ozkan (2011), De Clercq and Voronov (2009), Levina (2005), and Vaughan (2008). His theory is based on the following core interacting concepts: capital, *habitus* and field (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005). In the Bourdieuan sense, while capital means a wide variety of power resources (Harker *et al.*, 1990; Swartz, 2008) including tangible and intangible forms (Anheier *et al.*, 1995), *habitus* refers to generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices (Bourdieu, 1998). Field refers to fluid and dynamic entities which are made up by the interactions between institutions and rules and practices (Tatli *et al.*, forthcoming; Webb *et al.*, 2002). Lounsbury and Ventresca (2003) discuss the importance of the Bourdieu's concept of field in exploring structure and agency systematically in a single framework.

Based on these arguments, Bourdieu's conceptual framework in general, and the concept of *habitus* in particular, are valuable in explaining the complexity and multi-dimensional nature of organisational responses to institutional complexities. The following sections of this chapter describe the concept of organisational *habitus* and its operationalization for this study, as well as the value of the concept in unpacking the dynamics of organisational responses in complex institutional environments, which is the main interest of this work.

2.6.1 Organisational *habitus*

The core orienting concept of Bourdieuan perspective is *habitus*, which came from Husserl and was developed in opposition to modernisation in the 1960s (Vincent, 2004, p.140). In the Bourdieuan sense, *habitus* refers to 'generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices such as what the worker eats, and especially the way he eats it, the sport he practices and the way he practices it' (Boudieu, 1998, p.8). *Habitus* consists of 'a set of historical relations "deposited" within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of

perception, appreciation, and action' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.16). Pointing to the historical aspect of *habitus*, Weber *et al.* (2002) stated that:

Habitus can be understood as the values and dispositions gained from our cultural history that generally stay with us across contexts (durable and transposable). These values and dispositions (*habitus*) allow us to respond to cultural rules and contexts in a variety of ways. But are always largely determined by cultural contexts. Weber *et al.*, 2002, pp.36-37).

More specifically, Weber *et al.* (2002, p.135) provide key aspects and assumptions of *habitus* through highlighting its role in the '-construction of knowledge actively, influence of the way of behaviours and practices', as well as its 'constitutions in moments and operation of partly unconsciously'. Overall, the *habitus* perspective is opposed to the assumption that 'all practices are informed by notion of power, politics and self-interest, but for particular unconsciousness' (Weber *et al.*, 2002, p.135). Bourdieu (1977, pp.78-78) describes 'unconsciousness' as 'forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second natures of the habitus'.

Organisational *habitus*, which, embedded in organisational culture, interaction and practices, functions like a silent convention (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1984), and informally governs the conduct of action and interaction in the organisation and shapes decision-making processes (Tatli, 2008). In other words, practices are formulated from dispositions that are facilitated through unconscious interactions with others (Hallet, 2003), and because of this unconsciousness 'the persistence of practices lies in their taken-for-granted quality and their reproduction in structures, that are, to a great extent, self-sustaining' (Vaughan, 2008).

Based on the definitions of *habitus*, the concept resembles other concepts, such as culture and identity in governing the practices of organisations. It is important to elucidate the similarities and differences of these concepts for an understanding of its value. First, culture and *habitus* are closely interrelated concepts. However, by embedding in organisational culture (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), *habitus* allows for in-depth examination of the interplay between the individual and collective, while the main focus of culture is the

collective (Karatas-Ozkan, 2011). On the other hand, identity is defined as 'the creation of claimed central character...the creation of claimed distinctiveness [and] the creation of claimed temporal continuity' (Albert and Whetten, 1985, p.265). This definition evokes three components of identity, which are the central, distinctive and enduring characteristics of an organisation (Glynn, 2008), resembling the notion of *habitus*. However, *habitus* as a concept takes account of individual dispositions and inter-group dynamics, which largely derives from the history of the organisation.

Altogether, and, different from similar concepts, *habitus* is a useful tool that bridges capitals, strategies and field. The interdependency and relationality between these aspects of social phenomena form the heart of the Bourdieu's theory (Tatli, 2008; Tatli *et al.*, forthcoming; Vaughan, 2008). In the current study, the intertwined nature of organisational *habitus*, macro-organisational field and organisational dynamics is of key import in understanding the dynamics of organisational response, and holds particular value in the field of higher education. As highlighted by Schuetze and Bruneau (2004, p.3), reform in higher education is a '*result of external factors and forces, as it is of the internal lives and histories of universities and colleges*'.

2.6.2 Operationalization of *habitus*

Habitus is usually operationalized at the meso-relational level (e.g. Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005; Karatas-Ozkan, 2011; Tatli, 2008) and is frequently employed without being defined and operationalized at all (Sweetman, 2009). Within the scope of this study, and focusing on distinctive organisational characteristics stemming from historical origins in the understanding of organisational responses to complexities, I use this concept at an organisational level, which is elucidated in this section.

Considering the operationalization of *habitus* at a different level, for example, Sriniva (2013) uses the concept of *habitus* at an individual level. In his study, employing the autobiography of 'Beyond Punjab', Sriniva (2013) illustrates how managerial (or professional) *habitus* is shaped by different forms of capital, experiences and social conditions that shape managerial identity and practices, and vice versa, using the example of Tandom, who was at first an Indian

subaltern, but became chairman of the large foreign-owned company, Unilever. Tandom's managerial identity and *habitus* were shaped by dispositions derived from the environment he grew up in, the Khatri community, social ties, cultural capital, managerial experiences and social learning process. His engineering education background, and his father having served as a civil engineer contributed to his patient apprenticeship and consistent organisational loyalty. In more detail, he learned to deal with difficulties, particularly those which derived from unethical, rude and discriminatory behaviour of colleagues, through welcoming and responding in a sarcastic way; he constructed the duality of his core identity, Punjabi and British, through internalizing the second one, adjusting himself to the culture of Unilever and adopting professional managerialism. Srinivas (2013) study is important in showing how adoption of individual level practices and development of professional managerial identity is shaped by individual-level *habitus*.

At an organisational level, the adoption of organisational level practices and organisational identity is also shaped by *habitus*. More specifically, the structural and symbolic aspects of *habitus* have been implied at organisational level (Tatli, 2008). While structural aspects are crystallised in the organisational culture, symbolic aspects include multiple micro *habitus*, which entails intergroup relationships and employees' reactions and attitudes towards organisational policies and practices (Tatli, 2008). Therefore, a particularly significant aspect of organisational *habitus* is pertinent to organisational culture and group dynamics.

Building on the extant studies (e.g. Karatas-Ozkan, 2011; Tatli, 2008) and my data sources, I have interpreted organisational *habitus* here at a meso-level. Accordingly, within this context, organisational distinct characterisations, stemming from historical origins, are evaluated as components of organisational *habitus*. Rather than articulation of particular elements, I have evaluated *habitus* as a combination of several elements rooted in historical context, which are: general resourcefulness, institutional heritage deriving from establishment roots, distinctiveness in particular departments, institutional orientation and organisational culture. This is because these elements matter in providing response repertoires and driving organisational choices. This has been

elucidated in the Findings Chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8), in detail. The next section engages with the value of organisational *habitus* for better understanding of the dynamics of organisational responses to institutional complexities.

2.6.3 Value of organisational *habitus* in understanding organisational responses

The concept of organisational *habitus* holds particular value in unpacking the dynamics of organisational responses to institutional complexities, which is discussed in this section. *Habitus* provides a theoretical framework linking macro to meso foundations as a reflexive process, and providing knowledge about social interactions, inter-group dynamics and practices within firms, in order to complete the picture of the dynamics of organisational responses (Thornton *et al.*, 2012). As noted by Thornton *et al.*, (2012, p. 86) 'we need to get inside organisations and understand how social interactions within firms shape understanding of complexity'.

In other words, *habitus* gives insights as to whether different kinds of organisations are likely to reproduce collective beliefs, to a greater or lesser extent, which may influence decision-making processes when faced with institutional complexities (Vaughan, 2008). It is assumed that while the *habitus* of organisations is influenced by macro dynamics of the field, organisations which have developed strong *habitus* are more likely to respond actively to institutional pressures, and in turn, influence field level changes. Overall, I argue that managerial interpretations of institutional complexities should be understood as inextricably linked to the organisational *habitus* and macro-field of organisations.

This current study aims to explore the importance of holistic insights into organisational responses to institutional complexities through the concept of *habitus* in the field of higher education, whereby universities are exposed to institutional pressures due to the emergence of market logic, which is embedded at a broader level in 'managerial logic'.

2.7 Conclusion to the chapter

The theoretical framework of this study, which is grounded by the dynamics of organisational responses to institutional complexities, has been provided in this chapter. I started the chapter by briefly highlighting the initial discussions of institutional scholars, which relied on structural perspectives of institutional theory, and also recognized the presence of contested institutional logics and homogeneity of organisational responses. I then moved on to the recent literature, which provides comprehensive understanding of organisational responses through interrogating interrelationships among a multiplicity of institutional logics in different variations, and their organisational implications, with a focus on macro-field level, meso-organisational level and intra-organisational level determinants. Extending the current scholar conversation, in the subsequent section, I discussed the value of Bourdieu's social theory of practice in resolving the dichotomy of agency and structure, and linking meso to macro foundations of organisations, through the concept of *habitus*, which provides better understanding of the dynamics of organisational responses.

The next chapter (Chapter 3) is devoted to discussions on the main rationale behind neo-liberal politics, with particular reference to how changes in the wider socio-political and economic environment have exerted intense pressure over higher education institutions in different national contexts.

Chapter 3: Higher Education Field

3.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter examines higher education fields, whereby universities are exposed to institutional pressures in line with the implementation of new public management (NPM) reforms. More specifically, I discuss the main rationale of the new public management (NPM) reforms and their particular influence over higher education fields, as well as the distinctiveness of the higher education field, with particular reference to its suitability for this research. The chapter begins with an introduction and looks at the implications of the NPM reforms, with a particular focus on the encroachment of managerial logic on the field of higher education. This is followed by a section that concerns the delineation of differences in the implementation of these reforms in different national contexts, on the basis of variations in broader level polity. The next section is concerned with implications of the new public management reforms within the field.

3.2 New public management reforms

New public management (NPM) reforms were introduced across the globe in the 1980s as a new policy paradigm (Deem *et al.*, 2007) and global phenomenon (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000). NPM, managerialism and governance are different concepts in the implementation of these reforms. While NPM reforms emphasize the international and administrative technical dimensions of reform, new managerialism implies the political dimension of management, rather than merely technical reforms (Deem and Brehony, 2005). However, they are all used in reference to 'revolutionary reforms' that challenge the assumptions and practices of neo-corporatist managerialism, which put forward elitism, 'provider-driven ideology' and 'bureau-professionalism' in public services (Cavalho, 2014; Deem *et al.*, 2007). Within the scope of this work, NPM reforms and new managerialism have been used interchangeably. The ideology of new managerialism refers to 'deregulation of (financial) markets, minimizing role of the government, promotion of the privatization and public-private collaborations, weakening of labour unions, labour market protections and institutions of social protection' (Palley, 2004, p.6). It dictates the redefining of

the roles of public organisations in congruence with the principles of free market (Lorenz, 2012), which is anchored in market logic.

In line with these reforms, public sector organisations have undergone transformations in organisational forms, practices, strategies, etc., in general (e.g. Ferlie *et al.*, 2003; Hinings *et al.*, 2003; Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006). In other words, these reforms are assessed as the tool for ‘constructing organisations’ in terms of identity, hierarchy and rationality, congruent with corporate values, with the ideology of rendering public organisations more ‘complete’, as discussed by Brunsson and Sahlin-Anderson (2000). In particular, demands of new managerialism have been more challenging for service provider organisations such as health care and higher education institutions, where it is linked with strong professional culture (Carvalho, 2014; Canhilal and Lepori, 2014; Pollitt *et al.*, 2007). These reforms have meant evolving the role of the state from ‘commander’ and ‘funder’ to ‘facilitator’ and partial funder (Reale and Seeber, 2013) and required, for example, universities to find new ways of funding in exchange for more autonomy and decreasing academic freedom in several ways (Jeppeson and Nazar, 2012). Hence, the internal management structures, systems and practices, and professional academic culture of universities, as well as their role in society, have changed dramatically (e.g. Brown, 2011; Deem *et al.*, 2007; Geschwing and Karlsson, 2014; Gornitzka, 1999; Fumasoli, 2014; McNulty and Ferlie, 2004; Kweik, 2014; Reale and Seeber, 2013; Shattock, 2010). Table 3.1 shows elements adhering to bureaucratic logic and managerial logic, which is demanded by new managerialism ideology, with pertinent references (e.g. Canhilal and Lepori, 2014, Vilkas and Katiliute, 2014)

Table 3.1 Conflicting institutional logics: 'Academic professionalism' versus 'managerial'

<i>Logics Elements</i>	Academic professionalism logic	Managerial logic
<i>Rationality Legitimacy</i>	Bureaucratic, legal professional rationality and Logic of appropriateness Procedural legitimacy Based on academic values	Economic rationality (formal means-end rational action) Logic of consequentiality Legitimacy by results Mean-to-consequential
<i>Mission</i>	The State as policy-maker with superior position in society serving public interest and citizens	Public organisations as providers of services achieving specific objectives and serving clients/customers
<i>Central values</i>	Legality, correctness, neutrality, equity, objectivity, loyalty, security, secrecy Continuity and stability	Performance, effectiveness and efficiency, prudence Change, flexibility and adoption
<i>Evaluation criteria / focus of attention</i> <i>Resourcing (legitimacy)</i> <i>Status</i>	Rules, inputs, responsibilities, duties and rights Internal orientation Reputation and network-based Importance of excellence	Fixed/single goals, results (outputs, outcomes) External orientation Performance-based Importance of rankings
<i>Model of governance</i>	Bureaucratic governance based on laws, rules and directives with strict accountability towards the sovereign and tight and multiple control of correctness Hierarchical, centralised and united system	Contractual governance based on objectives, results, performance measurement and management tools within a competitive environment Decentralised and fragmented system with managerial autonomy
<i>Employment status</i>	Sectoral close, densely regulated; special status (life-time tenure) to guarantee neutrality; Closed recruitment and career patterns with little mobility based on seniority	Sectoral openness based on private sector employment laws Flexible and open career patterns based on performance

Source: Meyer and Hammerschmid, 2006, Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013, Townley, 2002, Thornton and Ocaiso, 1999, Ferlie *et al.* 2008, Jongbloed, 2008, Paradeise and Thoenig 2013.

Drawing on an empirical study of public sector organisations in Austria, Meyer and Hammerschmid (2006) offer a new typology of institutional logics that demonstrates a shift from bureaucratic logic to managerialism logic, along the dimensions of rationality-legitimacy, mission, central values, evaluation criteria, model of governance and employment status. Although implementation of these reforms differs on the basis of contextual (national and field-level) setting, which will be elaborated in more detail in the following section, their typology is important in presenting general prescriptions demanded by each logic and paving the way for studies on specific contexts. For example, in their study arguing that universities are becoming more externally oriented towards legitimacy concerns, Geschwind and Karlsson (2014) document the importance of external references such as the state, intermediaries, EU and other higher education institutions in the official communication and, in turn, strategy-making processes of universities, due to concerns about reputation and status. In a case study in a Norwegian context, focusing on the changes of organisational routines in the academic recruitment process of the University of Oslo, Fumasoli (2014) discusses the increasing complexity of this process, with additional new stages such as trial lectures, research seminars and inquiries into references, which are evaluated not only by internal members, e.g. heads of departments and professors, but also by newly evolved external committees. During this process, not only academic achievements, but also non-scientific criteria, such as academic leadership have been an important consideration. More importantly, candidates were informed about academic freedom in research, which might be restricted according to the number of students and availability of research funding.

In summary, the conflicting prescriptions demanded by new managerialism, combined with the distinct characteristics of the higher education field, which is a concern of the following section, has escalated institutional pressures on higher education institutions.

3.3 Implications for study: Comparative understanding of higher education contexts and selection of higher education fields

Seeking to explore the role of organisational distinctiveness in coping with institutional pressures, I chose the higher education field as a research context, since universities are exposed to a greater degree of institutional pressures across the globe in line with the implications of new public management reforms that dictate the infusion of market values into public organisations.

Several distinct characteristics, along with the established professional culture, as discussed in the previous section, render the higher education field crucial to address the research question of this study. This field tends to be fragmented, due to the variety of internal and external stakeholders (Bartell, 2003), which has intensified with the adoption of new managerialism. More specifically, the institutional shift towards managerialism logic has caused the field of higher education to become more decentralized due to the devolved agency of the state, and more fragmented on account of the increasing numbers of actors in the field, such as ranking agencies and funding agencies (e.g. Enderson *et al.*, 2013; Reale and Seeber, 2011). As articulated by Pache and Santos (2010), organisations situated in decentralised and fragmented fields are exposed to more institutional pressures owing to the diversity of the institutional actors, whose demands might differ from each other and conflict with the values of the organisation.

Additionally, as authentic organisations, higher education institutions are internally highly fragmented, in which with faculties and departments might differ in terms of culture and practices (Miller, 1998). This characterization lays emphasis on the importance of the internal dynamics of universities in strategizing processes. As highlighted by Schuetze and Bruneau (2004, p.3), reform in higher education is as much a result of 'external factors and forces, as it is of the internal lives and histories of universities and colleges'.

Furthermore, universities are loosely-coupled systems, due to the duality between academicians and administrators (see Bartell, 2003; Weik, 1976; Orton

and Weick, 1990). Bartell (2003) refers to 'the conflict in values and belief systems in universities between the professors, which highly value autonomy and academic freedom on the one hand, and administrators, which are oriented to maintenance of the administrative system on the other'. These misalignments between academics and administrators, which escalate the tension and negation between different organisational members and groups, render strategy-making processes more challenging in the face of institutional pressures.

Overall, the highly established professional culture, fragmented and decentralised nature of the field, internal fragmentation of universities, as well as the duality between academics and administrators within the universities together highlight conflicting interests, which, in turn, intensifies the institutional pressures. Therefore, these complex and authentic characterizations make this an interesting setting for the study of response strategies and institutional pressures (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011).

Although NM and NPM reforms are intended for all OECD member countries (Sozen and Shaw, 2002), their effect on higher education fields, and the nature of institutional pressure exerted over HEIs varies, based on the national context (Pollitt, 2000). While higher education fields in some countries (e.g. UK, New Zealand) are immersed in the ideology of new managerialism, others are more selective in the adoption of these reforms (e.g. Nordic countries) (e.g. Pollitt *et. al.*, 2007). Within the scope of this research, I have employed cross-cultural comparative study in search of the role of distinctiveness of organisations in strategizing processes when faced with institutional complexities. Cross-cultural comparison has a particular value for this research, since it allows us to observe different *habitus*, which are more likely to be captured in different contexts, and helps us to understand the role of the *habitus* in strategizing processes, which is a theoretical interest of this study. It therefore generates a richer and more transferable theory.

In doing so, I purposefully selected Canadian, UK and Turkish higher education fields, whereby implementation of NPM reforms differs, due to their distinctive characteristics in terms of basic values and dominant ideologies, which will be elucidated in the following sections. As shown in Table 3.2, similar initiatives

have been taken by governments in these contexts, with the election of one Conservative government. In this line, public spending was controlled with the reforms of public organisations and services, aiming to challenge the assumptions and practices of neo-corporatist managerialism, which put forward elitism, 'provider-driven ideology' and 'bureau-professionalism' in public services (Deem *et al.*, 2007). However, success of these reforms has varied, primarily due to differences in state structure and characterizations of the fields within the different contexts.

While Canada and the UK reflect Anglo-Saxon traditions, and there are similarities in the 'nature of civil society, the place of universities, their range of activities, questions of autonomy, academic freedom and funding' (Miller, 1998, p.11), there are differences as well, that also influence the pace of instigation of market values into the higher education field in these contexts. The following quote illustrates differences in the pace of adoption of these reforms in different contexts:

The whole nature of universities, the funding for universities, whether universities represent a public benefit or a private good, therefore who pays, has been very much, and that's an area where we are following what the US started to do 35 years ago (1980 again) and some of the State universities started to charge fees. And gradually that has just increased as politicians, funding crises have meant that -. People have said "Well it is a private good really, so the individual should pay." And it's either directly paying or it's a deferred payment and graduate tax. And that of course the fact that's happening relatively quickly in the UK compared to certainly the US, is causing some instability in the market (Senior-level Manager, UoS).

More specifically, in the Canadian context, higher education is governed by the federal government, rather than one great governing agency. The federal structure of the state, dominance of public universities and colleges, remarkable institutional autonomy and bicameral university governance render delivery of higher education salient in this context (Cameron, 1992). Due to the federal state structure, higher education is the shared responsibility of provincial and federal government, which results in highly decentralized funding system (Cameron, 1992; Jones *et al.*, 2002). Accordingly, while provinces have a direct and central role in developing legislation, and regulating and coordinating HEIs, the federal government provides an indirect, but crucial role in shaping higher education (Cameron, 1992; Schuetze and Bruneau, 2004).

These salient characterisation of the field influence implementation and successes of the new public management reforms. Election of a conservative

government under Brian Mulroney in 1984 was influential in instigation of the neo-liberal ideology. During this term, HEIs experienced gradually reduced federal government transfer payments for HEIs (Lavoie, 2009; Shanahan and Jones, 2007), which resulted in evolving role of the government from 'funder and provider of research' to 'catalyst and initiator of research' (Jones *et al.*, 2002; Jones, 2013). Importantly, due to federal structuration, adoption of these widely varied, depending on the ideological stance of the provincial government (Glor, 2001). For example, the provinces of Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario, in which neo-liberal government was in power, experienced huge budget cuts from federal government during the 1990s.

Consider the UK context, state structure is characterized by unitary government which is federal in some substances. While direct supports are provided in the form of 'block grant', indirect supports are delivered through research councils (Baskerville, 2013). The UK context is known with fully and radically adoption of the NPM reforms (Deem and Brehony, 2005; Glor, 2001; Pollitt *et al.*, 2007). The election of a conservative party under Margaret Thatcher in 1979 paved the way financial withdrawal of government from HEIs, and subsequent changes in the policy field of higher education. The decline in 'block grants' from the Government, has increased the dependency of universities on other sources of income, such as tuition fees or funding agencies, which, in turn, restricts institutional autonomy and academic freedom (Middleton, 2000). More specifically, the Labour Government accordingly introduced tuition fees of £1,000 a year and abolished the remaining student grant in 1998. This was followed by fee increases of up to £3,000 a year, supported by a tuition fee loan in 2006, and up to £9,000 per annum in 2012 (by the Conservative Government). These changes in the funding environment has meant decentralisation of the administrative and financial authority of HEIs. Accordingly, government's role also evolved from 'funder and provider of research' to 'facilitator and coordinator'.

Turkey is governed by a unitary and highly centralised government, and presents distinctly different cultural and political values. Turkish higher education field is characterised by highly centralised governance, direct governmental interventions and political pressures, but also a culture of partisanship and

clientelism, which has been evident throughout the history of higher education in this context (Dolen, 2009; 2010; Umunc, 1986). In particular, establishment of the Higher Education Council (YOK) as the central and governing agency of higher education field, with a law in 1981, resulted in increasing government control with a more centralised system (Umunc, 1986). Accordingly, not only removal of administrative autonomy of universities, with a new Law, but also increasing governmental interferences, partisanship and clientism culture restricted autonomy of universities and academic freedom in the Turkish context. The election of conservative power under Turgut Ozal in 1989 triggered penetration of neo-liberalism in various sectors within the country (Cizreliogullari, 2013). While centralised and highly bureaucratic culture increases success of these reforms, party patronage and clientelism restrict their implementation (Sozen and Shadow, 2002, p. 481), which is investigated in more detail in the Chapter 5. Overall, differences in the higher education fields in these countries stem from the structure of the State, funding sources of higher education, autonomy and governance structures of universities, which are summarised in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Comparison of Higher Education Fields

Countries Elements	Turkey	Canada	UK
Government, main implications	1989 election of a Conservative Government under Turgut Ozal	1984 election of the Conservative government under Brian Mulroney	1979 election of a Conservative government under Thatcher
Structure of state	Unitary government Significant state influence Centralised	Anglo-Saxon tradition, Federal government	Anglo-Saxon tradition Unitary government (but federal in some substances)
Implementation degree of new public management reforms	Constrained (e.g. Sozen and Shadow, 2002; Topaler <i>et al.</i> , 2015) Financial withdrawal of government is minimum (as indexes from 100 to 91) Trade capital (from 19 to %38) Student fees (from %2 to from %5)	Widely adopted, depending on the province (e.g. Glor, 2001) Financially withdrawal of federal government Provincial government (7% cutbacks from Alberta)	Radically and fully applied (Pollitt <i>et al.</i> , 2007) Financially withdrawal of government Student fees (tripled, from 15% to 44 % in 2012, from £3000 to £9000) funding body grants (19,8%), research grants and contracts (16,5%)
Funding Management and Responsibility level	Highly centralized Central governmental agency (YOK)	Decentralised Shared responsibility of federal and provincial government -Direct costs of research comes from federal government, indirect costs comes from province	Relatively centralized (although government gives autonomy to universities, still controls) Fund management: Quango (a quasi non-governmental organisation) agency
Universities' autonomy	Low	High (relatively)	High

3.4 Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter began with an account of the new public management reforms and their implications for public organisations and higher education fields, in particular. Accordingly, justification for the selection of the higher education

field as a research context has been elucidated. I then introduced the research contexts of this study, which are Turkish, Canadian and UK higher education fields, placing particular emphasis on the salient characteristics of these fields and the implications of NPM reforms on them.

The following chapter (Chapter 4) will engage with the methodological concern of this doctoral study, in which the underpinning philosophical assumptions, research strategy, data collection process and analysis procedures are detailed.

PART TWO: METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter gives an account of the research methodology of this doctoral study, which relies on qualitative case studies, informed by the principles of constructivism as a research philosophy. My starting point to this chapter is a description of the research design, in which different phases of the research process are explained in sequential order. Subsequent sections include a discussion on the components of the research design, which are: research philosophy; research method; data collection techniques and data sources from different contexts; data analysis procedures and critical evaluation of the strategies for the trustworthiness of the findings, with emphasis on a reflexive account of the research process.

Herewith, the aim of this chapter is to provide a description and justification of the employed research methodology in light of the theoretical interest and research questions of this doctoral study, which is mainly concerned with exploration of the role of organisational distinctiveness in better understanding the dynamics of organisational responses to conflicting institutional pressures from a relational perspective, by viewing the development of organisational agency as a reflexive process. More specifically, the research objectives are set out as:

- to understand how organisational responses to institutional complexities are situated in macro-level field dynamics
- to explore the role of the organisational *habitus* in framing managerial perceptions of institutional pressures, and, in turn, the organisational responses.

I have followed the traditional research methodology process, beginning with a literature review and philosophical assumptions that inform the research process, including research method, data collection and data analysis procedures, as well as the approach to writing up the research (Myers, 2009).

Since the principles of constructivist grounded theory are employed in this study, detailed in the following section, I adopted an iterative and reflexive approach when moving between theory and data. In this respect, although the literature review, data collection and analysis phases informed each other and were conducted iteratively during the research process, this chapter covers each phase in sequential order.

The components of the methodology pertinent to this research are discussed in the following sections. The first section sets out the philosophical assumptions of the scientific research, with an emphasis on constructivism as the underpinning research philosophy adopted in this doctoral study.

4.2 Research Philosophy

Philosophy refers to '*an integrated set of assumptions, beliefs, and models of doing good research, and techniques for gathering and analysing data*' (Neuman, 2006, p. 41), which may be termed as a paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). These assumptions determine what science means and inform the existence of reality (ontology), the way of acquiring knowledge either objectively or subjectively (epistemology), and the approach of conducting fieldwork (methodology), as well as the role of the researcher during the research process (axiology) (Creswell, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Although there are two main opposite paradigms (research philosophies), which are positivism and social constructionism, (Kalof *et al.*, 2008) on the basis of ontological, epistemological and methodological distinctions, there are different classifications of paradigms, according to the interplay of different levels of ontological and epistemological stance. For example, critical theories (including feminist, racist, ethnic) (see Neuman, 2006; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Myers, 2009), postpositivism (including critical realism), and participatory/cooperative stances (postmodern) (see Denzin and Lincoln 2011) are accepted as alternative paradigms, in addition to positivism and constructionism. Moreover, Easterby-Smith (2012) introduces a distinction between stronger and more normal versions of positivism and constructivism. Judging from the literature on research paradigms, there is no consensus about the concise categorization of

different paradigms according to the underpinning ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions.

Awareness of philosophical positions is critical for a situated understanding of the research philosophy employed for this study. This situated perspective not only helps to clarify each phase of the inquiry process, including formulating research questions, data collection, analysing and interpretation procedures, and use of language in the presentation of the work, but it also informs us about the approaches and limitations of each phase (Easterby-Smith, 2012). In summary, awareness of different philosophical assumptions is critical for the creativity of the researcher and quality of the research.

Constructivism was adopted as a research philosophy in this study. Therefore, particular emphasis was placed upon explanations of constructivism and its difference from alternative paradigms, rather than portraying each paradigm in detail. The following section is devoted to this discussion.

4.2.1 Constructivism

This section gives an account of previous works on constructivism, as well as the principles of constructivism in ontological, epistemological and methodological issues. More specifically, subjectivism, interpretivism and grounded theory are presented in this section as underlying ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions which are informed by constructivism.

Constructivism, as an anti-positivist research paradigm, appeared during the 19th century with contributions from German writers such as Wilhelm Dilthey, Edmund Husserl and Max Weber, among others. Weber (1949) contributed to constructivism through his concept of *versehen*, which refers to the process of subjectivist interpretive understanding of context-specified knowledge, which is co-constructed through interactions between people. Being influenced by hermeneutic tradition, which is the contextualised understanding and interpretation of words in documents, Dilthey (1900) mentioned the importance

of the dialectic and iterative process of situated understanding, and put forward hermeneutics as a research methodology in search of subjectivist and interpretivist understanding of social reality. Husserl's (1912) contribution to constructivism was through his development of phenomenology, which focuses on the reflection of experiences (Constantino, 2008).

Based on these theoretical foundations, constructivism was evident in the work of scholars including W. I. Thomas (1931), Alfred Schutz (1962, 1964, 1967, 1970), and Herbert Blumer (1969), during the 20th century. But this perspective gained momentum with Berger and Lukmann's (1966) publication of *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Constantino, 2008; Fox, 2008; Holstein and Gubrium, 2011). Therefore, it is obvious that this paradigm draws on a deep tradition of German and French social science and philosophy (Kalof *et al.*, 2008). Overall, manifesting the underlying assumptions of positivism in a quest for social reality, these writers argued for co-construction of social reality through interpretations of the researcher and social actors included in the research process. Focusing on the human sciences, meaning-making process and interpretive understanding (*Verstehen*), rather than natural sciences to explain the phenomena (*Erklärung*), these scholars aimed to explore social reality through looking at the interactions among people within particular contexts (Constantino, 2008). Constructivism hereby employs a relativist ontology, monistic subjectivist (transactional) epistemology and a hermeneutic, dialectical methodology. Rejecting the objective knowledge that could be retrieved from the social world, relativistic ontology assumes that reality is relative, multiple and socially constructed, being created by interactions between people. Epistemologically, the theory of knowledge is co-constructed subjectively through the inherent interaction and interpretation of the researcher and participants during the research process. Methodologically, research is carried out as a dialectic and iterative process, in which meaning-making is achieved through an iterative approach between the parts and the whole (Easterby-Smith, 2012). Constructivist researchers hence aim to capture part of the social reality based on their subjective research experience, which enables them to adopt a more idiographic form of explanation and inductive reasoning (Neuman, 2006).

More specifically, social reality is created with naturalistic and interpretative questioning of *how* and *why*. It seeks to discover *how* social action and order are accomplished, *what* is being accomplished, under *what* conditions, and out of *what* resources. These questionings point to the reflexive and dynamic relationship between agency and structure, as implied by Holstein and Gubrium (2011):

Analysis of reality construction is now re-engaging questions concerning the broad cultural and the institutional contexts of meaning making and social order. This concern for constructive action-in-context not only makes it possible to understand more fully the construction process, but also foregrounds the realities themselves that enter into and are reflexively produced by the process (Holstein and Gubrium, 2011, p.342).

This interpretive approach in the quest for the theory of knowledge attaches a central role to the researcher during the inquiry process. Interpretations of the researcher are informed by their own background, history, context and prior understanding, which put forward the reflexivity concerns of the process. A reflexive account of the research process, which is discussed in the last section of this chapter, is more critical for the interpretivist approaches in the accurate reflection of the data. Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 4) evaluate the researcher in this bent 'as bricoleur as a maker of quilts, or as in film making, a person who assembles images into montage deploy whatever strategies, methods, and empirical materials are at hand'. Accordingly, creativity, flexibility and interpretations of the researcher put forward the importance of reflexive account in the research process to determine the trustworthiness of the findings.

Based on the discussions above, believing that social reality is constructed through the meaning-making process between people and their interactions within social, historical and political contexts, I have adopted the principles of constructivism for this work. Within the scope of this doctoral study, social reality is co-constructed through the inherent involvement of participants, who were managers and organisational members, and my interpretation of the participants' views together with other data sources. Questioning *how organisational distinctiveness, which is closely pertinent to internal dynamics within the organisations, influences managerial interpretations of institutional complexities and, in turn, determines organisational responses*, I aim to understand the reflexive and dynamic relationship between agency and structure

by looking at the higher education context. This complex relationship can be best understood through addressing the perceptions and interpretations of different social actors, since strategizing processes are mainly shaped by the managerial interpretations of institutional pressures (Pache and Santos, 2010).

Methodologically, I adopted constructivist grounded theory as an underlying methodology for this work, rather than positivist or critical versions (see Charmaz, 2011 for the other versions of grounded theory). Constructivist grounded theory refers to 'the discovery of theory from data -systematically obtained and analysed in social research' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 1). It is a comprehensive method and specific approach, focusing on development of the theory through continuously iterating between data collection and analysis (Myers, 1997, 2009). Grounded theory is generally used as a coding technique by qualitative researchers, rather than the application of this approach throughout the research process from the literature review to theory development (Myers, 2009). Within the scope of this work, and by adopting a comprehensive method of theory generation, I followed the principles of grounded theory as addressed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In doing so, the principles of hermeneutic technique, which demands consideration of iterations between the part and the general (Holstein and Gubrium 2011) have been employed throughout the research process. During this process, context specific and processual design of the current research allowed for moving between data collection and analysis procedures by employing an iterative and reflexive approach (Myers, 1997, 2009).

One of the most problematic issues in grounded theory research concerns the extent of the literature review, before embarking on the fieldwork and data coding process. Before conducting the fieldwork, I had prior knowledge of the literature and key research questions called for by scholars (e.g. Myers, 2009; Suddaby, 2006). However, I was cautious about pre-conceived theoretical ideas that might hamper creativity and prevent the emergence of new theoretical themes from the data, as will be discussed in the trustworthiness section of this chapter. Application of grounded theory during the coding process is elucidated in detail in the analysis section of the chapter.

In this section, I have explained the research philosophy of the study, which is grounded by constructivism and grounded theory as the underpinning methodological approach. Given the exploratory nature of the research questions asked in this work, I adopted inductive, qualitative methods to investigate the phenomenon of organisational agency in the field of higher education. The next section is devoted to the research design. I now discuss the choice of research design and research strategy with justifications of these choices for this doctoral study.

4.3 Research design and strategy: Case study

Within the scope of this doctoral study, I have employed case study method in search of a holistic understanding of the organisational dynamics in strategizing processes in different contexts. Case study strategy holds a particular value for this research, not only because of the necessity of understanding the internal dynamics of organisations in more detail, but also due to a particular interest of the study, which focuses on reciprocal relations between the field level dynamics and internal dynamics of organisations. As noted by scholars, case study is well suited to examining poorly understood phenomena (Eisenhardt, 1989), and offers potential for studies using relational analysis to gain deep insights into field dynamics (Vaughan, 2008), especially when contextual aspects of the social phenomena under study are of particular import (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Stake, 2006).

Focusing on the social construction of reality by looking at people and their interactions within particular contexts, and aiming to understand the meanings that people assign to them, I employed interpretive case study, rather than positivist or critical bents (Myers, 2009). In this line, embracing exploratory approach, I sought to discover the ‘relevant features, factors or issues that might apply in other similar situations’, rather than using an explanatory approach for ‘testing theory to develop causal explanations, or even compare theories’ (Myers, 2009, p. 72). From this perspective, this study conflicts with Yin’s (2009) positivist case study approach, which recommends the prior development of theoretical propositions or hypothesis.

4.3.1 Multiple case study and selection of cases

Multiple case studies are important for allowing maximization of variables and alternative explanations of the interested phenomena. Multiple case studies have particular importance for this research, since they allow us to observe different *habitus*, which are more likely to be captured in different contexts. This helps us to understand the role of *habitus* in the strategizing process, which is a theoretical interest of this study, and generates a richer and more transferable theory.

Regarding the selection of cases, their representativeness is important, since cases are seen as an opportunity to understand particular theoretical issues (Stake, 2000). In this sense, since the main concern was to make generalizations from case to theory, the number of cases and sampling logic was not convenient for evaluation of research findings of case studies (Myers, 2009). Based on these recommendations, and employing comparative case study, with the aim of comparing data derived from different universities situated in different socio-cultural and policy fields, I used purposive sampling according to representativeness criteria. I aimed to understand how the distinctiveness of universities is important in responding to institutional complexities, which are experienced as being more in line with the introduction of new public management reforms. In alignment with this, aiming to explore institutional pressures stemming from instigation of neo-liberal ideology, I have purposefully selected public universities, in particular from Turkish context, rather than the foundational ones. Because public sector organisations have been exposed to greater degree of market pressures, since these reforms aimed to transform internal structures, forms and strategies of public organisations congruent with corporate values and the principles of free market (Lorenz, 2012). Importantly, universities were selected on the basis of their polar characteristics within each context. In doing so, I tried to choose different universities in terms of differences in particular elements, including: resourcefulness; institutional heritage, which is related to establishment history; institutional orientation; resourcefulness; and culture. In selection of cases based on these criteria, it is assumed that, for example, universities with strong cultural and historical backgrounds embrace more distinctive characteristics, which render *habitus* (conceptualisation of distinctiveness) more visible, compared to universities with

weak cultures (Smart and John, 1996). Hence, these different organisational elements would result in differences in the organisational navigation within complex environments, which is a theoretical interest of this doctoral study.

Accordingly, the Universities of Manchester (UoM) and Southampton (UoS) were selected from the UK context, whilst the Universities of Alberta (UoA) and McEwan (UoME) were selected from the Canadian context. Additionally, Istanbul University (IU) and Middle East Technical University (METU) were drawn from the Turkish context for the current study. The selection criteria of universities in each context are detailed in the Case Accounts sections of the Findings Chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). Table 4.1. provides cross-comparative analysis of case reports, highlighting general capacity in terms of the number of faculties, schools and student numbers, distinctiveness of the universities based on the establishment roots, institutional orientation, and distinctiveness in terms of particular programmes, departments and culture.

Table 4.1 Cross-comparative description of case reports

Contexts	Cases	General capacity in terms of number of faculties, students and staff	Institutional heritage (distinctiveness based on establishment history)	Institutional orientation	Distinctiveness in particular disciplines	Culture
Turkish context	IU	20 faculties, 3 schools, 6 vocational schools 135,000 students in total (90,000 students- normal education; 45,000- online education)	German-francophone roots / Chair Tradition; Student movement tradition; Close interrelation with government	Theory teaching oriented Student oriented	Medicine; Law; Literature Economy (political science)	Bureaucratic culture
	METU	5 faculties, 5 graduate schools, 26,500 students	Anglo-Saxon roots / business connectivity activity / international collaborations	Research oriented Industry oriented	Engineering Rankings: 67th position worldwide in physical science; 99th worldwide in engineering	Collegial culture
Canadian context	UoA	18 faculties, 39,312 students	Community oriented / driven by provincial development	Intensive research oriented	Engineering; healthcare Ranking: 68th position worldwide in Pre-Clinical	Very collegial culture: Consultative/Collaborative; Flexibility and informality in working routines; positive inst. attitude
	UoME	3 faculties, 19,250 full time and part time students	Student experience and professional training rooted	Applied teaching oriented	Institutional teaching reputation in programmes in Nursing, Music and Police	Community college culture
UK context	UoS	8 faculties, 23000 students - normal education	Industry oriented; spin-out activities; inter-disciplinary team work approach	Intense applied research oriented	Shipping science; engineering; computer science Rankings: 77th position worldwide in Engineering and	Collegial but bureaucratic procedures in working routines

				Industry oriented	Technology; 74 th position worldwide in Physical Science	
UoM	4 faculties, 25 schools 38, 430 students (normal education)	Social responsibility mission: community orientation; educational programmes	Research oriented Community oriented	Arts and humanities; Clinical and Life sciences; Life sciences Rankings: 28th in Arts and Humanities; 38th in Clinical and Medical Science; 58th in Life Science; 50th in Reputation	Collegial: consultative	

The following sections of this chapter give an account of data collection procedures in the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, covering the data analysis procedures, and evaluation of trustworthiness concerns.

4.4 Research methods: Data collection and analysis

Data were collected from the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, in two rounds. Appendix 1 presents details of the data collection procedure with time periods. During an exploratory stage of data collection process (December, 2013 - March, 2014), I gathered information about the historical, political and social context of higher education fields in each country, in order to understand prevalent institutional logics and the nature of institutional complexities, as well as managerial interpretations of these pressures. In doing so, I aimed to gain general insights into field level and organisational level dynamics.

After analysing the first round of data collected, I revised the interview questions, with the aim of revealing unclarified issues and gaining more fine-grained understanding of the phenomena. Analysis of the first and second round data is provided in the data analysis section in more detail. Data sources and their use in the analysis, with details of the data collection procedure for each country are presented in the following sections.

In this section, I discuss the importance of semi-structured interviews, documentary analysis and meeting observation for the current doctoral study, with emphasis on the selection of participants for the interviews, selection of the events for observation and the documentary review. The use of these data sources in the analysis is then discussed. The data sources of this study rely on two main types of data. While primary data includes semi-structured interviews, meeting observations and research notes, secondary data includes field level and organisational level documentary reviews in the form of archival data of universities, as well as reviews of relevant extant literature.

4.4.1 Interviews

Interviews are crucial in facilitating the exploration of under-researched social phenomena and underpinning issues (Alvesson and Ashcraft, 2012). I have used a semi-structured interviewing method, which was informed by the research philosophy, methodology and methodological principles, in that the interviewing process sought to provide insights into the relationality of the strategizing process. The semi-structured interviewing method was chosen because it provides more flexibility for respondents to convey their experiences and opinions, whilst ensuring a focus and structure throughout the interviewing process (Myer, 2009). Additionally, semi-structured interviews are important in providing ‘both retrospective and real-time accounts by those people experiencing the phenomena of theoretical interest’ (Gioia *et al.*, 2012, p. 19).

In this doctoral study, interviews were used for two purposes. At the macro level, I used interviews to supplement archival data and provide a more fine-grained analysis of the field’s developmental history. At the meso level of analysis, interviews were used as the primary source in seeking to discover intra-organisational dynamics within the organisations. For these reasons, interviews have been carried out with academic/non-academic managers, and academic and administrative staff at selected universities. While the interviews conducted with academic and non-academic managers aimed to understand strategy-making processes, interviews with non-manager staff aimed to understand organisational culture and inter-group dynamics. The selection of participants was based on two criteria: long tenure in the university, which would provide a long-term perspective about the history and culture of the university; and functional and hierarchical variety to elicit different views and experiences from a diverse group of participants. Therefore, participants were selected from among different statuses, rather than selecting only certain people of high status (key informants), in order to reduce ‘elite bias’ (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This would help to gain in-depth and broader insights (Myers, 2009).

I conducted the interviews in two rounds. In the first round, the interview questions were aimed at gaining general insights into the institutional complexities in given fields, universities’ responses, and cultural and social dynamics in the selected universities. I drafted an initial interview schedule on

the basis of current literature on institutional logics, organisational response strategies and internal organisational dynamics, which are reviewed in Chapter 2. The initial interview schedule consisted of 10 main questions under three headings (see Appendix 2 for the initial version of the interview schedule and Appendix 3 for an interview sample). While drafting the interview schedule, I was cautious about the risk of being influenced by pre-conceived theoretical ideas. However, theoretical grounding of the interview schedule was important in formulating general questions about each theoretical sub-theme. Therefore the, interview schedule included general questions, with the aim of distancing pre-conceived ideas and providing flexibility in generating new theoretical themes from the data. I addressed probing questions to the participants, based on their answers, rather than my own theoretical expectations.

During the first round of fieldwork, revisions were made to the interview questions when needed, through the stories told by participants (Charmaz, 2006, Gioia *et al.*, 2012). As noted by Creswell (2007, p. 43) 'our questions change during the process of research to reflect an increased understanding of the problem'. Since my research relies on comparative study, stories changed mostly because of the contextual differences. For example, while universities in the Canadian context have been experiencing changes and market pressures more recently, the field has been evolving in this direction over ten years in the UK context. Hence, because of variations in participants' perceptions towards the evolution of higher education fields in different contexts, I needed to ask different probing questions for each context. So, although I started with the same questions, I had to revisit and revise the interview guide in line with the issues raised by the participants and newly emerging themes. The second round of interviews were mostly aimed at figuring out the internal dynamics of organisations, rather than focusing on macro contextual dynamics of the fields. Focusing on the organisational culture, history and, in particular, changing organisational structure and practice, for example, the emergence or elimination of particular positions or practices, I aimed to explore issues that had remained unclear in previous interviews, for a more fine-grained analysis of the data.

4.4.2 Documentary review

Material evidence is important for the exploration of social interactions from a historical perspective and, in turn, providing ‘multiple and conflicting voices, differing and interacting interpretations... necessary for most social construct’ (Hodder, 2000, p.111). For example, relying on the analysis of one report, the Australian Senate Community Affairs Community Report, Brown *et al.* (2012) show how use of textual strategies such as the adoption of different rhetoric in the texts, is influential in the restructuration of power/knowledge relations, and in turn, changes institutional logics. Methodologically, their study is also crucial in showing the role of one text in the representation of internal tensions, conflicting views and values. Overall, documentary review is important in understanding culture and providing a ‘richer picture than could be obtained by interviews and fieldwork’ (Myers, 2009, p. 153).

Within the scope of this study, I reviewed different forms of documents for the field level and organisational level analysis. Macro level documentary reviews are used to create historical critical events of HEFs in different settings, which help to place these events in the broader political environment and to understand the dynamics of HEFs in these contexts. I examined national and field level archival material, including publicly available documents such as Constitutions, Acts and Parliamentary documents, as well as textbooks, academic publications and newspapers dealing with evolution of the field of higher education. This situated historical analysis of the fields was crucial in gaining insights about the evolution and implications of the new-managerialism logic in HEFs from the late 1980s.

On the other hand, organisational level documentary reviews have a particular value in mapping formal and informal structures of organisations (Smets *et al.*, 2012). Within the scope of this study, universities archival data, which were retrieved from different sources, including weekly bulletins, formal letters on strategy-making, archival forums and other press materials were used for the understanding of organisational response strategies.

4.4.3 Meeting observations

Observation is important in providing insights into daily routines, informal relations and different group dynamics, and helps in understanding the micro dynamics of organisations, which is of interest in my doctoral project (see Smets *et al.*, 2012). I have spent a considerable amount of time in my institution, UoS, and at UoA, as a visiting researcher for approximately nine months in total. I have attended not only formal meetings, but also informal meetings, such as Christmas dinners, lunches and birthday parties. During this process of interacting with people and observing social interactions, I gained in-depth insights about the culture in these universities. In this sense, one might consider my role as being that of 'participant observer' (Creswell, 2007; Myers, 2009).

Overall, participant observation contributes to our understanding of the construction of individual and collective level meaning-making processes that influence strategy making (e.g. Reay *et al.*, 2006). In this respect, participant observation had a particular value for this doctoral study, in seeking to discover the influence of interactions among people within organisations on meaning-making and, in turn, strategizing processes in alignment with the constructivist approach.

4.4.4 Focus group

The focus group is used as synonym for the term, group-interviewing. This data collection technique is useful in capturing best information from participant interaction, in particular, concerning sensitive issues (e.g. politics, religion) in a limited time, rather than gaining in-depth insights from each participant (Creswell, 2007). The facilitation of the discussion environment by participants' encouragement of one another provides best information for the researcher. Focus groups and interviews might be used in combination, in order to provide more accurate data and for member-checks (Morgan, 2008).

As noted in the previous sections, data were collected and retrieved from various sources in different contexts, which were Turkey, Canada and the UK. Although semi-structured interviews and documentary data collection were undertaken in all three contexts, observations and focus group meetings were not conducted

in each context, due to time and access limitations. Details of the fieldwork process conducted in each context will be explained in the following section.

4.4.5 Data sources for the Turkish context

Data sources from the higher education field in Turkey relied on semi-structured interviews, documentary data and a focus group. Table 4.2 provides a detailed inventory of data sources from the Turkish context.

Table 4.2 Data sources for the Turkish context

Data type	Data source	Uses in the analysis
Macro level documentary review	<p>Stakeholder Reports</p> <p>YOK reports: Yeni Yasa Tasarisi (New Constitutional Draft) (2013)</p> <p>-Restructuration of Higher Education: Bologna practices in 66 questions (2010)</p> <p>-Higher Education Strategy of Turkey – Draft Report (2007)</p> <p>TUSIAD reports: -Higher Education in Turkey: Trends, Challenges and Opportunities (2008)</p> <p>-Yuksek Ogretimin Yeniden Yapilandirilmasi ve Temel Ilkeler (2003)</p> <p>TOBB report: <i>Turkiye Yuksekogretim Meclisi Sektor Raporu</i> (Sector of Higher Education Assembly Report) (2012)</p> <p>Egitim-Sen: <i>Universitelerde Bologna Sureci Neye Hizmet Ediyor?</i> (2011)</p> <p>European Commission: The European Higher Education Area (2012) - Bologna Process Implementation Report</p> <p>SETA Workshop Proceedings: <i>Turkiye`de Yuksekogrenimin Yeniden Yapilandirilmasi ve Kalite Guvence Sistemleri</i> (Restructuration of HE in Turkey and Quality Assurance Systems) (2012)</p>	<p>Inform about the salient characteristics of the field and detailed history of HEF in Turkey</p> <p>Create historical critical events of HEF, which helps situating these events in broader political environment and understands dynamics of the field</p>
	<p>Literature Reviews</p> <p>Journal articles: on changes of HEF in Turkey (12 articles)</p> <p>Books: e.g. Dolen (2009-2010) Volume V, Hirsch (1998), Dogramaci (2007)</p> <p>PhD and Masters thesis: e.g. Nurgun (1995), Altan (2006)</p>	
Meso level documentary review	<p>University Strategic Plans</p> <p>IU : <u>Gelecege yon veren dunya universitesi, Istanbul Universitesi: 2009-2012</u></p> <p>METU: <u>METU Strategic Plan (2011-2016)</u></p>	<p>Inform about the resourcefulness and strategic focus of the University</p>
	<p>IU : <u>26 interviews (19 hours)</u></p>	

Interviews and focus group	<p>10 academic managers (deans, deputy deans, heads of departments and deputy managers) 3 non-academic managers (general secretary of the university and faculty secretaries) 12 academics 2 administrative staff Focus group with 5 early career academics</p>	<p>Supplement archival data and provide a more fine-grained analysis of the field's developmental history at the macro level analysis</p>
	<p>METU : 9 academics (8 hours) 9 academics 2 of them were retired from METU and working at the Foundational University 7 of the academics from METU (Departments of business administration and sociology)</p>	<p>Discover intra-organisational dynamics (e.g. culture, history) within the organisations and organisational level determinants of institutional complexity Observe strategy making and field-level linkages</p>

Semi-structured interviews and focus group. First round data from the Turkish context were collected during March, 2014. I conducted 26 semi-structured interviews with 27 participants, as well as one focus group meeting with five participants from Istanbul University, and interviewed eight academics from METU.

Participants from METU were all academics from the Department of Sociology and Business Administration, as well as some retired academics from METU. On the other hand, participants from IU consisted of 10 academic managers (e.g. deans, deputy deans, heads of departments, deputy managers); three non-academic managers (e.g. general secretary of the university and faculty secretaries); 12 academics; and two administrative staff across six faculties (communication, theology, administrative sciences, political sciences, law, education), as well as one vocational school of transportation, which represents six out of 20 faculties in total. I was unable to access people from other faculties, due to time and resource constraints (e.g. funding). I chose participants from those faculties on the basis of my networks. Interviews lasted 40 minutes on average, totalling approximately 27 hours (19 hours from IU and eight hours from METU). All interviews except for five of them were recorded and fully transcribed. I used my research notes for the ones that did not allow recording.

Documents and archives. I collected archival data from three key sources for analysis of the Turkish higher education field. Firstly, I used archival documents in the form of Acts and Parliamentary documents, and official documents from international, national and field level organisations, including the World Bank, European Commission, YOK (Higher Education Council), TUSIAD (Turkish Industry and Business Association), TOBB (The Union of Chambers and Stock Markets of Turkey), Egitim-Sen (the Union of Education and Science Employees), and SETA (Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research).

Second, I collected archival data from national magazines, which were retrieved from the website of YOK (yeniyasa.yok.gov.tr), where comments from numerous newspapers were gathered. Additionally journal articles (12 articles) focusing on the evaluation of changes of HEF in Turkey were used in the analysis. Moreover, historical books providing a detailed history of HEF, including Dolen's volume V

of a series on HEF in Turkey, and Hirsh's book on world universities and universities' development in Turkey, as well as doctoral and Master theses, including Nurgun's (1995) and Altan's (2006) thesis on field evaluation, were important in constructing a historical narrative of HEF in the Turkish context. Lastly, for organisational level documents, I retrieved all available published materials from the website of Istanbul University and Middle East Technical University.

4.4.6 Data sources for the Canadian context

Data sources from the higher education field in the Canadian context relied on semi-structured interviews, documentary data and meeting observations. Table 4.3 provides a detailed inventory of data sources from this field.

Table 4.3 Data sources for the Canadian context

Data type	Data source	Uses in the analysis
Macro level documentary review	Literature Reviews Books (e.g. Beach <i>et al.</i> 2005) Master thesis (e.g. Puplampu, 2003)	Inform about the salient characteristics of the field and detailed history of HEF in Canada Create historical critical events of HEF, which helps in situating these events in the broader political environment and understanding dynamics of the field
Meso level documentary review	<u>University Strategic Plans</u> UoA: Blog archive of UoA (President's weekly messages : Updated news from the President- 107 pages, for 4 years) Renaissance committee report, 2013 (Recommendation for the strategy of UoA -200 pages 60 pages UoME: Integrated Strategic Plans 2014/2015 to 2018/2019, 23 pages	Inform about the resourcefulness and strategic focus of the University
Semi-structured Interviews	UoA: 32 interviews (20 hours) <i>First round interviews (20 participants in total)</i> 7 academic managers (4 vice presidents, 3 deans and associate deans) 3 non-academic managers 2 academics	Supplement archival data and provide a more fine-grained analysis of the field's developmental history at the macro level analysis Discover intra-organisational dynamics (e.g. culture, history) within the organisations and organisational level

	<p>8 administrative staff</p> <p>UoME: 12 interviews (9 hours)</p> <p>12 interviews</p> <p>8 academic managers (4 vice-presidents, 2 deans and 2 associate deans)</p> <p>2 non-academic managers</p> <p>2 academic</p>	<p>determinants of institutional complexity</p> <p>Observe strategy making and field level linkages</p>
Meeting observations	From UoA: Round table discussion with President (80 minutes)	Inform about the reflection of recent budget cuts and general culture of the University

Semi-structured interviews. First round semi-structured interviews from the Canadian context were collected during December, 2013 from the University of Alberta (UoA). During this phase, I conducted a total of 20 interviews with seven academic managers, including four senior managers (vice-presidents) and three middle level academic managers (deans and associate deans), eight administrative staff and two academics across two faculties (Business School, Medical Science), as well as the Rectorate, which represents two out of 18 faculties in total. During the second phase of data collection in May, 2015, I conducted interviews with 12 participants. Although I aimed to conduct interviews with academic and non-academic staff holding various positions, from different faculties, participants were limited to three faculties and the Rectorate building, due to time and resource constraints (e.g. funds). The interviews lasted approximately 40 minutes on average, totalling approximately 20 hours.

I interviewed 12 participants from MacEwan University, holding senior level, middle level managerial and academic positions. The interviews lasted nine hours in total.

Documents and archives. Relevant literature about the higher education field in the Canadian context, including historical books, articles and Masters theses, were used for a situated understanding of the higher education field in this context.

I systematically retrieved and gathered the President's weekly bulletins from the blog archive of UoA. These bulletins, consisting of a total of 192 messages throughout the 48 months, included updated messages of the President pertinent to the current activities of stakeholders. Additionally, a written history of UoA was retrieved from the website of UoA and gathered in a word document to be analysed. Lastly, a report of the Renaissance committee, which included recommendations about the strategy of the UoA, was examined in order to capture internal insights into the strategy-making processes.

Meeting observations. I attended round table discussions with the President of UoA on 7th October, 2013. I was informed about this event when I was a visiting PhD student at UoA. The discussion was open to academic staff and students, so I was able to participate. During this event, I had the chance to observe reactions of the academic staff to current budget reductions, and received recommendations about the possible response strategies, which has been of interest in the current doctoral study. The round table discussions were arranged in two rounds, with different participants. 20 participants attended each round. I attended both of the rounds to observe the reactions of academics from various disciplines. I was not allowed to record discussions during the meetings. Instead, I took notes, which were important in recollecting the highlighted issues.

During this observation, I was interested in the interaction between the President and the participants, and the way that participants expressed themselves. I sought to understand the interactions of participants, which provided insights into, and gave clues about the decision-making processes in specific contexts, when faced with crises (budget reductions were referred to as crises by participants). Considering Spradley's (1980) framework for participant observations, which draws attention to 'space, actor, activity, object, act, event, time, goal and feelings', I reconsidered the round table discussions. For example, I recognized that participants were extremely tense during the event, maybe because the time period that was arranged was just after the huge budget cuts that affected the practices of university staff (including reductions of employees in some departments). This may have been the reason for the aggressive behaviour of some participants in their interactions with the President.

4.4.7 Data sources for the UK context

Data sources from the UK context relied on the semi-structured interviews and literature review. Table 4.4 provides a detailed inventory of data sources collected from this context.

Table 4.4 Data sources for the UK context

Data type	Data source	Uses in the analysis
Macro level documentary review	Reports Higher Education Commission report: From bricks to clicks - The potential of data and analytics in higher education (2016) CMA (Competition and Market Authority) Policy Paper: An Effective Regulatory Framework for Higher Education (2015) Regulatory Partnership Group report: Operating Framework for HE in England (2013) Literature Reviews Historical books (e.g. Deem et al., 2007) and articles (e.g. Barr, 2004; Baskerville, 2013; Deem and Brehony, 2005; Greenaway and Haynes, 2003; Jones and Thomas, 2005; Middlehurst, 2004) Doctoral and Masters theses (e.g. Sarrico, 1998)	Inform about the salient characteristics of the field and detailed history of HEF in the UK Create historical critical events of HEF, which helps in situating these events in the broader political environment and understanding dynamics of the field
Meso level documentary review	University Strategic Plans UoM: Manchester 2020: The Strategic Plan for the University of Manchester (24 pages) UoS: Ten years strategy plans (2016-2026)	Inform about the resourcefulness and strategic focus of the University
Semi-structured Interviews	UoS: 22 interviews (13 hours) 15 academic managers (5 senior managers and vice presidents; and 10 middle level managers - deans, associate deans and heads of schools) 6 non-academic managers	Supplement archival data and provide a more fine-grained analysis of the field's developmental history at the macro level analysis Discover intra-organisational dynamics (e.g. culture, history) within the organisations and organisational

	<p>1 academic</p> <p>UoM: 12 interviews (8 hours)</p> <p>10 academic managers (4 senior-level academic managers, 6 middle level academic managers)</p> <p>2 non-academic managers</p>	<p>level determinants of institutional complexity</p> <p>Observe strategy making and field-level linkages</p>
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Semi-structured interviews. I interviewed four managers from the University of Southampton (UoS) during December 2012 in order to gain general insights into reflection on HEIs. 18 additional interviews were achieved during the period December, 2013 - February, 2014. I interviewed 15 academic managers, including five senior academic managers (vice-presidents) and 10 middle level academic managers, deans, associate deans and heads of schools; six non-academic managers holding different positions (e.g. HR, Finance, Corporate Communications, Quality Assurance) and one academic across the faculties of Engineering, Physical Sciences, Business, Humanities and Medicine, which represented five out of eight faculties in total. Interviews at UoS lasted 40 minutes on average, and totalled approximately 13 hours.

At the University of Manchester (UoM), 12 interviews were conducted. Participants consisted of four senior academic managers (vice-presidents), six middle-level academic managers (deans, associate deans and heads of schools) and two non- academic managers from professional support services across different faculties, including the Faculty of Medical Science, Medicine and Law. Interviews lasted approximately 40 minutes on average, and totalled eight hours. Two of the interviews were conducted over the phone and all of them were recorded and fully transcribed.

Documents and archives. I have examined publicly available policy reports informing about the contextual dynamics of higher education field in the UK setting. These reports and policy papers include, for example, Report of Higher Education Commission; Regulatory Partnership Group; CMA (Competition and Market Authority) policy paper. Additionally academic publications in the form

of historical books (Deem et al., 2007) and articles (e.g. Barr, 2004; Baskerville, 2013; Deem and Brehony, 2005; Greenaway and Haynes, 2003; Jones and Thomas, 2005; Middlehurst, 2004) focusing on the evolution and elaboration of the field, as well as doctoral and masters (e.g. Sarrico, 1998) evaluating the field were examined for a construction of the historical narrative of HEF in the UK context. Moreover, in order to gain insights on organisational resourcefulness and strategic focus of universities, I have examined available strategic plans of University of Southampton and Manchester. Overall, this wealth of data allowed me to gain an in-depth understanding of the current institutional logics in the field of higher education in these contexts, as well as the individual cases from each context. The next section explains the data analysis procedure in light of the constructivist grounded theory approach.

4.4.8 Data analyses procedures

Data analysis is a challenging part of any qualitative study (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Gioia et al., 2012; Patton, 2002). Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 309) consider this process 'as a craft that carries its own disciplines (such as credibility, trustworthy, compelling)... which cannot be wholly predicted in advance'. Data is continuously analysed, from data collection to the writing-up phases. The main challenges of qualitative data analysis pertain to the time demanded for the field work, large amount of data and trustworthiness concerns, which are discussed throughout this chapter.

For each step of the data analysis, I followed the qualitative data analysis procedures described by Strauss and Corbin (1990), and suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). Although the grounded theory approach of Strauss has been criticized for its formalized, structured guidelines and being too restrictive, this guideline is useful for the application of grounded theory, particularly for beginners (Myers, 2009). According to this approach, data analysis procedure consists of open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Since the methodology employed in this research is most aligned with the principles of grounded theory, I extracted the codes (first-order) emerging from the analytical themes independently from the literature in the first stage. For this work, first order codes varied slightly on the basis of national context. While some of the common first order codes related to changes in the field of higher education,

including: *emergence of new certification programmes, mechanisms attracting academics to the industry, restriction of academic freedom, instillation of project culture, ranking culture and academic leadership*, first order codes pertinent to the characterization of the universities included: *flexibility and informality in working routines, distinctiveness in particular disciplines, bottom-up decision-making processes*. First, second and third order codes and illustrative quotes relating to the field level examination are provided in Chapter 5, while codes pertinent to the characterization of universities are provided in Chapters 6,7 and 8, in which I have discussed each university as a case report.

There was such a sheer amount of first order quotes, that I felt 'I am lost', like many qualitative researchers (Gioia *et al.*, 2012). In this situation, I eliminated the less germane categories, and tried to generate more general themes, as advised by scholars (Gioia *et al.*, 2012; Myers, 2009). More specifically, during this open coding process, looking for the differences and similarities of the codes produced, I asked probing questions: 'What (what is at issue here)? Who (what persons are involved)? How (how are aspects of the phenomenon addressed)? When (how long)? Why (what reasons are given)?', as advised by Myers (2009). Asking these questions was crucial for accurate reflection of the raw data. Then I tried to explore the interconnections of the coding categories (second-order). Lastly, the core categories were identified (third-order) according to the key themes emanating from the interview data, combined with relevant literature. As noted by Creswell (2007, p. 43), this process was helpful to 'recognize it as working through multiple levels of abstraction, starting with the raw data and forming larger and larger categories'.

During this process, I adopted an iterative and interpretative approach of moving between theory and data, which included refining the research questions, reviewing the literature, collecting additional data if needed and refining the analysis iteratively (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This reflexive process was important for the 'complex description and accurate interpretation of the problem' (Creswell, 2007, p. 47). Moreover, during the data analysis procedure, I noted interesting points mentioned by each participant in a research diary, rather than using a contact summary form for the interviews and documents as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). Although contact

summary sheets might be useful in helping to be more structured and systematic during this process, I did not need to use them for this study, since not all of the interviews were interesting enough to track in detail (e.g. see Battilana and Dorado, 2010).

I conducted the analysis in two stages. In the first stage, situating the field of higher education in the broader socio-political environment, I created a table showing the critical historical events of higher education fields in different settings, in order to gain insights about the evolution and implications of the new-managerialism logic in HEFs from the late 1980s. After identifying the critical events historically, I developed a chronological narrative of the evolution of the field (Raynard and Kodeih, forthcoming; Kodeih and Royston, 2013; Pache and Santos, 2013), as is frequently done in the study of institutional change. This situated approach helped me to narrow down the analysis to the existing institutional logics in the higher education fields, with demands prescribed by each logic. I relied on national and field level archival material, including publicly available documents such as Constitutions, Acts and Parliamentary documents, as well as textbooks, academic publications and newspapers dealing with the evolution of the field of higher education, as noted in the previous section.

In the second stage, I aimed to understand how each organisation responded to conflicting institutional logics (academic professionalism and market logics, in my case). With this in mind, describing the general characteristics of the universities, such as mission, capacity, teaching and research orientation, I built a case report for each university. I then analysed which practices had been employed to meet the demands anchored in each institutional logic. I tried to identify distinctive characteristics of each organisation that addressed the particular demands prescribed by each logic.

4.5 Strategies for the trustworthiness of findings

In constructivist paradigm, theoretical contributions are abstracted through meaning making processes by gathering multiple perspectives and multiple data sources. In this sense, constructivist paradigm does not search for the single generalizable truth that can be measured like positivist research. Based on the

ontological, epistemological and methodological differences compared with positivist paradigm, constructivist paradigm employs different criteria in judgement of the rigour of the research, referred to as trustworthiness. According to this, the ‘credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability’ of the research is assessed in qualitative studies, rather than the ‘external and internal, reliability and objectivity’ measures of quantitative studies (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Each criterion for the trustworthiness of the qualitative research and justification for this work is elucidated in the rest of this section.

4.5.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to ‘the methodological procedures and sources used to establish a high level of harmony between the participants’ expressions and the researcher’s interpretations of them’ (Jensen, 2008, p. 139). The following methodological procedures are advised to increase the credibility of qualitative research: spending sufficient time in the field through continuous engagement with participants to get the contextualised story right; looking at the data from different theoretical perspectives; using member-checks and peer debriefing; using multiple sources of data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Before conducting the fieldwork, selection of the research method, representativeness of cases and participants, together with the openness and truthfulness of participants are crucial considerations for the credibility of research (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Myers, 2009; Jensen, 2008). Within the scope of this work, choosing case study approach as a research strategy and justification for this study bearing in mind the representativeness of the cases and participants, has been discussed at the outset of this chapter. Spending sufficient time in the field and continuously engaging with the participants was important to get enough evidence to support the theory used in the research and fully capture the story. Although we are not able to understand everything about a case, ‘it is strategic decision in deciding how much and how long the complexities of the case should be studied’ (Stake, 2000, p. 448), and staying in the field ‘until no new evidence appears (category saturation) is crucial requirement of the grounded theory’ (Suddaby, 2006, p. 636). As discussed in the previous section, I tried my best to collect sufficient evidence to capture the

story right, with the aim of increasing the abstraction levels from the story. In order to achieve this, I spent a considerable amount of time in the field to gain in-depth insights (see Appendix 1 for duration of the field visits).

During the fieldwork process, Suddaby (2006) warns grounded theory researchers about the ‘preconceived theoretical ideas’ that might hamper creativity and prevent development of new theoretical themes. Considering Suddaby’s advice when studying different substantive areas that might help to conceive different realities and facilitate more creative ideas, I reconsidered the data collection process for this work. Data were collected from different substantive areas, being: institutional change, strategy-making processes and organisational culture, which helped me to map the bigger picture through interrelating these areas, and preventing the risk of testing any/all propositions.

Peer debriefing, which refers to the use of external peers who are not involved in the research project, is another procedure that enhances the credibility of research by bringing different perspectives to the various stages of the research, and leading the researcher to probe the research process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This outsider perspective contributes to looking at data from different theoretical perspectives, and understanding the bigger picture. As noted by Gioia *et al.* (2012, p. 19) ‘a major risk of qualitative studies is “going native” namely being too close and essentially adopting the informant’s view, thus losing the higher level perspective necessary for informed theorizing’.

Within the scope of this work, discussions with my formal supervisors and informal supervisor, with whom I was in contact during my visit to the University of Alberta, and other doctoral researchers provided me with outsider perspective during the various stages of the research. For example, as knowledgeable academics in the UK, Turkish and Canadian higher education fields, my supervisors provided critical interpretations during the analysis process. As a Turkish academic working in UK for many years, specialising in the field of higher education, my first supervisor’s views on the higher education contexts in Turkey and the UK addressed important themes in these contexts in our supervisory meetings, which were critical. Part of the data I collected from the UK context for this work was also analysed by other scholars, including my

supervisors, under the scope of another project, which was relevant to the topic of my doctoral study. Although these analyses were not included in this study, they were critical in providing in-depth insights into the context.

Additionally, other academics, by whom I was supervised during my visit to the University of Alberta, informed me about the round table discussions with the president, which provided me with greater insights in understanding the strategy-making processes of the university. These perspectives not only helped me to gain insights into the theory and contextualised understanding of higher education fields, but also enabled me to generate a situated data set and capture a holistic picture of the phenomena.

Furthermore, during the PhD process, I have presented papers pertinent to the theoretical framing of my doctoral project at various conferences. Feedback was valuable for the theoretical development of this work (see the conference presentations and other academic works conducted during the doctorate process in Appendix 4). Moreover, I used member-checks technique, consulting the reflections of academic participants for the findings of the research. During this process, I had the advantage of conducting field research in the higher education field, since some of the participants were academics, knowledgeable about the theoretical interest of this work. Lastly, I have triangulated the data by using different data collection techniques, so that the interview data I collected from the universities were triangulated with the documentary and observation data, as discussed in previous sections of this chapter.

4.5.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the applicability of the research findings beyond the scope of the research context, which can be achieved through in-depth and thick description of the research design, research context and participants (such as representativeness). It corresponds to the generalizability (external validity) criteria in quantitative studies. Instead of generalizability of the findings, the main concern of constructivist paradigm is to gain deeper understanding of the phenomena and increase the richness of the transferable insights (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

The following questions might be asked in questioning the transferability of qualitative research (Clark, 2008): 'What are the implications of the qualitative study taking other empirical studies into account? How might the findings generate evidence to guide the practice of a profession? How can mid-range theories amplify and further expand qualitative findings?' Although the findings of this study are unique to the participants and context of the study, richer insights can be gained through rigorous data collection process from different contexts. Hereby, context sensitivity is the main concern in the transferability of research. This work relies on analysis of six universities in three different national contexts. Cross-cultural comparative research design and selection of polar cases from each context, as discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, allowed for 'thicker descriptions' of the interested phenomena. More specifically, cross-examination of the research settings, using the dimension of market logic, which is the macro-level theoretical interest of this research, will be provided in Chapter 5. I have presented cross-examination of the case accounts using the dimensions of general capacity in terms of number of faculties and students, institutional heritage, institutional orientation, distinctiveness in particular areas and culture, in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Additionally, detailed explanation of the research design, and selection of cases and participants have been provided in previous sections of this chapter. Theoretical insights and detailed explanation of the various phases of the research process, cross-cultural research design and selection of polar cases might allow applicability of the findings in different higher education contexts.

4.5.3 Dependability and confirmability

Dependability and confirmability are interrelated criteria of the assessment of trustworthiness of research. While dependability means the degree of getting similar results under conditions of repetition of the research process in the same context, confirmability refers to the degree of unbiased data collection and analysis procedures in line with the research purpose (Patton, 2002). Both of them are closely pertinent to the relevancy and transparency of the research process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Peer debriefing and member- checks, which were discussed earlier in this section, were important for the assessment of the theoretical interest, research process, findings and interpretations, and, in turn,

relevancy (consistency) of the research. Conducting coding processes with other colleagues, and comparing and discussing the results is one of the way of improving dependability (Saumure and Given, 2008). Additionally, regular note-taking in the field might allow observation of changing patterns within the context, and facilitates the transparency of the process. For dependability of the findings, recognizing the changing context and conditions, researchers should be cautious about the influence of these changes over the research design. Throughout the research process, adopting processual research design, which relies on investigation of the internal dynamics of organisations and changes over time, a rigorous data collection process, inter-coding data process and detailed explanation of the fieldwork, facilitates the relevancy and transparency of the research process. Following the aforementioned process could increase the dependability and confirmability of the findings of the current study.

Overall, this section has been devoted to evaluation of the trustworthiness of this doctoral study, in line with the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the research process. These assessments are mostly aligned with researchers' interpretations, based on their own backgrounds, context and prior understanding, which is the concern of the next section.

4.5.4 Reflexivity concerns

Reflexivity refers to researchers positioning themselves into a study and questioning how their own perspectives and worldviews inform their data collection and analysis practices, such as formulating research questions, approaches to participants and interpretation of findings (Creswell, 2007). The role of the researcher (axiology) is more important for interpretivist studies, since findings of the research rely on the interpretations of the researcher, and are mainly influenced by the positioning of the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Easterby-Smith, 2011). More specifically, Creswell (2007) argues that:

The study reflects the history, culture, and personal experiences of the researcher. This is more than simply an autobiography, with the writer or the researcher telling about his or her background. It focuses on how individuals' culture, gender, history, and experiences shape all aspects of the qualitative project, from their choice of a question to address, to how they collect data, to how they make an interpretation of the situation. In some way-such as discussing their role, interweaving themselves into the text, or reflecting on

the questions they have about the study-individuals position themselves in the qualitative study (Creswell, 2007, p. 46-47).

In line with this, I was conscious about how the following questions would influence my research process: 'What do I know? How do I know what I know? What shapes and has shaped my perspective? With what voice do I share my perspective? What do I do with what I have found?'(Patton, 2002)

I tried my best to capture accurate reflections of what participants were talking about; yet, as a doctoral researcher, I also brought my own *habitus* to conducting interviews, and hence my views and prejudices were influential during the research process. For example, while interviewing the academic managers who were my role models, I was inclined to show how well-prepared I was with social desirability considerations in some situations. Before asking the first interview questions, which were about their views on the recent changes and pressures exposed by the HEF, I felt that I should explain the recent changes in summary. Additionally, in some cases, as I was of similar status to their students, some of the participants who held academic managerial positions (professors) asked me about the field level dynamics and recent changes in HEF in order to evaluate my knowledge. These informal conversations before starting the tape-recordings could have affected their views, encouraging them to raise issues they might never have thought of before.

Moreover, as an international student who grew up in Turkey, I had difficulty in capturing all the issues highlighted by the participants in UK and Canadian contexts, particularly for the first interviews, not only because of unfamiliarity with the social and cultural dynamics that influenced the perceptions and discourses of the participants, but also due to language barriers. On the other hand, I have been involved in two research projects during my PhD study. Both of these research experiences improved my interview skills and contextual understanding of the field. Within the scope of one research project, conducted in the agricultural sector of Turkey, I held around 30 interviews with SME managers. This experience improved my interviewing skills and helped me to learn how to conduct effective interviews. I improved the quality of interviews as I conducted more interviews. The other research project that was pertinent to the higher education field in a UK context, was important in providing me with

insights into the dynamics of the field in this context. In this sense, my understanding of the UK higher education field has not only been shaped by the data collected for this doctoral research, but also other research activities engaged in this context. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous section, researchers' openness and truthfulness is important for the trustworthiness of findings.

4.6 Ethical concerns

It is the responsibility of the researcher to be sensitive towards ethical considerations throughout all phases of the research process (Creswell, 2007, p. 44). Before the fieldwork, approval of the research ethics by an institutional review committee, aimed at ensuring confidentiality of the various research sectors (e.g. participants, sponsors, colleagues) is required, before approaching participants. Additionally, ethical considerations during the fieldwork include: a kindly approach to participants, respecting their time, using non-discriminatory language, building trust and rapport through securing the anonymity and confidentiality of the process, and informing participants about each phase of this process. (These concerns are detailed in the American Psychological Association, 2001) (Creswell, 2007).

Within the scope of this work, I firstly applied to the research ethics committee in my institution, UoS. However, other universities in the Canadian setting also required research ethics approval from their institutions to approach participants in these contexts. Herewith, I got research ethics approval from UoA in the Canadian context. During the fieldwork, all participants were informed about the ethical concerns of the study. I sent the participants information and consent forms, with information about the research and ethical procedures, including their rights throughout the research process, by email prior to the agreed meetings. I also provided hard copies of this information at the interviews. Before interviewing, I reminded participants about the research aim, confidentiality and anonymity of the research process, in order to build trust and rapport with the participants. However, I realised that some of the participants were not confident and transparent during the interview process, particularly in the Turkish context. Specifically, while lower level administrative staff might have hesitated to take part in the interviews, probably because of their status,

participants in managerial positions might have been concerned about institutional identity or political dynamics. For example, some of the participants in the Turkish context were extremely voluble in praising the current Government when answering questions about the policy field, while others were very cautious about criticizing the Government. From my observations, governmental related issues were considered a ‘sensitive topic’ in the Turkish context. In these situations, I did not ask further questions about governmental initiatives, with the aim of ensuring their confidence, as advised (e.g. Atkinson and Hammersley, 1995). However, in some cases, participants shared information ‘off the record’ (Creswell, 2007, p. 142). This type of information was important for the evaluation of the interested phenomena. However, as an ethical choice, I did not quote ‘off the record’.

As another ethical issue, accurate reflection of what participants say is also a responsibility of the researcher towards the participants. I tried to capture accurate reflections by using validation strategies, which are discussed in the trustworthiness section.

4.7 Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter started with the main philosophical paradigms underlying scientific research and a detailed explanation of the tenets of constructivism, as the underpinning philosophical assumption. This was followed by justification of the choice of research strategy and research method, which was informed by constructivist underpinning of the work. In this section, the use of multiple case studies to address the research questions of the thesis were discussed. I have presented the data collection and analysis procedures, and data sources for the higher education fields in Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, as well as the data sources for each case. Finally, the last section of the chapter included the strategies employed for the trustworthiness of the research, as well as reflexivity and ethical concerns of the research process.

The next chapter (Chapter 5) presents macro-field level dynamics of the higher education fields situated in different national settings, in Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts. It also provides the basis of the macro foundations of my argument,

summarized in Chapter 3. More pertinently, the chapter opens up the interpretive understanding of institutional logics and complexities, attaching particular focus on the salient characteristics, prevailing logics and sources of complexities in these contexts.

PART THREE: FINDINGS

I have presented my findings over four chapters. The first chapter of this part, Chapter 5, is dedicated to portraying characteristics of the Turkish, Canadian and UK higher education fields and their evolution in relation to changes in the broader socio-political environment, i.e. the new public management reforms and encroachment of market logics, from the 1980s to today.

The following chapters, Chapters 6, 7 and 8, are dedicated to the presentation of the dynamics of organisational *habitus* of universities, drawn from the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, respectively. These chapters include distinct characteristics of the universities, stemming from their historical origins, and their interpretations of institutional complexities in an effort to cope with the institutional challenges of fluctuant fields, informed by political and market pressures, as well as organisational responses to these pressures. In these chapters on the findings, I restrict my analysis to organisational level influences, stemming from historical and cultural roots that render organisations distinctive, on experience of institutional complexities and responses.

Chapter 5: Societal and Field Level Dynamics: Turkish, Canadian and UK Higher Education Fields

5.1 Introduction to the chapter

Based on the data evidence, this chapter is dedicated to the delineation of salient characteristics of higher education fields in the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, with a focus on the role of historical context and polity, and the incursion of market logics over these contexts. In this chapter, I focus on inter-institutional societal and field level dynamics. More pertinently, changes in field level dynamics in line with the encroachment of market logic have been evaluated in terms of two elements in each context: 1) changing characteristics and main values of universities; 2) changing rationale and legitimacy sources and focus of attention. The last section of this chapter presents cross-comparative interpretation of societal and field-level dynamics, which helps to show how the nature of institutional pressures, stemming from the incursion of market logic and governmental interference, differs in these contexts. Overall, this chapter is dedicated to the task of laying out the contextualised situated understanding of institutional complexities and organisational responses. The next section is concerned with evaluation of the Turkish context.

5.2 Research setting one: The field of higher education in Turkey

This section focuses on a broad overview of the social and historical context surrounding the field of higher education in Turkey. More specifically, I first evaluate salient characteristics of the higher education field in relation to the statist polity. I then present the field level changes in parallel with the prevalence of market logics, with a focus on the main institutional complexities at the field level. The analysis is informed by the cognate literature, documentary and interview data, which are presented in detail in the Methodology Chapter (Chapter 4).

5.2.1 Characteristics of the field

In the Turkish context, higher education institutions (HEIs) are exposed to a greater degree of institutional pressures, not only due to the emergence of entrepreneurial logic (used interchangeably with market logic) in line with the influence of neo-liberal politics in the 1990s, but mainly because of existing political pressures. Higher education is vested by highly centralized government, which increased its authority with the acceptance of the higher education Law No. 2547 in 1981, and establishment of a central agency for higher education, the Higher Education Council (YOK). The field can also be described as politically sensitive and fluctuating. As shown in Appendix 5, after the university reforms, led by Ataturk in 1933, critical socio-political events divided the field of higher education into four periods, namely 1933-1946; 1946-1960; 1960-1971 and 1971-1980. During these periods, higher education policies, the role of the state, autonomy, values, missions and characteristics of the universities, as well as the existence and dominance of institutional logics, varied (see Dolen's 2009, 2010, series on the history of Turkish universities, in which each period is examined in detail). Accordingly, particularly after the 1980 military coup, tools of the state were restructured towards the centralization of decision-making mechanisms, as a result of political ideology in Turkey (Bugra, 1994). The aim was to keep universities under government control with a more centralized system (Umunc, 1986). Under the new arrangement, the Law No. 2547 in 1981 reflected nation-wide centralized policy-making tendencies in the structuring of HEF. This law provided the basis for the autonomy and primacy of the YOK over all the national HEIs, as described in the responsibilities of YOK below (YOK, 1989, p. 2; Nurgun, 1995, p. 255):

- to embed higher education institutions all around the country, while providing higher education for a higher proportion of today's population;
- to provide a higher education with realistic planning, coordination and inspection, while preventing wastage of resources;
- to carry out the higher education institutions' education, training and research activities at an internationally acceptable level and ensure that these institutions tackle the problems that society wants solved.

Herewith, YOK is regarded as a supervisory body for the planning and coordination of HEIs, which are responsible for implementing the policies (Altan,

2011, p. 27). Accordingly, the authority of inter-university boards was significantly limited, while an important part of this authority was granted to the YOK and Higher Education Auditing Council (HEAC), as high councils and agencies of the Government (Dolen, 2009). Hence, the diminishing authority of inter-university boards, and the increasing authority of YOK and HEAC as supreme governance agencies illustrates the emergence of a more centralized and hierarchical structuration of HEIs in Turkey.

The removal of administrative autonomy with the new law (Law No.2547), was one of the other indicators illustrating the establishment of a more centralized and bureaucratic system, which has created significant pressure for universities in the way they effect various practices, including recruitments of academics and scientific autonomy. According to this new law, administrative autonomy of the faculties was removed, which rendered them dependent on the rectors (Dolen, 2010). It was criticized for hampering the use of scientific autonomy:

At previous terms, when law faculties had their own budgets, the role of the deans and acts of deans with those budgets were very significant. For example, there were research centres and institutes, where researches are conducted, because of financial autonomy of faculties. Yet, today, faculties are not financially autonomous, but all depend on the rectors. (Int. 24, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU)

Overall, although 'YOK is supposed to ensure that higher education is free of political influence', as declared in the report of TUSIAD (2008) (Altan, 2011, p. 48), the highly centralized structure of HEF brought about autonomy problems at the universities. This was stressed by many participants:

Especially scientific autonomy was removed with establishment of the YOK. Having centralized agency for the administrative affairs is acceptable, but universities and faculties should not be intervened that much...Universities cannot meet the demands because of this highly centralized structure. Deans have no functions. Deans' relations with rectors and the YOK are crucial. (Int. 24, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

YOK should be the institution that is determining basic principles of HEIs such as quality standards, and creating vision for them, but not intervening into all aspects of university management in everything. It should be restructured such, for example, as banking regulatory supervisory agency. (Int. 27, Non-Academic, Senior-level Manager, IU).

The underpinning reason for the highly centralized national policy is pertinent to the politically sensitive history of the higher education field. It is clear in Article 22 (Law No. 2547) that YOK aimed to keep control over the universities and pre-empt opposition movements against the rector and the Government:

Teaching staff who act in a manner contrary to the higher education law's aims and principles or the order of the system may be removed from their posts by YOK acting on its own initiative or on the recommendation of the rector.

As Nurgun (1995, p. 245) points out, during the 1990s, academic staff who were in conflict with the rector could easily be dismissed from the university under the guise of different reasons, such as not obeying the new dress code published at the time. Some academics who did not obey the rules were dismissed from their universities. For example, Professor Emre Kongar from Hacettepe University, and Associate Professor Erhan Acar from Middle East Technical University were dismissed by their rectors for not obeying the regulation of removing their beards, and Nebahat Koru was dismissed for wearing a headscarf (Savran *et al.*, 1987, p. 21). Nurgun (1995) specifies how academics were dismissed at these periods:

[During the 1980s and 1990s], some deans and rectors used the dismissals to get rid of lazy and inefficient staff but some took the opportunity to get rid of YOK's opponents. A total of 300 staff were dismissed from the universities. They had all worked for years in the universities but were dismissed with a curt note stating, "Your employment has been terminated" (Nurgun, 1995, p. 247-248).

As noted by Dolen (2009, p. 257), 'higher education history in Turkey is the history of the governmental interventions'. Indeed, even in the 1960s, during which the highest degree of autonomy was experienced by HEIs (see Appendix 5) the left-wing Government was accused of being subjective and exercising partisanship in recruitment (Dolen, 2010). More pertinently, while the culture of partisanship is still evident, for example, in the recruitment of academics, favouring political supporters, clientelism is seen in the allocation of resources to proponents. The culture of partisanship and clientelism is still influential in Turkey's political system (Sozen and Shadow, 2002), and exerts pressure over HEIs. Participants implied that academics were recruited on the basis of

clientelism, rather than meritocracy, leading to resource pressures which could be in the form of staff (kadro) pressure. The following quotes highlight this:

If you are in close relation with government, you can recruit two academics, even if you needed only one, because of ideological (political) reasons. (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU).

Demanding for the staff (kadro) is the biggest problem for the big universities, rather than newly establishing universities, in particular for the assistant professors. Accordingly, depending on the faculties, relations and the universities. Deans' relation with rectors, and rectors' relation with the government is the key in this process. (Int. 10, Early Career-Academic, Fac. of Administrative Sciences, IU).

Demanding for the staff (kadro) is very normal. Yet it becomes a huge problem here. Because if rector does not like the faculty, he does not demand for a staff for the faculty. Appointments are not done on the basis of meritocracy. Everything depends on the centre. (Int. 24, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

Partisanship culture also causes the abuse of academic freedom, which has been continuously experienced in the history of higher education, due to the direct interference of the Government on the universities. In particular, academics holding a different ideological stance are be exposed to pressure in the form of mobbing, intimidation or dismissal:

The thing that I observed so precise is that decreases in freedom of academics, prevalence of anxiety atmosphere, intimidation of academicians... and it has not been done directly, but it has been felt to us like that...I am not sure if it is legalised but read that it is forbidden to academics to give speech about anything except their research area. I mean even discussion of this is very strange. It is one of the ways of intimidating (Int. 11, Early Career-Academic, Fac. of Administrative Science).

Lectures had to be delivered in the manner prescribed by YOK. Their articles and papers had to be approved by department heads or rectors in accordance with Article 42, so their freedom to publish was removed and especially in the social sciences it required a great effort to write a paper acceptable to the authorities, but failure to do so could lose their jobs. The universities, lacking freedom of thought and creativeness and were put on a par with other public organisations that they always were under government control (Nurgun, 1995, p. 253).

Overall, highly centralized state structure, governmental interferences, partisanship and clientelism culture means restricted autonomy of universities and academic freedom in the Turkish context. Although this characterisation of

the field prevents implications of new public management reforms (Sozen and Shadow, 2002; Topaler *et al.*, 2015), it is evident in some structures, which is discussed in the following section.

5.2.2 Prevailing institutional logics in the field

The extant literature on multiple institutional influences derives from different historical trajectories in both European and American traditions (see Usdiken, 2004) and the co-existence of multiple institutional logics (vocational, scientization and entrepreneurial logics) in the field of business education in Turkey (see Ozen and Ozturk, 2016). Drawing on these insights, I aim to scrutinise the main institutional pressures on higher education institutions in the Turkish context through unpacking political interventions, as well as market pressures, in line with the influence of neo-liberal ideology. In doing so, I firstly outline the prevailing institutional logics in the field, as summarised in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Prevailing logics in the Turkish higher education field

Prevailing logics	Vocational	Academic professionalism	Entrepreneurial
Main premise	<p>Focus on technical/professional expertise oriented training</p> <p>Higher education for 'public good' and teaching</p> <p>Influenced by French and German models</p> <p>'Mektep' tradition</p>	<p>Academia driven</p> <p>Focus on curiosity driven research and education</p> <p>Higher education for scientific research</p> <p>Influenced by American models</p> <p>Anglo-saxon culture</p>	<p>Market driven</p> <p>Focus on applied research and education</p> <p>Higher education for contributing regional/national development</p> <p>Influenced by American models</p> <p>Anglo-saxon culture</p>
Legitimacy of resources and core values	<p>National rankings</p> <p>Technical books are appreciated</p>	<p>Reputation and network-based</p> <p>Importance of culture of excellence</p> <p>Journals and books are appreciated</p>	<p>Performance-based</p> <p>Performance evaluation mechanisms</p> <p>Importance of international rankings</p> <p>Impactful Journals are appreciated</p>
Rationality	<p>Social rationality</p> <p>Based on training for professional development</p>	<p>Social rationality,</p> <p>Based on academic values</p>	<p>Economic rationality, efficiency</p> <p>Based on tangible outcomes</p>
Kinds of HEIs Demands for provision of education	<p>Specialised technical schools</p> <p>Regarded as relatively low status</p> <p>Two or three years vocational education are valued</p>	<p>Diversity of HEIs and their status/laws</p> <p>Provision of four years basic education are valued</p>	<p>Standardisation of HEIs in terms of status/laws -</p> <p>Amalgamation of different HEIs under framework of university</p> <p>Provision of four years basic education plus certificate programmes are valued</p>
Portfolio of programmes and curriculum structure	<p>Specialised and standardised programme portfolios</p> <p>Practice-oriented</p> <p>Higher course load</p> <p>Rigid programmes</p> <p>Contextualised courses</p>	<p>Diversity and flexibility for programme portfolios (curricula, syllabuses, requirements for admission, the standard of teaching, the amount of instruction received in a semester)</p> <p>Lower course load</p> <p>Universalistic</p>	<p>Uniformity and standardization of programme portfolios (curricula, syllabuses, requirements for admission, the standard of teaching, the amount of instruction received in a semester)</p> <p>Practice-oriented</p> <p>Project-based</p> <p>Inclusion of entrepreneurship, innovation and technology modules for curriculum of different faculties (e.g. fac. of agriculture)</p>

Role and responsibilities of academics	Teaching	Research and publication Theory-based teaching	Applied research Practice-based teaching
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Source: Adapted from Ozen and Ozturk (2016) with insights from Usdiken (2004), Usdiken *et al.* (2013), Topaler *et al.* (2015) and data from this study

5.2.2.1 Early history of the field and prevalence of vocational logic

The establishment of the early Turkish higher education institutions was rooted back in the French and German influences which shaped the field until the early 1950s. The Ottoman Empire's need to match Western power fuelled the need for specialised schools, particularly in the military and naval fields (Weiker, 1963). Inspired and modelled by French schools, the first specialised schools were in different areas, such as the Military school of Engineering (1734), Naval Academy (1784), Vocational Naval School (1776) and the Military Academy (Imparatorluk Kara Muhendishanesi). Medicine and literary schools (Ulum-I Edebiyye), and a military college (Harbiye) (1835) were established in the late 18th century, with the purpose of providing vocational education in these specialised areas (Dolen, 2009; Umunc, 1986; Gunergun and Kadioglu, 2006).

Along with these schools, more specialised schools in different disciplines, attaching particular importance to girls' education were founded, in parallel with the educational reforms (Dolen, 2009). During this period, a Ministry of Education was established for the first time in order to supervise and administer these educational reforms in 1839. Subsequently, inspired by European models, the first modern higher education institution in the Ottoman Empire, Darulfunun, was established by an amalgamation of these schools under the framework of a university in 1865 (Umunc, 1986, p. 436, Dolen, 2009). The main purpose of Darulfunun was to educate competent and qualified government officials (Gunergun and Kadioglu, 2006, p. 137).

During the first period of the modern higher education system in the Republic of Turkey (1933-1946), which began with the Ataturk university reforms in 1933 and radical transformation of Darulfunun into Istanbul University, providing vocational training was the main premise of higher education institutions. This was clear in the declaration of Istanbul University guidelines, in which the

responsibilities and purposes of the university were declared on 24 October 1934 for the first time. According to this guideline, Istanbul University was established with the aim of: 'conducting scientific research; enriching and prevailing the national culture and intellect of the society; contributing to developing competent and mature people for affairs of the government and nation' (Dolen, 2010, p. 111). Albeit the main emphasis was on conducting scientific research, it never came to prominence in practice, apart from teaching activities, during the period 1933-1946. During this period it, 'enlarged its disciplinary range and increased its status, professional schools moved to the centre of the field' (Topaler *et al.*, 2015, p. 3). Overall, provision of vocational education and technical training for the government affairs, which is anchored in vocational training, was dominant during this period. Providing two or three year extensive vocational training, focusing on rigid practice-oriented programmes, these schools were perceived as being responsive to the pressing needs of society, and in turn, as part of the nation-building project, particularly the early stages (Barblan *et al.*, 2008).

Imbued with the influence of *Technische Hochschule* (German technical school), and rooted in Engineering Mektep (Yuksek Muhendislik Mektebi), the first technical university, Istanbul Technical University (ITU) was established in 1944. Since then, its technical orientation and 'mektep' tradition ensure that ITU diverges from classical university models and attaches to it a specialised identity, making it the second university model in Turkey (Usdiken *et al.* 2013, p. 196-97). While technical schools converge with the universities on the one hand, on the other hand, the number of professional schools has also increased. For example, as specialised institutions providing education in niche areas, the Fine Arts Academy (Devlet Guzel Sanatlar Akademisi), and Engineering and Architecture Academy were established in 1969, as a continuation of 'mektep' tradition (Usdiken *et al.*, 2013, p. 204).

Overall, vocational logic was staged by professional schools in earlier times and espoused to the universities, in alignment with the amalgamation of these schools under the framework of universities by the establishment of YOK in 1980.

5.2.2.2 Influence of the American model of higher education (1946-1980s) and prevalence of academic professionalism logic

During the period following World War II, Turkey's intention to strengthen relations with the US, due to security reasons and attempts to fund economic growth, as underscored by Usdiken (2004), channelled the infusion of the American approach to higher education in Turkey. With funding from the Ford Foundation and international organisations such as the United Nations, Robert College (RC), (which was established as a high school in 1959, becoming Bogazici University in 1971) and Middle East Technical University (METU, 1957) were established. Afterwards, Hacettepe University (1967) and Ataturk University (1967) were also established by referencing the American model of education.

Direct exposure to the American approach meant significant changes in programme structure, such as the adoption of departmental structuring, rather than a chair tradition, distinction of the 'undergraduate' and 'graduate' degree as separate degrees, provision of general education and professional education, as well as change in the language of instruction to English (Barblan *et al.*, 2008). The establishment of different special laws for the universities paved the way for diversification in the way of teaching, programme portfolios, curricula and admission requirements (Umunc, 1986). In parallel with the American influence, the idea of establishing regional universities came into practice, the names of the regions Ege and Karadeniz being given to the universities established during this period (Dolen, 2010, p. 75).

This American infusion was facilitated by acceptance of the multi-party system and enactment of Law No. 4936 in 1946. Accordingly, the autonomy of universities appeared in the political agenda, and fully administrative and scientific autonomy were granted to universities along with their affiliated faculties (Umunc, 1986, p. 443; Dolen, 2010, p. 112). According to this law, although the main emphasis was on training students with dedication to revolutionary ideals, the importance of scientific research came to prominence at this time (1946-1960), in alignment with the influence of the American higher education model. Accordingly, the mission of universities evolved towards not only educating for the learned professionals,' but also the 'scientific minds' of the country (Topaler *et al.*, 2015, p. 4). The prevalence of academic

professionalism logic was triggered due both to the increasing autonomy of universities and decentralisation of the field during this period, and also the obligation of doing a doctorate to be appointed as a professor, which came into practice with the new law (Dolen, 2010, p.112).

The prevalence of a more democratic and participative culture in universities, together with the reinforced autonomy of universities was leveraged in parallel with the military coup overthrowing the Democrat Party on 27 May, 1960. Universities underwent major arrangements, which resulted in the removal of all authority from the presidents of the Board of Education and Ministry of Education. The most important progress in this period was the inclusion of universities in the Constitution for the first time, through which not only job security of academics was ensured, but freedom for membership of any political party was granted to academics (Dolen, 2010, p. 112). Universities accordingly experienced the highest degree of autonomy and academic freedom in the history of higher education in Turkey during this time (1960-1971). This lasted until military intervention on 12 March 1971, which resulted in restriction of the authority of universities under Law No. 1488, 20 September 1971. According to this law, the control and auditing rights of universities were vested in government (Dolen, 2010, p. 114). Other attempts, such as the establishment of the Higher Education Council as supreme governing body, paved the way for direct governmental interference with universities and infringement of their autonomy (Art. 5, 6) (Umunc, 1986, p. 447).

All in all, socio-political turmoil has been highly influential in shaking the autonomy of universities in the Turkish context, due to a highly centralized state structure. This characterization of the field constrains the enactment and embodiment of market logics (Sozen and Shadow, 2002; Topaler *et al.*, 2015). The next section is devoted to discussion of the influence of NPM reforms over the field of higher education, with particular reference to the Turkish context.

5.2.2.3 Influence of Neo-Liberal Politics and prevalence of market logic

Entrepreneurial logic is embedded in the larger societal ‘market logic’, which has been introduced with the implementation of New Public Management (NPM)

reforms across the globe (Ozen and Ozturk, 2016). The Turkish higher education field has been affected by NPM reforms since the 1980s (Aslan, 2014), particularly with the election of the Conservative Government under Turgut Ozal in 1989 (Cizreliogullari, 2013). During this period, private initiatives in higher education were encouraged, and consequently the number of private and public universities expanded. Additionally, membership of the Bologna Process in 2001 opened up higher education institutions to wider new education agendas with new programmes and implementations, the main focus being on the internationalisation of education. The objective was to prepare students to compete in the international labour market, which could be seen as the projection of neo-liberal politics (Altan, 2011; Yagci, 2010).

Together, these initiatives implied significant changes and challenges in the higher education field in the Turkish context, in alignment with the prevalence of entrepreneurial logic, which was embedded in new-managerial ideology. These changes are summarized in Table 5.2, which also shows field level changes in the Canadian and UK contexts, and might help us to observe differences and similarities in the implications of these reforms. This table should be read in conjunction with Table 3.1, where the assumptions of new managerialism logic are summarized, which might allow us to track the implications of NPM reforms on the higher education field in the Turkish context. The following parts of this section are concerned with the main changes in the field of higher education and, accordingly, the main challenges that universities have been exposed to in this context.

5.2.2.3.1 Changing characteristics and main values of universities

The main characteristics and values of universities have changed with the growing number of universities, which has been the case across the globe, with the prevalence of neo-liberal thinking. In Turkey, in line with the government policy of widening participation, and providing higher education for everyone, the number of universities increased significantly, in particular after the 1980s (see Appendix 5; and Gunay and Gunay, 2011; Onder and Onder, 2009 for evaluations of the number of universities). The following figure shows the increase in the numbers of public and private universities between 1933 and 2013.

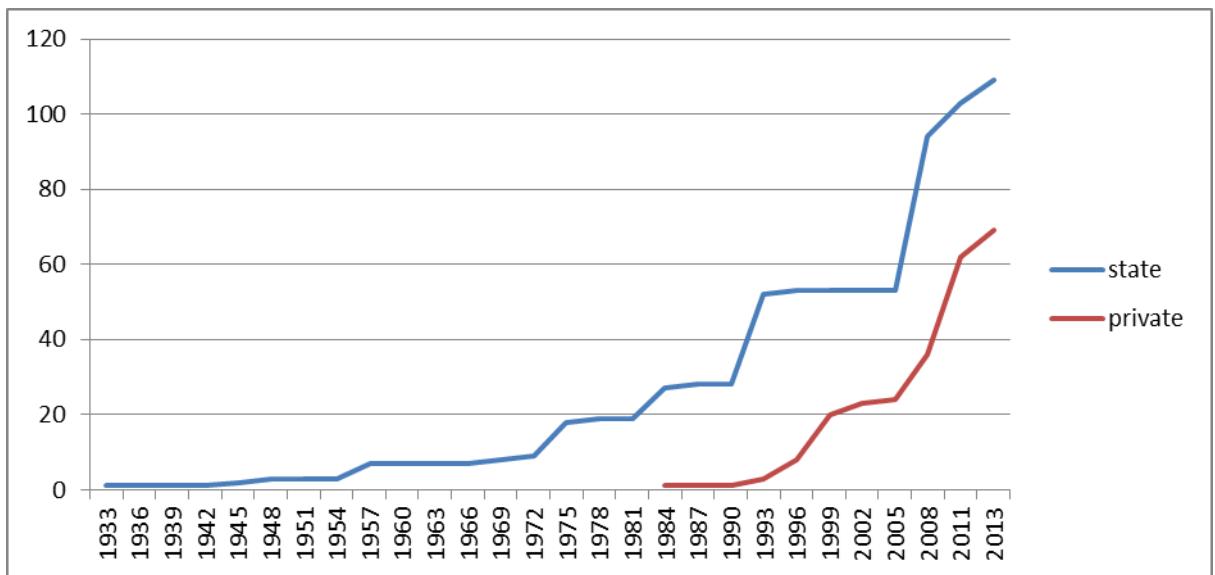


Figure 5.1 Changing number of public and private universities in Turkey

Source: Data collected from several sources

As seen from the Figure 5.1, public universities have increased in waves. While there were only nine universities in Turkey at the beginning of 1973, eight more universities were established by 1982 in a second wave. The first private university was established in 1984 and the second in 1994. In particular, the number of universities increased significantly between 1994 and 2006. While the substantial increase in 1994 was pertinent to governmental policy on increasing the number of public universities (establishment of 24 public universities), increases in 2006 were due to the establishment of 21 private universities (see Gunay and Gunay, 2011; Onder and Onder, 2009 for evaluations of the number of universities).

Substantial growth in the number of universities was evaluated as universities having become more mass-orientated in character, rather than only attracting the elite. The quality of universities did not remain the same, and they could not meet education and research expectations in line with this growth, as discussed by scholars (e.g. Arap, 2010; Yagci, 2010). Research participants also highlighted this:

Despite in parallel with the rise in the number of universities, they do not meet expectations in terms of quality ...The most important thing is the element of human capital, rather than elements of legal or technical structures. It is the main problem that there is no increases in the number

of academics who are willing to research, who are diligent, enthusiastic, making the best of job, in the same proportion as in the rise in the number of universities. This harms the overall quality of education system in a way that, for example, competent researchers from well-known universities prefer the newly established universities (Int. 26, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

Graduation from the Faculty of Law is very difficult. For the times of two generations older than me, it was more difficult. Previously there were 10 very difficult lectures, but [now there are] three, because of the mass education (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU).

More importantly, it has been emphasised by participants that universities have been seen as a new form of labour market in recent times, whereby people who cannot find any other job in the market might apply. In former times, being an academic was viewed as prestigious, since this was an elitist system, in which only high status, elite people were included. The following interview extracts show changing perceptions towards academia:

In my recruitment time, only students from rich families are chosen as the research assistant, since it is demanding job. In my panel, I was asked about the financial situation of my family and I had to lie to be appointed as a research assistant. I told them that my family is rich and they can cover my education costs such as books or conference participations (Int. 21, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

OYP (Academic training programme) is the biggest indicator showing changes in HEF, since being academic as a job turned into a job placement agency (Int. 20, Fac. of Communication, IU).

Another change pertinent to the characteristics of universities in the Turkish context, which was transformational in nature, was the removal of the diversity of higher education institutions with the amalgamation of different kinds of education institutions, i.e. academies, education institutes (teacher training colleges), vocational schools and conservatoires, into new universities (Dolen, 2010, p.115-116). The consolidation of different institutions pursuing different objectives within the same university system has enabled coherence within the universities (Umunc, 1986, p. 450), as well as standardisation of higher education, which is promoted by managerial logic. In line with this, the duration of study courses, curricular objectives, admissions, teaching responsibilities, size of tuition fees, and common minimal entry requirements have been set for all universities (Umunc, 1986, p. 450).

In alignment with the same logic, academic titles granted by various institutions were also equalized (temporary theme Law no. 6). Standardisation of universities in many aspects and equalisation of academic titles granted by various HEIs has caused significant problems by decreasing the standards of education and research in leading universities (Dolen, 2010, p. 115). In particular, standardisation of programme portfolios, and depending on 'stick curricula', which are determined by the YOK, is mentioned as one of the problems restricting the autonomy of faculties:

Our main problem is the stick programme, which was determined in line with the Bologna Process, under the scope of standardisation of curricula. According to that while 70% of the curricula is stick, only 30% is flexible. It also varies on the basis of the faculty. For example, curricula at the faculty of theology is fully stick, although they initiated to change it, they could not. Universities should be autonomous, so we do not like the stick programme. None of the faculty of the law resembles each other in Turkey and they should not as well (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Education, IU).

Bologna Process reforms facilitated the restructuration of higher education fields (HEF) by allowing room for diversification in the funding sources of universities (Public Financial Management Model, 2006), supporting university/industry relations and the establishment of project culture. In alignment with this overall nationwide, global trend, the notion of 'entrepreneurial university' appeared in the Turkish context in the 1980s (Aslan, 2010). More specifically, cuts in public spending on higher education (as indexes from 100 to 91) resulted in a growing dependency on trading capital in the form of consultancy and enterprise income (from 19% to 38%) and income from students (from 2% to 5%) from 1990 to the 2000s (Aslan, 2010, p. 180; YOK, 2001, p.119). Collectively, these developments paved the way for the adoption of more lucrative and effortless programmes, such as online remote education and certification programmes, as well as specific activities strengthening university/industry relations, which are anchored in neo-liberal ideology (Aslan, 2014), and hence privatisation process. For example, although Istanbul University had already started to arrange certificate programmes in different faculties, such as business administration and political science, this was only a recent initiative for the Faculty of Law, as mentioned by participants:

IU started to arrange certificate programmes. Previously, there was not that kind of traditions. Remote education programmes have been put into practice, because universities becoming massive-in-character. It is a way of privatization of public universities....there is certification obligation for promotion in career, because four-year education will become insufficient. Universities will sell certificates with body of lawyers (baro) like how Chamber of Engineering sell certifications with universities (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU).

Entrepreneurial initiatives of universities, including technology transfer offices, incubation centres, indexes for establishing entrepreneurial and innovative university, and redesigning the academic promotion criteria are also emphasized in policies such as the strategic plans of the Supreme Council for Science and Technology (SCST) (Yildirim and Askun, 2012). However, the lack of autonomy of Turkish universities is considered a main reason hindering the entrepreneurial orientations of universities, since networking with industry partners requires the independence of universities in decision-making processes (Clark, 2001; Yildirim and Askun, 2012).

5.2.2.3.2 Changing rationale, legitimacy sources and focus of attention

In alignment with the introduction of the Bologna Process, a series of reforms have been introduced in 'degree structures, mobility and recognition, quality assurance, Life-long Learning and social dimension' (Bologna Process Implementation Report, 2012; Yagci, 2010). Exchange programmes with other universities in different national contexts (e.g. Erasmus) or within Turkey (e.g. Farabi and Mevlana programmes), are examples of new programmes initiated, the main considerations of which are mobility, transparency and recognition of qualifications.

Shifting the focus of universities towards entrepreneurialism and internationalization has signalled changing perceptions of legitimacy sources among HEIs. Universities have become more externally orientated, attaching greater importance to rankings and performance evaluation mechanisms, such as performance assessments and student feedback surveys:

Importance of rankings and that of number of patents are increasing. For example, index is becoming very important, which derives from Anglo-Saxon tradition and it places universities in a very meaningless competition (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Education, IU).

Overall, diversification in the funding sources of universities, due to the limitations of public budget and insufficient academic salaries, combined with the newly emerging project culture, exerts pressures on academics, who are trapped in the dilemma between choosing research areas on the basis of availability of sponsors and popularity, or their own research interest. In summary, changing the legitimacy concerns of universities has triggered applied research at the expense of curiosity driven research, which focuses on producing only scientific knowledge:

It is intended to make transformation in some fields through capitalizing and there are interventions to direct researchers to some particular areas. Conferences support this transformation as well. For example, while no one give credits to the researches on criminal law, there are many congresses (three in a year) on the medicine criminal law, which serves to transformation of the (capitalizing) the medicine field. Sponsors of the health conferences are the big pharmaceutical companies and all the discussed topics (there is no discussion, but speeches) are about the property and patent rights on drugs. These conferences serve for the purposes of the capitalism. Here quality of the scientific knowledge also changes... (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU).

In line with the establishment of YOK and general governmental policy towards centralization of state agents, significant changes were also being made in the recruitments of managers and early academics in the adoption of a more centralized system. For example, according to a new law (No. 2547), the selection of managers at all levels by academics through the various governing bodies of the particular universities and their faculties has been replaced by central appointment (by the YOK) (Dolen, 2010; Umunc, 1986). This has been heavily criticised by Egitim-Sen (trade union) (Altan, 2011). Dolen (2009) evaluates this process as a transformation of all units in the universities and faculties into institutions, which have no authority in decision-making, but only in expression of their opinions. One obvious reason for this change is to 'increase accountability and to increase efficiency, as well as to exclude any possible political partisanship, from the choice of university administrators' (Umunc, 1986, pp. 453-454). The main purpose is related to the intention of the Government towards controlling and auditing the field of higher education along with other fields (Dolen, 2010). This is supported in the current research, as highlighted by the interview extract below:

There is democracy illusion at all universities in Turkey. President gives final decision for the appointments of the rectors. .. Universities are not autonomous. For example, president of the YOK said 'he is my staff' for the one of the rector (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, Vocational School, IU).

In the Turkish context, another change was related to centralization of the appointments of early academics through the Training Academic Staff Programme (OYP). It is obvious from the interviews that this process also facilitates the establishment of Anglo-Saxon culture through demolishing apprenticeship relations. According to OYP, early career academics are selected via central appointments, on the basis of their degree classification and ALES exams (exams assess analytical thinking), rather than pursuing the standard recruitment process including face-to-face interviews with professors. OYP was applied at the Middle Technical University for the first time in 2002, and then extended to the other large universities, such as Hacettepe, Ankara, Ege, Gazi, Bogazici and Istanbul Technical (www.yok.gov.tr). The main purpose of this programme is to meet the need for competent academics in sufficient numbers for all the newly established universities. According to this system, candidates are centrally appointed to the rooted universities as research assistants for their doctoral education, and are transferred to the newly established universities after completion of their PhD degrees.

Overall, the restructuration of state devices towards more centralization as a governance policy, as well as party patronage and clientelism, which are characteristics of the Turkish political system, restrict the implementation of NPM reforms in Turkey (Sozen and Shaw, 2002; Topaler *et al.*, 2015). On the other hand, the Bologna Process facilitates the restructuration of HE towards becoming more market-oriented, which is anchored in neo-liberal thinking, as discussed in the preceding part of this section. The next section looks at the evolution of the Canadian higher education field, in alignment with the influence of neo-liberal politics.

5.3 Research setting two: The field of higher education in Canada

This section engages with the societal-field level findings pertinent to the Canadian context. The first part gives an account of the salient characteristics of the field in relation to liberal polity. The second part outlines the field level changes in relation to the prevalence of market logic, with a focus on the main institutional complexities at the field level. The insights presented in this section rely on the cognate literature, documents and interviews, which are presented in detail in the Methodology Chapter (Chapter 4).

5.3.1 Characteristics of the field

The Canadian higher education field is described as a quasi-market system, in which both market forces and governmental interventions are at play (Lang, 2005). Higher education is organised by federal governments (FG) rather than one great governing agency in the Canadian context. More specifically, Canada consists of 10 provinces and three independent territories, in which state regulatory frameworks, institutional mechanisms and governance of HEIs vary (Glor, 2001; Kirby, 2011; Shanahan and Jones, 2007). The basis of the regulatory framework of higher education in this context relies on the constitution of the British North America (BNA) Act of 1867, which allocates responsibilities and powers to the Canadian Parliament and the legislatures of the provinces. In other words, three layers of legislation, which are federal, provincial and city by-laws, are in play in the governance of higher education. However, higher education is a mainly provincial responsibility, while federal government provides an indirect support (Cameron, 1992; Schuetze and Bruneau, 2004).

More pertinently, federal government provides direct and indirect research support through transfer payments in the form of cash transfers or tax point transfers (Shanahan and Jones, 2007). Since 1997, direct research support has mainly been achieved through grants from 'three-tier council' research agencies, which are: the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC), the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and the Canadian Institute of Health Research (CIHR). On the other hand, since 2001, indirect research costs have been supported by the federal government (approximately

26%) through the federal Indirect Cost programme (AUCC, 2006). The highly decentralized funding system, due to the federal state structure, renders this field distinctive. This is also highlighted in official policy reports:

Canada remains the only major industrialized nation without a national minister of education and, consequently, without a widely shared national vision for postsecondary education. This basic tension has led to a patchwork of indirect and direct federal spending and an assortment of conditional and unconditional federal-provincial agreements governing grants and transfers (Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, 2006, p. 6).

Higher education is hence the shared responsibility of provincial and federal government, which is a challenge for the universities, due to loose coordination, particularly concerning research efforts (Cameron, 1992; Jones *et al.*, 2002). Research intensive institutions, which mostly rely on indirect research funds from federal research grant programmes, can suffer from a policy which does not recognize indirect research costs. This may be considered a serious deficiency in the federal research grant programme, except in some provinces, which provide direct support for university research, such as Alberta (pioneer) in this regard (Cameron, 1992). Overall, challenges of the federal system in higher education are due to ambiguities in the responsibility of government. This was emphasized by one participant:

The problem is, we've got 3 layers of legislation in Canada. We have the federal legislation, we have the provincial legislation, and then we have the city by-laws, and all of those have impacts on what we can and cannot do, or how we have to handle things (Int. 13, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoA).

Additionally, the Canadian higher education system is characterized by the dominance of public colleges and universities (Puplampu, 2003), which, to some extent, restrict the dominance of market forces, despite the growing role of market mechanisms. This characterization therefore facilitates a quasi-market system, in which a mix of government regulation and market dynamics come to play in the governance of higher education (Kirby, 2011).

Another salient characteristic of Canadian HEIs is the high level of institutional autonomy, which is mainly evident in the operations of universities, such as

controlling their own recruitment, curriculum and admissions (Shanahan and Jones, 2007; Jones, 2006). Moreover, the overwhelming model of university government in Canada is bicameralism, with a lay governing board and academic senate. This governance structure was adopted by Canadian universities in accordance with the decision of the 1906 Royal Commission by the University of Toronto. The governing boards are largely comprised of respected citizens appointed by government. Academic senates, on the other hand, are comprised of senior scholars and academic administrators (Jones *et al.*, 2002). Only two major universities, Laval and Toronto, depart from this model, both having adopted unicameral governing structures. In particular, Toronto has moved a considerable distance back towards bicameralism (Cameron, 1992).

Overall, the higher education field in Canadian context is characterized by shared responsibility of provincial and federal government in the allocation of responsibilities and funds to higher education institutions, and dominance of public universities and colleges, in which remarkable institutional autonomy and bicameralism are adopted. These characterizations influence the success of the implementation of NPM reforms in this context, which is pertinent to the macro-level theoretical interest of this work, and is discussed in the following section.

5.3.2 Influence of Neo-Liberal Politics and prevalence of market logic

As outlined in the Chapter 3, in the Canadian context, NPM reforms have been adopted widely in varying degrees, depending on the ideological stance of the provincial government (Glor, 2001), which is discussed in the rest of this section. The election of a Conservative (neo-liberal) Government under Brian Mulroney in 1984 was influential in the implementation of these reforms in the country. During this period, public expenditure was controlled which was a government policy. For the first time, federal governments reduced transfer payments in 1995, the percentage of budget cuts having increased gradually over the years (Lavoie, 2009; Shanahan and Jones, 2007), which has facilitated the growing role of market mechanisms in this field.

Marketization is a domino effect that begins with an initial reduction in the block grant and subsequent institutional attempts to make up for lost funds, as noted by Slaughter and Leisler (1997). In the Canadian context, reduction of federal

tax payments was also crucial in the growing role of market mechanisms in the higher education field. The role of federal government has evolved from 'funder and provider of research' to 'catalyst and initiator of research' (Jones *et al.*, 2002; Jones, 2013). FG budget reductions for universities has meant an increasing reliance on the tuition fees of international students (depending on the provinces), emergence of special grants and programmes, funding institutions and the introduction of other institutional efforts, which has facilitated the growing role of market mechanisms, as dictated by neo-liberalism (Kirby, 2011).

FG has expanded its funding through research councils, and created new initiatives that provide support for the research infrastructure with the mission of creating a 'knowledge-based society' and achieving competitive advantage in science and technology across the globe. Within this scope, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC), and the Canadian Institute of Health Research (CIHR), collectively called the 'Tri-Councils', were created as independent grant councils from federal government in 1977 (Shanahan and Jones, 2007). On the other hand, federal support for universities had increased by 2001 with governmental policy placing Canadian higher education in a world-leading position (Metcalfe and Fenwick, 2009; Jones *et al.*, 2002). In alignment with this, special credit was given to the research policy and innovation agendas, and federal government introduced Canada's Innovation Strategy in higher education. In particular, the documents of 'Knowledge Matters and Achieving Excellence', published by federal government, were crucial in bringing about the discussion of science and technology in the Canadian context (Lavoile, 2009).

Additionally, FG established research agencies, such as the Canada Foundation for Innovation (CFI) in 1997, the Canadian Council for Learning (CCL) in 2004 and the Workplace Skills Strategy (WSS) agency in 2005, with the mission of creating a knowledge society. In particular, CFI, which was established as an organisation independent from government, in order to provide a research infrastructure through partnerships with private and voluntary sectors and provincial government, became a major source of financial support for universities (Metcalfe and Fenwick, 2009; Shanahan and Jones, 2007; Jones, 2013). Overall, the expansion of funding mechanisms through research

councils, and the creation of research foundations and programmes independent from federal government has meant increasing withdrawal of the federal government from higher education, and its evolving role towards being more a 'catalyst and initiator of research'.

In line with the influence of neo-liberal ideology, the characterization of universities, their central values, mission, model of governance, rationality and sources of legitimacy, as well as the roles and responsibilities of academics, have all evolved. These changes are summarized in Table 5.2, in comparison with other contexts, Turkey and UK. This table should be read in conjunction with Table 3.1, in which assumptions of New Managerialism logic are summarized, which might allow us to track specific implications of NPM reforms on the higher education field in the Canadian context.

The changing role of universities is also emphasized in the official reports of particular Canadian Universities. Kirby (2011) notes that six out of ten provinces (Ontario, 2005; Newfoundland and Labrador, 2005; Alberta, 2006; British Columbia, 2007; Saskatchewan, 2007; New Brunswick, 2007; 2008) published official reports, in which the roles and responsibilities of the universities were redefined. Common themes emphasized in these reports were the role of the universities in economic growth through fostering innovation and meeting educational and labour force development requirements for the knowledge economy; the value of universities in society, particularly for under-represented specific groups; and student' returns on HE in terms of employment income or personal benefit of universities. I have summarized these changes below.

5.3.2.1 Changing characteristics and main values of universities

In alignment with the general global trend, universities in the Canadian context were originally limited in number and elite in character, providing education for a particular class of society (Kirby, 2011). However, in parallel with the introduction of NPM reforms in the twentieth century, the role and mission of universities has evolved towards being more responsible in meeting the educational needs of the wider society. Participation in post-secondary education became not only an individual responsibility, but also the responsibility of

society and the Government, with the mission of creating a knowledge-based economy in the Canadian context, (Canadian Council Learning Report, 2009). The shifting characteristics of universities from the 1990s onwards was also highlighted by participants:

I am not sure when it lost its way. I think the 1990's certainly hurt it. ...when it went from one in 10 students going to university, which was the case in Britain. When I went through, one in 10 high school students went to university. And then there was a big decision, society made a decision that universities should be much more open, far more people should be able to access universities.... But it changed the way universities worked and what they did. Before, the classes were all small, you had a lot of time with the professors, there weren't a lot of professors, so everybody knew what was going on, they all spoke the same language. They all understood what the mission of the institution was (Int. 16, Academic, Fac. of Medical Science, UoA).

A growing number of universities were placed at the centre of society (Fallis, 2004, p. 13). The value of universities and their impact on societal challenges was increasingly questioned:

The general public [asked] about "What is the value of the university to a city? (Int. 13, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoA).

There are questions being raised about the value of the universities, and students today... So I think these kind of issues flow over time; universities when they are created in the US were constructed, many of them for land grant institutions to help catalyse local economic growth and productivity, and so that was part of the mission for many of the universities (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoA).

Accordingly, the role of universities in economic growth, through fostering innovation and meeting educational and labour force development requirements for the knowledge economy, has been increasingly discussed. For example, the establishment of the Canadian Job Strategy Programme depicts changes in mechanisms from publicly funded skills training and development of privatized training shaped by the needs of industrial groups (Shanahan and Jones, 2007).

5.3.2.2 Changing rationale, legitimacy sources and focus of attention

In line with the financial withdrawal and evolving role of federal government, provincial governments responded to these changes in different ways,

depending on the ideology of the government in play. For example, the provinces of Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario, in which neo-liberal government was in power, experienced huge budget cuts from federal government during the 1990s. These provinces employed market mechanisms in the allocation of resources and revenue generation, which was mainly evident in deregulation of tuition fees and strengthening links with industry, increasing the importance of the key performance indicators, institutional transparency and accountability (Shanahan and Jones, 2007; Puplampu, 2003; Jones *et al.*, 2002). Although, increases in tuition fees vary depending on provincial governmental policy, they increased, for example, from 16.3% of operating income in 1987/88 to 30.6% in 1997/98 in most universities, as a response to first cutbacks from federal government (Jones *et al.*, 2002). More specifically, while tuition fees increased by 5% on average annually in Ontario, this was regulated according to the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) in the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia (Kirby, 2011, p. 273).

In alignment with this, more targeted grant support mechanisms for the borrowers of student loans were created. The previously efficient Canada Student Loan Programme (1964), which adopted a more universal programme structure, was replaced with new governmental mechanisms, targeting needy students more specifically. Within this scope, the new Canada Student Financial Assistance Act, which facilitates increasing loan limits and creation of new mechanisms for financing student loans through the private sector, was put into practice in 1994. More specifically, the Canadian Opportunities Strategy (1998) and Canadian Millennium Scholarship Programme (CMSF) were created, in order to provide financial support to targeted groups (Kirby, 2011; Shanahan and Jones, 2007). Additionally, FG introduced the new Student Loan Repayment Assistance Plan (RAP) in 2009 in order to help students in management of repayment of their loans (Kirby, 2011). Dramatic budget cuts from federal government increased the reliance of universities on students and facilitated the emergence of new market mechanisms. For example, the growing reliance on international students has triggered internationalisation in the agenda of Canadian universities, which is evident in their exchange programmes, partnerships with institutions in other contexts and the number of international

students. This has been discussed by many scholars (e.g. Beck, 2008, 2012; Kirby, 2008; Knight, 2008).

Additionally, innovation-oriented applied science agenda was encouraged by governmental policy, and university/industry networks were strengthened in order to increase competitiveness of the Canadian higher education sector across the globe in a knowledge-based economy. Its basis relies on the establishment of the National Centres of Excellence Programme in 1989, which was expanded in 1997, in order to respond to the research needs of business sectors and encourage universities to conduct more applied research (Metcalfe and Fenwick, 2009; Shanahan and Jones, 2007). Accordingly, the emphasis mainly on ‘applied’ research which aims to provide solutions to global challenges, and is more likely to be funded by research agencies such as WSS and CCL, rather than basic exploratory research. On the other hand, the innovation criteria of research are also judged as being important enough to be funded by the CFI (Metcalfe and Fenwick, 2009). The increasing importance of practice-oriented applied research comes to prominence at the expense of curiosity-driven research, and restricts institutional autonomy and academic freedom (Bruneau and Savage, 2002). This is considered as a challenge for particular disciplines, which are more likely to be aligned with blue-sky research, favouring for single projects rather than collaboratively large, inter-disciplinary projects. This was highlighted by participants:

There's more effort to favour translation and figuring out the relevance and practical import of your research...In a sense, fundamental research is under assault in some way, but it's just forcing researchers to figure out how their research has relevance to communicate that to a broad audience... Governments want to see innovation, technology commercialisation, and universities being accountable for research dollars being spent to show that it's having some sort of direct impact on the world...On the research side, it's unclear if there are major changes to the nature of research, although to the extent that there is an interest and focus on revenue generation, then it's going to favour certain kinds of faculties or certain kind of researchers that are in areas that are able to do that... Those are the most vivid changes that have happened recently (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoA).

But the funding will probably dictate that if you don't do it, you are going to have less resources to do the things that you want to do. (Int. 15, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

The Government does have an opinion about what should be studied. They fund things, specifically with an agenda in mind. They make monies available specifically to drive particular research areas; all you have to do is look at the energy industry. The Government funds a huge amount of energy research; they have an opinion. They are not making the same amounts of money available for alternative energy research, or they are not doing the same thing for medieval literature, they are spending monies consistent with their economic agenda (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

On the other hand, rankings are also seen as sources of legitimacy. The increasing expectations of Government and other stakeholders, including students and funding agencies, exerts pressure over universities. The following statements show the increasing demands for publishing in high-ranked journals, and the importance of ranking for the external representation of universities:

There's still the pressure to publish more at the school level, at the Faculty of Business, is because we are concerned about external rankings. And I'm sure that you've heard of the Financial Times publication and the Financial Times journal rankings, and there are many other journal rankings that research, so it's important for our faculty to be noticed (Int. 3, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoA).

The entire university system is becoming more and more pressured on all these publishing things. So it might be your way only, I think you can generalise, there are some academics and they say that we are in the audit culture and we are comfortably evaluated.....there is a strong information asymmetry...Financial Times ranks Business Schools, and so if you are not in the ranking, in the top 100, it's a problem (Int. 9, Early Career-academic, Business School, UoA).

Overall, these changes mean increasing the accountability demands of external stakeholders. For example, detailed accountability plans of universities, such as specific outcomes of expenditures, are requested from Government (Shanahan and Jones, 2007). The following quotes highlight how increasing accountability and transparency demands of the Government exerts pressure over universities:

Government are saying "With this funding, we want you to report back and be more accountable on how many students are you graduating, what are the outputs? Are they getting jobs?" you know, so the standard and the expectations from our previous funders have changed.... So there's been a lot more changes in terms of our external funders, trying to figure out what it is the university is supposed to do, and what's in it for them, and I think that's changed our thinking and put a lot more pressure on a university and its leadership teams and it's governors as well to figure that out...We took it for granted in a lot of ways, and now it's a lot of work to be accountable in a lot of ways. It takes a lot of work to produce the reports and the data and everything else (Int. 13, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoA).

There has definitely been a trend towards stakeholders wanting something – a chart. Something that can be made into a chart really, and showing that you are going up the hill. So just to give you an example of what happens is what we did a U of A (Int. 14, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoA).

Participants highlighted that accountability demands of stakeholders cause pressure due to ambiguities in the extent of reporting:

We have a freedom of information and protection and privacy legislation. You know, we've always done business transparently, but now the expectations are heightened in terms of what we will reveal to the public (Int. 13, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoA).

If when we've got capital projects, if we don't bring them in on budget, then the public who sees public dollars going through it, and if your projects are always 20% over budget, then the public starts saying "Well they aren't really good stewards of their money, maybe we should give it somewhere else", but the University can't make a budget (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

Overall, NPM reforms have been widely implemented in the Canadian higher education field. As discussed throughout this section, due to the federal structure of the state, implementation of these reforms varies depending on the province. The next section looks at the evolution of the higher education field in the UK, in alignment with the influence of neo-liberal politics.

5.4 Research setting three: The field of higher education in the UK

In this section, first I provide evaluation of the salient characteristics of the higher education field in the UK context in relation to the liberal polity. I then move on to the main changes and complexities experienced in line with the incursion of market logic. This situated understanding of the macro-field level dynamics in the UK context is informed by the pertinent literature, documents and interviews which are presented in detail in the Methodology Chapter (Chapter 4).

5.4.1 Characteristics of the field

In the UK context, higher education is governed by unitary government, with devolved specific powers to the Governments of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. HEIs in this context are considered as autonomous institutions, in which strategic decisions are given by councils or governing bodies, independently from Government (Baskerville, 2013, p. 11). However, as will be discussed throughout this section, the increasing withdrawal of Government (in terms of financial support) from HE has facilitated diversification of funding through the growing role of market mechanisms and, in turn, decentralization of HE planning in this context (Barr, 2004; Greenaway and Haynes, 2003). More specifically, as noted by Middleton (2000, p. 554), the field of HE is described as a combination of 'quasi-market' mechanisms, in which increased state control, market forces and professional interests are at play in the governance of HEIs in this context.

More pertinently, considering the funding of HE, the Government provides direct and indirect research support under a 'dual support system'. While direct support is provided in the form of an annual 'block grant' from the funding councils, indirect research support includes grants for specific research projects, contracts and postgraduate programmes, which is delivered through research councils (Baskerville, 2013). The Higher Education Statistics Agency in the UK reported that the main sources of income for HEIs are tuition fees and education contracts (44,5%), funding body grants (19,8%), research grants and contracts

(16,5%) (HESA, 2013/14). Therefore, although HEIs in the UK are autonomous due to their governance structure, the decline in 'block grants' from the Government, which is discussed in the next section, has increased the dependency of universities on other sources of income, which restricts institutional autonomy and academic freedom (Middleton, 2000). This has been highlighted by participants:

They can't be fully autonomous because they are dependent. And then they're also evaluated, so there's the whole evaluative state, looking at quality, looking at control, looking at value for money, looking at how money is spent. So the universities are becoming very scrutinized and their independence and their autonomy is certainly under pressure. And trying to keep that autonomy is going to be a challenge, a huge challenge within the sector, there's no doubt about that... But yes, certainly Governments and society are expecting universities to be very open and transparent, but that leads to them being strongly controlled and evaluated, and that can erode the autonomy that's needed, especially if they are dependent on Government sources for funding. But also student because they are paying higher fees now, are also demanding as well in relation to standards, quality of education, having access not just a postgraduate to teach, but academics who are active in research and teaching as well, I think that's very important. So in respect, yes, universities are certainly becoming more and more constrained in relation to what they can do, because of the whole process of evaluation that is imposed on them by the State, absolutely (Int. 18, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Healthcare, UoS).

As noted by Baskerville (2013, p. 51), 'HEIs are highly regulated, especially with regard to quality assurance, immigration, compliance and a range of financial matters'. Overall, continuous governmental intervention, in particular, the net immigration policy of Government, as well as insufficient policies relating to, for example, quality provision and auditing culture, exerts pressure over HEIs in this context:

In private businesses you would choose whether or not you move into a different area of business based on your strengths as an institution and your strategic goals. We don't have that ability; Government decide an awful lot of where we have to focus our efforts. So I think that's a constant challenge. And you know, I think in education, it would be the same across education not just higher education, Government don't respect the experts in terms of the academics setting that direction and understanding quality of provision and other things, and so they make policy that isn't based around expert opinion (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).

Additionally, international students are evaluated as a major source of income, due to their high tuition fees. The following quote highlights that the autonomy

of universities is restricted not only because of governmental control and auditing, but also because of being reliant on other stakeholders:

If we did not have overseas students, then the business model would not be sustainable for a research intensive university... We make about a 55% margin on overseas students; so that is a pretty important stabilising factor in the business model... We've had for the last 2 or 3 years and the biggest difficulty that universities have with Government, is that the current British Government has decided that it wants to reduce net immigration, and overseas students are counted (in my view wrongly) as part of net immigration. So it has done a number of things to the visa policy of the Country which make it now more difficult for us to get overseas students to come from some countries (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

The universities are under a great deal of financial pressure, I think in particular the requirement to focus on our customers, you know, to make sure that the student experience is as good as it can possibly be; make sure that your recruitment numbers of students stay up each year; you know, people are very focused on the fact that if they don't have places filled, this is going to be financially extremely serious. So this is something that people are very focused on now, I think much more so than in previous years (Int. 9, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Hence the, 'finance of HE in UK context is sensitive politically' (Barr, 2004, p. 268). Although HE is controlled by unitary government, the financial withdrawal of government funding has facilitated the growing role of market mechanisms and decentralization of governance in the field. The changing dynamics of the higher education field provoke discussions on institutional transparency, autonomy and academic freedom concerns, among others, which will be elucidated in more detail in the following section.

5.4.2 Influence of Neo-Liberal Politics and prevalence of market logic

The UK is the one of the countries which has realised NPM reforms most radically and fully (Deem and Brehony, 2005; Glor, 2001; Pollitt *et al.*, 2007). In particular, the election of a Conservative (neo-liberal) Government under Margaret Thatcher in 1979 was influential in the implementation of these reforms. This period was marked by policies advocating the control of public spending and encouragement of privatization (Hills, 1998), which led universities to change from being 'producer-dominated to more consumer-led organisations' (Deem *et al.*, 2007).

In the history of the UK higher education field, policy reports, such as the Robbins Report (1963), Jarrat Report (1985) and Dearing Report (1997), were crucial in reflecting governmental policy and addressing significant changes in the provision of education. For example, the Jarratt Report was published during the term of Conservative Government (Thatcher), in order to provide recommendations to deal with the reduction in expenditure and invoke new expectations from universities, which aligns with the dictations of public management reforms. This report is evaluated as the basis of the notion of '*we are businesses*', in which the role of academics and students are redefined as customers (Campbell, 2012, *The Telegraph*). In more detail, recommendations of the Jarrat Report included the establishment of new committees, such as Planning and Resources, for the improvement of institutional decision-making and development of performance indicators, such as internal, external and operational performance indicators, evaluation of efficiency, and comparisons with other institutions. The report also included the establishment of polytechnics as independent corporations (rather than institutions under the control of local government), which facilitated a competitive environment in the field (Ball and Wilkinson, 1994, p. 417).

Although public expenditure on higher education increased in parallel with the coming power of the New Labour party in 1990s, the introduction of tuition fees for the first time, through the Dearing Report also facilitated a competitive environment (Greenaway and Haynes, 2003). The Dearing Report, which is formally known as the report of the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, was published in 1997. Although the report included 93 recommendations, the most substantial one that affected universities concerned the introduction of tuition fees, replacement of maintenance awards by loans for all but the poorest students, and the expansion of sub-degree courses and degree-level courses. The Dearing Report has been also crucial in terms of triggering the growth of new forms of managerialism in higher education in the UK (Deem, 2004; Greenaway and Haynes, 2003). The importance of the Dearing Report in terms of facilitation of the growing role of market mechanisms has been implied in policy reports and by participants:

The Dearing Report of 1997 was part of this shift, reflecting the political view that in an age of globalization competition in the 'knowledge economy' was

the most important task of a higher education system. While Dearing certainly reasserted many of the classic principles of university education, the report also endorsed the idea of students as customers, a very different concept from the 'community of scholars and students' (Anderson, 2010, Policy report series).

From 1995/6 onwards, funding for universities started to increase again, particularly during the 10 years of the Labour Government, it increased dramatically. But along with that, came a culture of increased accountability. Now you could see that as something to do with the tightening of accountability in society as a whole, and pressure on public expenditure, but there is an alternative way of thinking about it historically, which is that the university sector grew, and the public as a whole became much more aware of the fact that they had a good argument in the context of a modern western democracy to demand a higher level of transparency and accountability about how universities operate...First of all we had the £1,000 fee, then we had the £3,000 fee and now we have the £9,000 fee. I think the introduction of the £1,000 fee didn't really make very much difference. The £3,000 fee started to make a difference. The £9,000 fee makes a very big difference, because all of a sudden, because it coincides with the withdrawal of HFCE funding from everything really except the clinical subjects and the more expensive laboratory subjects, means that when you are running an institution (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Overall, changes in the policy field of higher education paved the way for dramatic changes in internal management structures, systems and practices, and the professional academic culture of universities, as well as their role in society from the late 1990s. These changes are summarized in Table 5.2, which should be read in conjunction with Table 3.1, in which assumptions of new managerialism logic are summarized, which might allow us to follow the specific implications of NPM reforms on the higher education field in the UK context.

5.4.2.1 Changing characteristics and main values of universities

In the UK context, until publication of the Robbins Report (1963), universities were governed under the 1962 Education Act. According to this, tuition fees for most students were paid by the state. There were 24 universities in total, which emerged as bottom-up with deep local roots, rather than via a top-down process through intervention of the state, which had no back history of predecessor institutions (Report of Social Market Foundation, 2013, p. 38). While the UK system of higher education in the 1960s could be described as stable, state-funded and elite, publication of the Robbins Report (1963), which was revolutionary in character, paved the way to the expansion of universities and

student numbers and, in turn, massification of higher education in the UK (Barr, 2004; Deem *et al.*, 2007).

More pertinently however, although the Robbins Report was published with the aim of highlighting following themes: instruction in skills; increase in the nature and rigour of studies taught; advancement of learning in research; promotion of a common culture and common standards of citizenship, it is best known for its prescription on expansion in the number of students and universities, with government policy of providing the services 'to all who were qualified for them by ability and attainment'. In line with these initiatives on the expansion of universities, the number of universities almost doubled (from 25 to 45 by 1969) in a short span of time (Deem *et al.*, 2007). This significant expansion was followed by the granting of university status to the 35 polytechnic colleges in 1992, and establishment of 31 new universities between 2001 and 2013 (Baskerville, 2013, p. 8). This expansion meant changing the role and mission of universities, and also reflected on their internal management structures, governance and culture, etc. The competitive environment of the universities forced them to become more efficient and entrepreneurial in order to deal with challenges and survive. The following quotes reflect the changing mission of universities, in line with the increasing expectations:

Then what happened was, right through the '70's and the '80's and the '90's we expanded it, so that now nearly half the population. So first of all you've got a much more expensive system, and you're allocating a much larger amount of money to the university sector. But the amount of money that was allocated did not increase as fast as the number of people went to university, so the quality fell, so people started to complain (quite rightly) about class sizes and about teaching (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

The first is what some people have called the massification of university education; the number of students has risen very, very steeply. When I first started teaching, I was asked whether I would mind teaching two students; now even in history, we are perhaps having 50 people in a group. So the huge rise in the number of students has, I think, had lots and lots of knock on effects...in Britain there's been a big expansion. In the 1970's when I went to university, there was about 15% of the population went to university; now it's about nearly 50% (46% I think) (Int. 11, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Humanities, UoS).

5.4.2.2 Changing rationale, legitimacy sources and focus of attention

The increasing withdrawal of Government from the funding of higher education, increasing dependency on market mechanisms and a competitive environment for the field of higher education, requires selectivity in the allocation of funding. This has meant the introduction of league tables and research assessment exercises (RAE) in order to rank the quality and quantity of teaching and research (Berg *et al.*, 2004). First, RAE emerged as an accountability tool in 1986, with the purpose of peer reviewing to assess research work (four point scale). It was followed by the Research Selectivity Exercise (five point scale) in 1989; the next RAE (more selective) in 1992; and another RAE in 1996, the main focus being on the quality of the work, rather than the quantity (seven point scale) (Sarrico, 1998, p. 26). More recently, the last RAE (2008) was replaced by the Research Effective Framework (REF) in 2014, with a few additional changes in selectivity. The main changes included the adoption of a single framework for the funding and assessment of research across all subjects, with additional criteria on the 'impact' of the research (REF, 2014). Overall, the REF has become the main source of legitimacy and funding:

You suddenly realised that a proportion of your income from HEFCE was now not just going to come to you based on how many staff you had, but it was going to be adjusted to reflect the measured research performance of those staff. So all of a sudden there was a serious financial penalty for the institution if its research performance was mediocre... (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

As part of the 'value for money' result-driven approach (Ball and Wilkinson, 1994; Deem, 1998), impact agenda was driven by the Government. RCUK (Research Councils UK) also have a number of Cross-Council research programmes, multi-disciplinary programmes of research, which aim to address global-level research challenges, including themes in areas such as environmental change, life-long health and well-being, energy and dealing with global uncertainties in a rapidly changing world (Baskerville, 2013, p. 39). As discussed in the section on the Canadian context, practice-oriented applied research provides challenges for the particular disciplines, which are more likely to be aligned with blue-sky research, favouring single projects, rather than collaboratively large, inter-disciplinary projects. This, in turn, restricts institutional autonomy and academic freedom in the UK context, as well, and has been discussed by scholars (e.g. Baskerville,

2013; Martin, 2011). The following quotes highlight this kind of research pressure and restriction of academic freedom:

There are areas within the biological sciences which are highly fundable, and there are areas which are now far more difficult to get funding for. So if you think of palaeontology for example, it's hard to get funding for, whereas the biochemistry of cancer is not so hard, but they are both biological sciences. So it's not just humanities versus sciences, is essence my point (Int. 16, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences, UoS).

We are going to start seeing changes because of the new impact agenda, and understand what impact is, what it means and how it's got to be understood. That's a whole challenge, everyone's got, you know it's new; we've got to find out what's meant by it. There's a slight problem in Humanities which is that Humanities research traditionally is very often a lone scholar; you work on your own and you write a book. Whereas funding tends to be about project, and therefore it tends to be about multiple researchers and teams and so on. And publications that come out of that tend to be lots of different names on one article, which in Humanities is not given the same credit as a Monograph...So that's difficult because the funding we seek doesn't align with research that is valued by REF panels and people generally in Humanities. So that's a big challenge. And also there's very, very, very little public funding for research in Humanities. Far less than in any other areas of the University. Significantly less. So you have to do your research without money basically (Int. 14, Academic Manager, Fac. of Humanities, UoS).

Another challenge of the impact agenda is pertinent to the ambiguities in measurement of impact, which differs on the basis of the different disciplines. For example, assessment of the impact of engineering research is very different from that of medical research (Martin, 2011). This was also emphasized by participants:

I think you need to decide before you start off what you're going to measure and how you're going to demonstrate that measure is related to the impact. You think of the University of Manchester in impact, that the University of Manchester has had in the Country, then you've only go to say [Brian Cox], the physicist guy is on the TV all the time and in terms of people's perception of science, he's had a tremendous impact but I don't think we've got that as an impact case because there's no way of quantifying subsequently what that impact is (Int. 9, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Overall, the changing rationale in the field of higher education from social benefit rationale to economic (utilitatory) rationale is clearly outlined by Jones and Thomas (2005, p. 621) in their white paper review (2003):

The white paper outlines the economic purpose of HE. Improved scientific research outputs, which measure up to international standards, combined with an increased number of graduates from courses designed by in part, by employers, therefore constitute the main mechanisms by which the sector will develop in this sector.

The following quotation is crucial in terms of highlighting how the changing funding environment has resulted in the evaluation of undergraduate students as a major source of revenue, and directed the efforts of universities towards meeting the increasing expectations of undergraduate students and teaching related activities, rather than post-graduate students and research related practices:

All of their reforms over the last few years have been directed towards undergraduates, and that they have badly neglected the needs of postgraduate students in the UK (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoS).

Within this scope, the aforementioned dramatic changes in the field of higher education in the UK context has meant evolving internal management structures, decision-making arrangements and leadership roles towards more professionalism (e.g. Middlehurst, 2004; Whitchurch, 2006). As noted by Middlehurst (2004), post-1992 universities have been influential in changing the character of universities, particularly in terms of internal management structures. The professionalism process in internal management structures has also been highlighted by participants:

There's a professionalization process beginning to be instituted. Because of all these other things we have spoken about and the way universities have changed, there is I suppose, a slightly more carefully structured and serious layer of academic middle management in universities now, than there was 20 or 25 years ago, because there is more management work to be done (Int. 4, Senior-level Manager, UoM).

What's really changed and challenged us is the nature of the administrative support. It has changed from being quite a comfortable sort of one-to-one relationship; we used to call them secretaries, and we used to have lots of people helping, but you had a feel that you were in control of what your administrative needs were. And you, in your Faculty, and as an academic could say "I need this." That's all changed now. Academics no longer have any control over their own administrative support; there are professional services; there are student services; there are administrative services and we dip into them, and we get things, and we say "Ok, we need someone to help with timetabling". "Someone to help with examinations." "We need

somebody to help with X, Y, Z" but we don't have any control over it any more. And I think that's one of the biggest challenges all my colleagues hate. We no longer can say "I have a secretary" or "I have administrative support." Now my needs in this department are this kind, and we now have to work with this big one size fits all service across the whole University. And it doesn't work. It doesn't work, because it's not nuanced, it's not aware enough of what local issues are and local needs are. What engineers need is not the same as what Humanities need. So that I think is probably the most frustrating challenge that's taken place really over the last few years.... the whole administrative support side, and our control over it, that's really changed for the worse, absolutely for the worse (Int. 14, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Arts, UoS).

Overall, NPM reforms have meant: increasing state control, despite the decreasing financial support; introduction of institutional accountability tools, such as performance evaluation mechanisms; changing relations with stakeholders with the efficiency and 'value-for money' approach; and professionalism in internal management structures and leadership roles. Table 5.2 summarizes the context-specific evaluation of the macro-field level dynamics in relation to the broader level polities.

Table 5.2 Cross-comparative interpretation of societal and field level dynamics (1980s-2010s)

		Turkish Context	Canadian Context	UK Context
Inter-institutional societal dynamics	Polity	Statist polity Unitary government Highly centralized state structure	Liberal polity Federal government Decentralized state structure	Liberal polity Unitary government but federal in some substances Relatively centralized state structure
Field level dynamics	Changes in the field	From: State's role in auditing universities Large authorities of Inter-universities Board To: State's role as auditing and controlling universities Vesting of authorities of Inter-university Board to the YOK and HEACs Financially withdrawal, but increasing control	From: FG as a funder and provider of research To: FG as a catalyst and initiator of research Financial withdrawal of the FG, but continuing control	From: State's role as funder and provider of research To: State's role as facilitator and coordinator Financial withdrawal, but continuing control
	Role of state	Decreases in public expenditures as indexes from 100 to 91 Increasing financial dependency to trading capital (from 19% to 38%) and student incomes (from 2% to 5%)	First decreases in public expenditures from 81.1 % (1988) to 64.5 % (1998) First increases in tuition fees 16.3% (1988) to 30.6% (1998)	Decreases in block grant from 88% (2000) to 72 (2012) Introduction of first tuition fees of £1000 in 1998, increases up to £3000 in 2006, and £9000 in 2012
	Autonomy of universities	From: Relatively autonomous Universities are only legally scientifically and administratively autonomous and have governing bodies	From: Remarkably autonomous Operations (e.g. recruitments, curriculum and admissions) are controlled by universities To: Restriction of autonomy due to increasing reliance on funding for	From: Autonomous To: Restriction of autonomy due to increasing reliance on students and funding for revenue generation, but still autonomous

	<p>Faculties are not autonomous, but have governing bodies</p> <p>To: Legal restriction of autonomy</p> <p>Universities are scientifically autonomous but not administratively and governing bodies, but not faculties</p>	<p>revenue generation, but still autonomous (determination of research areas)</p>	<p>(determination of research areas and growing expectations of students, in parallel with enactment of students as customers approach)</p>
<i>Mission, characterization and central values of universities</i>	<p>From: Elite in character, dominance of public universities</p> <p>To: Massive in character, increasing number of private and public universities</p> <p>State-led internationalisation</p>	<p>From: Elite in character</p> <p>To: Massive in character</p> <p>International in character (more reliant on international students)</p>	<p>From: Elite in character</p> <p>To: Massive in character</p> <p>International in character (more reliant on international students)</p>
<i>Rationality and Legitimacy of resources and focus of attention</i>	<p>From: Social rationality, internal orientation, focus on curiosity-driven research</p> <p>To: Economic rationality is limited, external orientation, practice-oriented research, Performance evaluation mechanisms (with Bologna Process)</p> <p>Qualifications Framework (QF) (2006)</p>	<p>From: Social rationality; internal orientation, focus on curiosity-driven research</p> <p>To: Economic rationality, Impact agenda practice-oriented research is emphasized in WSS, CCL /Innovation is emphasized in CFI)</p> <p>Increasing importance of rankings, institutional accountability, transparency</p>	<p>From: Social rationality; internal orientation, focus on curiosity-driven research</p> <p>To: Economic rationality to a greater extent, REF</p> <p>Practice-oriented research (emphasized in REF2014)</p> <p>increasing importance of rankings, institutional accountability, transparency</p> <p>meeting expectations of students (customers), increasing tuition fees</p>
Field level institutional logics	<p>State logic dominates market and academic professionalism logics</p> <p>State controlled constrained market logic</p> <p>Institutional complexities stemming from dominance of state logic and governmental interferences</p>	<p>Market logic is restricted with dominance of public colleges and universities (quasi-market system)</p> <p>Institutional complexities stemming from financial withdrawal of provincial government and growing role of market mechanisms</p>	<p>Market logic dominates academic professionalism and state logic</p> <p>Institutional complexities stemming from financial withdrawal of government, and growing role of market mechanisms to a greater extent</p>

	Nature of institutional pressures	<p>Market pressures</p> <p><i>Increasing importance of international accreditations and rankings:</i> State-led internationalisation agenda</p> <p><i>Changing expectations on nature of doing research and research (applied, interdisciplinary research and project culture):</i> State-led applied research agenda</p> <p>Entrepreneurial university index</p> <p>Project culture</p> <p><i>Prevalence of performance evaluation mechanisms:</i> Performance assessments, student feedback</p> <p><i>Changing relations with students:</i> Not relevant. Students becoming more apolitical in general</p>	<p>Market pressures</p> <p><i>Increasing importance of international accreditations and rankings:</i> State-led internationalisation agenda</p> <p><i>Changing expectations on nature of doing research and research (applied, interdisciplinary research and project culture):</i> Federal government-led impact driven agenda (industry oriented)</p> <p><i>Prevalence of performance evaluation mechanisms:</i> Performance assessments, student feedback</p> <p><i>Changing relations with students:</i> Increasing number of international students as part of internationalisation agenda</p>	<p>Market pressures</p> <p><i>Increasing importance of international accreditations and rankings:</i> State-led internationalisation agenda</p> <p><i>Changing expectations on nature of doing research and research (applied, interdisciplinary research and project culture):</i> Government-led impact driven agenda (RAE expectations)</p> <p><i>Prevalence of performance evaluation mechanisms:</i> Performance assessments, student feedback</p> <p><i>Changing relations with students:</i> Incursion of 'students as customers approach' to a greater extent</p> <p>Increasing numbers of international students and expectations</p>
	Political pressures	<p><i>Increasing governmental control and accountability concerns:</i> Governmental interferences, centralized regulatory and auditing role of the state (autonomy restrictions in terms of financial, administrative and scientific (autonomy challenges, bureaucratic pressures)</p> <p><i>Financial withdrawal of government:</i> Financial withdrawal of government is minimum, compared to other contexts.</p>	<p>Political pressures</p> <p><i>Increasing governmental control and accountability concerns:</i> Governmental interferences as increasing accountability concerns</p> <p><i>Financial withdrawal of government:</i> Financial withdrawal of provincial government and ambiguity in funding environment (financial challenges)</p>	<p>Political pressures</p> <p><i>Increasing governmental control and accountability concerns:</i> Governmental interferences as increasing accountability concerns</p> <p>Misalignment of needs and policies (net immigration policy)</p> <p><i>Financial withdrawal of government:</i> Financial withdrawal of government and ambiguity in funding environment (financial challenges)</p>

		Restrictions in support of universities and allocation of resources mainly based on clientelism		
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5.5 Conclusion to the chapter

Taking a context-specific approach for the understanding of institutional complexities and organisational responses, in this chapter, I have first delineated the salient characteristics of the higher education fields in Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts. Then reviewing the socio-political context in each context, I have shown how higher education fields are guided by market logic that prescribes the role of the universities, their rationale, and criteria for legitimacy in relation to the broader level polity. The last section of this chapter portrays a critical evaluation of the inter-institutional societal level and field level dynamics. This chapter forms a foundational basis for more comprehensive, realistic and context-specific understanding of organisational responses, providing deep insights in the understanding of these phenomena in a more systematic way.

The following chapter, Chapter 6, presents the dynamics of organisational *habitus* in organisational experiences of institutional complexities, and organisational responses in the field of higher education in the Turkish context.

Chapter 6: Dynamics of Organisational *Habitus*: Turkish Universities

6.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter examines the organisational dynamics of universities selected from the Turkish context, which are Istanbul University (IU) and Middle East Technical University (METU). In this chapter, organisational level dynamics are presented in two sections. The first section is dedicated to the comprehension of organisational *habitus* of the selected universities through interrogation of distinct characteristics stemming from their historical origins. This section forms the basis of the analysis of findings. Subsequent sections present organisational level interpretation of institutional complexities and organisational responses, based on the saliences stemming from their historical origins.

6.2 Case accounts from the Turkish context

I have selected Istanbul University (IU) and Middle East Technical University (METU) from the Turkish context, due to their sensitivity to the political agenda and representation of polarised characteristics in certain aspects, such as founding origins (Anglo-Saxon vs. German-Francophone roots) and institutional orientations (teaching vs. research, and student vs. industry partners), among others. Diversity in founding origins is a crucial criterion for the Turkish context, since the establishment roots of the universities shaped both their overall culture, and their responsiveness to the incursion of market values, which are anchored in neo-liberal ideology. More specifically, while the establishment history of IU relies heavily on its German-Francophone roots, METU was established according to the American model of education. Based on these historical groundings, IU is regarded as a traditional teaching-oriented university, aiming to sustain its traditionality, while METU is one of the most research-oriented international universities in the Turkish context.

Accordingly, it is expected that differences will be observed in the degree of influence of neo-liberal ideology and response strategies on the institutional complexities stemming from the instigation of these values. On the other hand,

despite the differences in founding origins and institutional orientation, both universities have been known for their sensitivity to political issues, protests and critical student movements in the past, which renders them distinctive in the field, and coincides with the theoretical interest of this work. The next two sections present the case reports of IU and METU, respectively.

6.2.1 Case account one: Istanbul University

With its German-Francophone roots, and being the first university in the Republic of Turkey, Istanbul University (IU) carries distinctive characteristics in many aspects that render it valuable for the theoretical interest of this work. The critical characteristics of the university pertain to its size (being the biggest university in Turkey), establishment mission, traditionality due to its establishment roots, intertwined relationship with the Government and culture of social movement, to name but a few.

IU was the first University in the Republic of Turkey, and was established with the Ataturk university reform in 1933. It had four faculties, medicine, law, political science and literature, which are known to be the most established faculties in the Republic of Turkey. Although IU was established by revolutionary reform, its roots can be traced back to the first Islamic colleges (medreses and madrasah) in 1453, and first technical schools in the following century (Gunergun and Kadioglu, 2006). It was established through the transformation of Darulfunun, which embraced an amalgamation of different technical schools (Umunc, 1986). The motto of the university, which is 'The Science Bridge from History to the Future', implies its historical roots.

Today, you see the Istanbul University wherever you look and whichever discipline you get into. It is not possible to write the history of anything without touching the history of the Istanbul University (Professor Dr. Nuran Yildirim-retrieved from website of IU).

In line with its establishment mission, which is to meet the education needs of the younger generation of Turkey, IU not only boasts the highest number of faculties (20), schools (3), and vocational higher schools (6), institutes (16) campuses (12), application and research centres (61) in total, but also the highest number of academics and students. The university provides education to a total of 135,000 students (90,000 students - normal education; 45,000 - online education), and employs a total of 5,073 academics, including 1,494

professors, as well as 7,000 administrative staff. This mission also reflects the practices and traditions of the university.

One of the missions of the IU is to meet demands of Turkey. Each year approximately 1250 students are recruited to the Faculty of Law, since government demands from IU to recruit as many students as possible in order to educate ... In contrast with big universities such as METU or Bosphorus, IU takes great responsibility in meeting education needs of Turkey's young generation (Int. 26, Senior Academic, Fac. of Law).

IU is a traditional university, rooted in history. It was established by three groups of academics. These included academics, who transferred from Darulfunun, Turkish academics, who had graduated from foreign universities (in particular, France), and foreign academics, who had fled from Nazi Germany to Turkey (Gunergun and Kadioglu, 2006, p. 140). This constitutes the German-Francophone roots. Istanbul University was organised according to the German education system, which relies on chair system traditions and apprenticeship relations (Weiker, 1962, p. 281). These historical roots render IU distinctive in its establishment of chair tradition and apprenticeship relations. Underlying the ideology of this tradition is to convey a particular way of teaching, researching and holding overall values, including world views, from professors to research assistants:

There is a last lecture tradition at the faculty of law, in which academicians provide their own worldviews and views on law, at their last lecture in the term... We aim to sustain the tradition of apprenticeship. With that purpose, for example, newly recruited assistants are wanted to accompany to their professors for the lectures. We saw these practices from our professors and we put it into the practice in this way (Int. 26, Senior academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

Based on its traditionality and mission, IU is characterized as a teaching-oriented, traditional university, providing mass education as part of its mission, although it was criticized by some interview participants:

Next generations carry the flag of previous chairs with both good and bad characteristics. It is kind conveyed genetically (Int. 21, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

...Accordingly it is getting more difficult to sustain quality. If we were elitist university recruiting only 100 students, we could educate them as world-wide known (Int. 26, Senior Academic, Fac. of Law).

Due to being highly imbued with its German-Francophone culture, the university functions as the main arterial road in training academics for other universities, and, in this sense, conveying particular schools of thought. As mentioned in the mission statement of the university, IU is responsible for the education of the younger generation of Turkey, recruiting high volumes of students via the university entrance exam, as well as providing an academic learning programme for the short-term (as will be discussed in the next section):

If we have more than a hundred and fifty universities in our country today, the source of these universities is the Istanbul University. The faculty members and students trained there began working for other universities afterwards (Prof. Dr. Fahameddin Başar-retrieved from website of IU).

More importantly, IU is evaluated as the 'miniature of Turkey, since all political agenda directly reflects back on this university' (Int. 11, Early Academic, Fac. of Adm. Science), due to both its political culture and close interrelation with government. The university is known for its student movement tradition, which can be traced back in its history. In this sense, IU has not only witnessed all the political turmoil in the history of the Republic of Turkey, but has also been the place for fuelling such turmoil. For example, a left-wing revolutionary group gathered in the garden of Istanbul University one day before the revolution in order to launch the 27 March military coup in 1960. A memorial stone built in the garden symbolizes the swearing of soldiers on the weapon (Gunergun and Kadioglu, 2006, p. 147) and social movement culture of the university. Additionally, IU was the first university where private employee laws were applied as a pilot practice, and at the same time, was the first place where protests against this law were initiated in a higher education institution.

There is a tradition of student movements in this university...IU is the centre of the all political movement both for the right and left wingers (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU).

IU is distinctive in particular disciplines, such as medicine, literature and political science, which were the first academic departments in the Republic of Turkey. Considering the culture of the university, feeding from apprenticeship relations, the chair tradition demands the imposition of hierarchical relations, which is very apparent in the culture of IU:

Rector of the IU is like a governor of the city. Accessing to rector is as difficult as accessing to the governor. It should not be like that, but it is. Even if we book appointment in advance, we cannot meet with him (Int. 21, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

The following quotation, reflecting the embeddedness of the institutional culture, is crucial in terms of referring to the traditional character of the university:

Istanbul University has its own culture, which does not change in parallel with the changes of the senior level and middle level managerial team. There may be small changes, but the fabric is the same even the tailor changes (Int. 26, Senior Academic, Fac. of Law).

Overall, IU is characterized as a traditional university, embracing the chair tradition, social movement tradition and a highly bureaucratic culture. It is also closely interrelated with the Government, being rooted in German-Francophone tradition, and being the first university in the Republic of Turkey. These aspects render IU distinct in the field.

6.2.2 Case account two: Middle East Technical University

Middle East Technical University (METU) was founded under the name of Middle East High Technology Institute in 1956. It is one of the universities (among others, such as Ataturk, Hacettepe and Bogazici) established in line with the increasing American influence at this time, with special laws (Law No. 6887) granting varying degrees of autonomy and incorporation. Accordingly, being established as a projection of the American education model, METU was sustained with American support and help (Dolen, 2010, p. 75), with the aim of 'contributing to the development of Turkey and Middle East countries and especially to train people so as to create a skilled work force in the fields of natural and social sciences.' It was established first with the Department of Architecture, followed by the Department of Engineering, and grew with the establishment of the Faculties of Architecture, Engineering, and Administrative Sciences in subsequent years (1957-1958) (www.metu.edu.tr).

Today, METU provides education within five faculties (Fac. of Architecture; Fac. of Arts and Science; Fac. of Economic and Administrative Sciences; Faculty of Education; Faculty of Engineering), and five Graduate Schools with 104 Masters, 66 Doctorate and 40 Undergraduate programmes. The university comprises 2,132 academic staff and 26,500 students. The mission of the university is stated as:

to reach, produce, apply and promote knowledge, and to educate individuals with that knowledge for the social, cultural, economic, scientific and technological development of our society and humanity. This is to be done by bringing teaching, research and social services up to universal standards.

It is regarded as instrumental in importing an Anglo-Saxon approach to university-level education. For example, METU offered a separate degree for the first time in Turkey, applied a distinction between 'undergraduate' and 'graduate' study and adopted new terminology such as the Bachelor's and the Master's degree, aiming to combine a general (or liberal) education with professional education. Placing special emphasis on research and education in engineering and natural science, METU is an extensively research-oriented university. For example, 'tree science' by the main entrance to the METU campus symbolises its science orientation. The university receives the greatest share in

national research funding from the Scientific and Technological Research Council (TUBITAK), its rankings being top among the research universities in Turkey. METU holds 67th position worldwide in physical science, and 99th position worldwide in engineering and technology, according to the Times Higher Education World Ranking in 2015, which is based on indicators of teaching, research, influence, innovation and international character (www.timeshighereducation.co.uk). The culture of the university is embodied within academic professionalism logic, stemming from the establishment's mission, which is the provision of universal standards in conducting research and education. Interview participants highlighted the dominance of the collegial culture:

We are all part of this academia, we are all colleagues. There is strong culture deriving from this mutual manner [science logic] since 1960s. For example, any academic can easily book an appointment to meet with rector in order to discuss anything (Int. 2, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).

The university is also imbued with the social movement tradition, stemming from academic professionalism logic throughout its history. This is illustrated in Table 3.1. More specifically, given its embeddedness in this logic by the provision of education based on the principles of a science tradition that facilitates interrogation of the main rationale behind strategic decisions, students of METU are more likely to be sensitive to political issues. Importantly, although social movement tradition and sensitivity to political issues are shared by IU, the underlying cause for this culture differs, the social movement culture of IU stemming from resistance to the infusion of market values.

Unlike the majority of universities in Turkey, being an international research university, METU provides education in all its degree programmes and establishes strong international ties. Overall, METU carries the distinction of being the first technical university established with an American model of education. Moreover being sensitive to the political agenda of Turkey, and an internationally driven research-oriented university, renders it particularly interesting for this work. I have presented a cross-comparative description of the case reports of IU and METU with illustrative quotes in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Cross-comparative description of organisational dynamics of Istanbul University and Middle East Technical University

Elements of distinct characterisation Universities	Istanbul University (IU)	Middle East Technical University (METU)
General capacity in terms of number of faculties, students and staff	<p>20 faculties, 3 schools, 6 vocational schools 135,000 students in total (90,000 students- normal education; 45,000- online education) 5,073 academic staff in total (1,493 professors, highest number of the professors)</p>	<p>5 faculties, 5 graduate schools 26,500 students in total (19,268 undergraduate, 4,716 Masters, 3,139 PhD students, 1,817 total number of foreign students in all programmes) 2,132 academic staff in total (388 professors, 102 foreign academics)</p>
Historical origins of dispositions Establishment year and programmes in established time	<p>Foundational roots back to the Islamic colleges and first technical schools from Ottoman Empire Established with transformation of Darulfunun to the University in 1933 <i>First faculties</i>: Medicine, Law, Political Science and Literature</p>	<p>Established with the name of Middle East High Technology, with referencing American model of education in 1956 <i>First departments</i>: Architecture and Engineering</p>
Establishment roots and mission	<p>Influenced by the German-francophone education models such as adoption of chair tradition Est. mission is on meeting education needs of younger generation of Turkey (first university in the Turkish context) Traditional- German-francophone rooted University</p>	<p>Established with special laws as projection of American education model Est. mission is on provision of liberal education in universal standards, with emphasis on research and education in engineering and natural science Anglo-Saxon rooted university</p>

<p><i>Institutional heritage (distinctiveness stemming from historical origins)</i></p>	<p>Student movement tradition stemming from resistance to infusion of market values</p> <p>Here is centre of student movements. Conflicts between professors at previous terms still continues (Int. 21, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).</p> <p>Biggest student movement in history of higher education in Turkey is the protests towards 50d staff position, started here. Protests lasted approximately few months and finalised with the decision of removal of 50d (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU).</p>	<p>Student movement tradition stemming from academic professionalism logic</p> <p>If you educate your students with scientific methods, they get used to critical thinking and questioning everything. They even interrogate American system, which we are originated from, inter-relationships with USA. This is scientific stance. When this rational structure is established, then it creates its own opponents inevitably. That's 1960s and 1970s have witnessed student movements continuously (Int. 1, Academic, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).</p>
	<p>Chair tradition</p> <p>Here, in this chair, there is so strong spirituality that cannot be expressed with discourses. We feel like we are stuck on this faculty with so strong links, really. There is a federal structure at this faculty (law) and each chair is member state. If chairman is strong, dean cannot intervene the chair(Int. 21, Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).</p>	<p>Academic professionalism logic</p> <p>We believe in that science only can be achieved under certain circumstances and we aim to find academics who are able to generate scientific knowledge... This is our main concern and we aim to establish this culture (Int. 8, Academic, Dep. of Sociology).</p>
	<p>Bureaucratic-hierarchical culture stemming from chair tradition and apprenticeship relations</p> <p>Superior-subordinate relations are very important in the IU. There is bureaucratic culture (Int. 10, Early Academic, Fac. of Adm. Science, IU).</p>	<p>Collegial culture stemming from institutionalised research orientation (academic professionalism logic)</p> <p>In parallel with the decisions of 12 September, rectors are positioned as a king within the universities. However, it is not a case in this university. Academics and even students are included in decision-making process. Even if rector were self-opinioned and king positioned, culture of METU would not let and dismissed it. There is no bureaucratic culture in academic side (Int. 1, Academic, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).</p>

<i>Institutional orientation</i>	Theory based teaching orientated <p>Istanbul University is much more successful in teaching theory of the law, which I believe is more important for the education of the law. This culture of teaching theory derives from the history. Academicians do not do that consciously. It is probably, because, relation of apprenticeship evolved in this way (Int. 26-Senior academic, Fac. of Law, IU).</p>	Extensive research oriented <p>This university has faith in science, and there is fine arts in the centre of this belief and it is in the front in meeting knowledge generation needs of the society (Int. 6, Academic, Dep. of Sociology).</p>
<i>Distinctiveness in particular discipline</i>	Institutional reputation in social sciences and medicine <p>Istanbul University is distinctive university, for example it has two medicine faculties and number of academics in these faculties are more than the rest...it is leading university in rooted faculties, which are medicine, law, literature and economy. On the other hand one of the best nuclear physic laboratory is here, even science department is not so good (Int. 15, Early Career Academic, Fac. of Communication, IU).</p>	Institutional reputation in engineering <p>World reputation rankings: 71-80th (2014, Times Higher Education) Engineering and Technology: 99th (industry outcome is higher than other aspects, 73,2 (2015, Times Higher Education) Physical science: 67th worldwide</p>
<i>Strategic (futuristic intentions) focus</i>	Desire to preserve traditionality <p>IU, especially faculty of law, is the most conservative faculty in terms of sustaining traditions. We do our best for the continuation of traditions (Int. 24, Senior Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).</p>	Desire to sustain and extend research orientation <p>Adoption of American approach of higher education, METU was established with the main rationale of doing science in universal standards. Science cannot be local, it has to be universal. METU has been sustaining this science (Int. 1, Academic, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).</p>

6.3 Turkish context: Interpretation of institutional complexities and organisational responses

The main source of institutional complexities for the Turkish universities pertains to a highly centralized state structure, allowing for direct governmental interventions, which has been evident throughout the history of higher education. As discussed in the macro-field level dynamics chapter (Chapter 5), in the Turkish context, universities are greatly exposed to governmental pressures, rather than market pressures, rendering this context unique in terms of facilitating the ‘constrained’ effects of neo-liberalism in higher education, compared to the Canadian and UK contexts. More specifically, governmental interventions aside, this constrained effect is mainly evident in changes in legitimacy sources and recruitment of academics. However, given the variations in organisational *habitus*, the enactment of market logic has been perceived differently by universities. The next section is devoted to a comparative analysis of variations in the organisational experience of institutional complexities in IU and METU.

6.3.1 Interpretation of institutional complexities: Istanbul University and Middle East Technical University

The data show that the cases of Istanbul University (IU) and Middle East Technical University (METU) experience institutional complexities stemming from encroachment of logic differently, based on their distinctiveness establishment history, institutional orientation and culture along with others.

Given its Anglo-Saxon roots, which promote its extensive research orientation and enactment of scientization logic, the demands of market logic align with the core values of METU. Accordingly, the prevalence of market logic is apprehended as an opportunity by METU in differentiating itself from other universities and extending its status and legitimacy. Organisational members highlighted that increasing emphasis on strengthening university/industry relations, practice-oriented research, and publishing in highly impactful journals represent some of the driving forces and legitimacy sources of the university. This is because the core values and strength of the university stem from its extensive research orientation. Due to its competent researchers, who are generally invited to be

'expert witnesses' in critical governmental decisions, and its prominence in international rankings, METU is one of the most exceptional universities in this context, and still manages to sustain its autonomy, compared to other universities.

In contrast, being rooted in a German-Francophone tradition, with a well-established chair system and highly bureaucratic conservative culture, IU is a theory-oriented, traditional university, and more likely to be embedded in vocational logic, which appreciates teaching orientation, chair tradition, and local/contextualised courses, rather than giving prominence to international research activities. Since the prescriptions demanded by market logic contest with the vocational logic and traditional character of the university, IU experiences the prevalence of this logic as a threat to its traditional character. Therefore, based on this framing of the new logic, IU has developed strategies to preserve its traditional character.

Additionally, increasing governmental interventions are interpreted as a threat to sustaining the core values and autonomy of both universities. In the case of METU, due to its science tradition, which demands more scientific and administrative autonomy and academic freedom, political pressures, exerted through direct governmental interventions in the governance of the university, are experienced fiercely. This is also due to its oppositional stance to the Government, as highlighted by participants. For example, government authorities have demanded changes in practices, imposed under a legislative framework, for the standardisation of undergraduate and graduate programmes (e.g. student selection procedures for graduate studies, programme structures, curricula) in all the universities in Turkey. These demands, pertinent to the standardisation of procedures, conflict with the values of METU, because its distinctive international research-oriented position in the field requires the enactment of distinctive practices. For example, one of the governmental demands concerns the appointment of external examiners for proficiency examination of PhD students; however, at METU the language of instruction is English, and there are a limited number of professors who know English and are also sufficiently competent in the particular research areas to review PhD theses.

Moreover, the increasing number of students and decreasing number of academics (due to the composition of restrictions in staff allocation by governmental agencies and the transfer of academics to private universities), together with reductions in budgets, pose a threat to the research orientation of the university. This is evaluated as intentional bureaucratic mobbing exerted by the governmental authorities, aiming to prevent the university from working effectively, and invoking protests against governmental decisions. Interpretation of the institutional complexities of these universities is provided in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Turkish context: Interpretation of institutional complexities at the organisational level

Inst. comp.	Aspects of Inst. comp. Universities	Istanbul University (IU)	Middle East Technical University (METU)
The Experience of market pressures at the organisational level (Changes in legitimacy criteria)	<i>Increasing importance of international accreditations and rankings</i>	<p>Challenge to sustain traditional character of the university</p> <p>Importance of rankings and that of number of patents are increasing. For example, index is becoming very important, which derives from Anglo-Saxon tradition and it places universities in a very meaningless competition (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Education, IU).</p>	<p>Opportunity to sustain and extend international research orientation and status</p> <p>METU tries to infuse the idea of 'we stand as we do research' to the new recruited academics through, for example, AGEB programme, in which application process for research grants and importance of projects are discussed. This university only stands on its prominent position in international rankings and citation indexes that renders itself privileged, distinct from others and preserve the status (Int. 7, Academic, Dep. of Sociology METU).</p>
	<i>Changing expectations on nature of doing research and research (applied, interdisciplinary research and project culture)</i>	<p>Challenge to sustain traditional character of the university</p> <p>Here, everything is inextricably linked. While project culture radically transforms professor, assistant and student relations, and it reflects on all administrative process; Project culture has been improving and old traditions demolished for the sake of the capitalism (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU).</p>	<p>As a part of culture of METU</p> <p>Project culture is crucial in terms of producing tangible and practical knowledge, which promotes teamwork and efficiency (Int. 1, Academic, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).</p>
	<i>Performance evaluation mechanisms</i>	<p>As symbolic practices</p> <p>Performance evaluation mechanisms do not work efficiently, since you cannot tell a professor that 'you</p>	<p>As a part of culture of METU</p> <p>I think performance evaluations, which show what we have been doing during the year, are useful in</p>

		<p>should fill these evaluation forms and you have to meet this and this criteria. It contests with our tradition (Int. 27, Senior level Administrative Manager, IU).</p>	<p>sustaining meritocracy culture. It also preserves our culture and identity through bringing transparency to promotion criteria. You might be appointed as associate professor by YOK, but not by METU (Int. 1, Academic, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).</p>
<p>Experience of political pressures at the field and organisational level (governmental interferences)</p>	<p><i>Changing relations with students</i></p>	<p>‘Students as customers’ approach is not at stake for the Turkish context</p>	<p>‘Students as customers’ approach is not at stake for the Turkish context</p>
	<p><i>Increasing governmental control and accountability concerns</i></p>	<p>Threat to sustain its core values and autonomy The thing that I observed so precise is that decreases in freedom of academics, prevalence of anxiety atmosphere, intimidation of academicians... and it has not done directly, but it has been felt to us like that...I am not sure if it is legalised but read that it is forbidden to academics to give speech about anything except their research area. I mean even discussion of this is very strange. It is one of the ways of intimidating (Int. 11, Early Career-academic, Fac. of Administrative Science).</p>	<p>Threat to sustain its core values and autonomy Political pressures, which have been exerted over this university since its establishment, have increased recently. It is critical threat to our meritocracy culture. For now, we have been achieving to resist these pressures, due to strength of the culture and democratic approach of the Rector (Int. 1, Academic, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).</p>
	<p><i>Financial withdrawal of government (financial challenges)</i></p>	<p>Segmentation in supports Allocation of some of the resources and supports on the basis of ideological stance of faculties For example, Faculty of theology is supported well.</p>	<p>Restrictions in supports have been observed due to opposite stance From 2005 to 2015, while number of academics decreased 25% (e.g. from 42 to 25 in biology dep.) due to YOK’s intention of staffing according to clientelism, number of students increased 40%, which is, again, determined by YOK. Additionally, budgets are restricted substantially, which hampers renewal of labs. Governmental authorities expose bureaucratic mobbing. Obviously it is mobbing. It</p>

		means that they do not want METU's work effectively (Int. 6, Academic, Dep. of Sociology, METU).
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Comparing the two universities reveals how their distinctiveness led to variations in the interpretation of institutional complexities, which translated to their organisational responses. This is evaluated in the next section.

6.3.2 Organisational-level responses to institutional complexities

This section provides my analysis on how organisational level interpretations of institutional complexities are translated into the responses of Istanbul University (IU) and Middle East Technical University (METU), respectively.

6.3.2.1 Responses of the Istanbul University

Istanbul University (IU) engages in compromising strategy (Oliver, 1991) by partial enactment of the prescriptions demanded by market logic, while preserving its traditional logic. It was clear from the interviews that, while IU maintained and reproduced practices and culture adhering to traditional logic, on the other hand, it also assimilated new practices, which are anchored in market logic. Considering the responses of universities in coping with direct governmental interventions, and given its interconnectedness with governmental authorities, IU is more likely to comply with governmental demands, unless they threaten its traditional character:

Previously, IU was more autonomous. However, recently, it exerts [*external demands*] more pressure. For example, we have to recruit the graduate students, which have been demanded by YOK (Int. 19, Academic Manager, Social Science Institute, IU).

Yet, it is not possible to say that IU is efficient in influencing macro level policies at the institutional level. In Turkey, policies are not shaped by the articles of academicians or lobbying activities (Int. 26, Senior academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

Maintenance and reproduction of particular practices and culture

IU maintains and reproduces its traditions not only through preserving practices and adhering to the traditional characteristics of the university, including apprenticeship relations and the chair tradition, maintaining conservative recruitment, and the continuation of its theory teaching orientation, but also by resisting particular demands of market logic, for instance by protesting against private employee laws which threaten the chair tradition.

More pertinently, although the concomitant changes have been experienced in line with the influence of neo-liberal policies, IU preserves and reproduces particular practices through the mechanisms of organisational *habitus*, embracing establishment history, particular traditions and organisational culture, as well as the

habitus of the faculties and chairs. As outlined in the case accounts section of this chapter, and given its German-Francophone establishment roots, preserving apprenticeship relations and chair tradition as part of the core institutional heritage of the university appears to be crucial:

Apprenticeship relations are felt very strongly here. Even this kind of relations decreases in carpenter jobs, but not at this faculty (law). For example, I am associate professor and I introduce myself as assistant of this professor and this situation will not change when I become professor.... (Int. 21-Academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

Differently from other universities, we require thesis for the bachelor degree, appointments of associate professors...Research assistants accompany with their professors at classes to be trained, not to teach. We continue this tradition (Int. 24, Senior Academic, Fac. of Law, IU)

As part of the well-established chair tradition, IU is very keen on recruiting their own students in order to maintain apprenticeship relations, which is facilitated by this process. Participants highlighted that conservative recruitment is crucial in terms of sustaining the traditional character of the university, because this is the only way that apprenticeship relations can be sustained. This is pertinent to conveying institutionalised traditional practices to the next generation:

As opposed to METU, we are more inclined to recruit our graduates as part of our culture, which delay innovativeness of the university... At METU, PhD degree from foreign universities (USA, in particular) is obligation to be appointed (Int. 8, Middle-level Manager, Voc. School of Transportation, IU).

In particular, the faculty of Law sustains particular traditions such as recruiting their own students to the Masters and PhD programmes. It is special to law school that graduation from this university is obligation. Additionally, unlike other universities, doctorate degree from foreign universities is not advantageous here, but disadvantages (Int. 15, Early Career Academic, Fac. of Communication, IU).

Additionally, in contrast to many other universities engaging in teaching practically useful information, which is demanded more and valued by the professional sector, this university, particularly the Faculty of Law, which is the first law faculty, has continued to provide theory-based education since its establishment. Given its long establishment and mission of the faculty, dispositions of teaching at IU have evolved in this way, with strong influence on apprenticeship relations. Comparing the IU faculty with another well-established Faculty of Law at Ankara University, one of the

participants drew attention to the importance of establishment history of faculties, which facilitates the teaching orientation (theory or practice-based), and how dispositions have evolved in this direction over the years:

Roots of Faculty of Law rely on the Ottoman Empire. Istanbul University is much more successful in teaching theory of the law, which I believe is more important for the education of the law. **This culture of teaching theory derives from the history. Academicians do not do that consciously. It is probably, because, relation of apprenticeship evolved in this way** (Int. 26, Senior academic, Fac. of Law, IU).

Although this practice was criticized by some participants for providing the same teaching techniques over many years, this traditional characteristic in the method of teaching is important in maintaining its distinctive nature.

Importantly, another institutional strategy of the IU is 'defiance' (Oliver, 1991, p. 566) through 'explicit rejection of at least one of the institutional demands', aiming to maintain and reproduce its traditional logic. IU actively responded to employment status based on private sector employee laws by protesting against 50d vacancy positions. More specifically, participants highlighted that this position was more likely to be supported by project culture, which is promoted by managerial ideology. According to this logic, research assistants are recruited as short-term employees for particular projects (e.g. their doctorate projects), as opposed to apprenticeship logic, which threatens the position of assistants as apprentices who have all the education techniques, as well as world-views of professors conveyed to them. As explained in the macro-field level dynamics chapter (Chapter 5), this position is anchored in market logic in the sense of using research assistants as sponsored doctorate students and not ensuring their job security. This practice was first applied at IU as a pilot practice. However, at the same time, protests against the 50d vacancy position and replacing it with a 33a vacancy position (which ensures job security) was initiated by research assistants of IU and supported by the majority of chairs in the university. More pertinently, dispositions of IU on social movements and protests stemming from its historical roots, combined with the chair tradition and well-developed apprenticeship relations triggered this resistance process.

This resistance started here, because liberal transformation has not influenced this university because of the well-established chair tradition. In this university, project culture is not well established, because of the very well established chair tradition.

Project culture demolishes chair tradition. It is not the case here. IU has not engaged in the project culture (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU). **Assimilation of new practices adhering to the market logic**

In line with the changing legitimacy criteria for universities, recruitment procedures and model of governance of HEIs, along with other changes influenced by neo-liberal politics, IU has partially assimilated some of the practices adhering to market logic. This resembles the notion of 'layering' or the 'assimilation or elaboration of practices, symbols and meaning systems in an otherwise stable institutional framework' (Raynard and Kodeih, forthcoming; Thelen, 2004; Thornton *et al.*, 2012). More specifically, practices are assimilated through the unbending of initial conservativeness in the recruitment process, as well as arrangement of certificate programmes and online education. These assimilated elements did not mean essential changes, but resulted in slight 'layers', adhering to market logic and adding to the traditional character of the university.

Data reveals that while IU is keen on being conservative in recruitment, with the aim of preserving apprenticeship relations, this is not achieved all the time. IU has 'unbended' from its initial emphasis on recruiting its own students and franco-phone rooted professors by starting to recruit academics from other universities, which was not a traditional practice of the university. In so doing, the enactment of a new recruitment process, anchored in Anglo-Saxon tradition, could also lead to the demolishing of traditional institutionalized practices, such as chair tradition, which resembles Oliver's (1991, p. 566) notion of 'dissipation' or the 'gradual deterioration in the acceptance and use of a particular institutionalized practice'.

While there were approximately 100 francophone rooted professors at the faculty of letters previously, yet there are only few nowadays. Anglo-Saxon culture was brought to fore of the debate (Int. 20, Fac. of Communication, IU).

The adoption of the new certificate programmes, in particular in the Faculty of Law, and online remote education, as well as outsourcing, which are not part of the habitual institutionalized practices, is also in conflict with the traditional characteristics of the university in face of the demands of the professional sector. This was highlighted by participants:

IU started to arrange certificate programmes. Previously, there was not that kind of traditions. Remote education programmes have been put into practice, because universities becoming massive in character. It is a way of privatization of public universities. For example, outsourcing cleaning companies, there is that kind of deformation (Focus group, Fac. of Law, IU)

Evening education, which was essential for the basic higher education, was cancelled, due to the emergence of alternative programmes, online-remote education. Evening education was angry work for the academics. Before the preparation of substructure of the remote education, high tuition fees were demanded by the University (Int. 20, Fac. of Communication, IU).

Additionally, participants drew attention to the fact that academics are engaging more with industry stakeholders:

More recently, there is a great emphasis on university-industry relations. One techno cent was established at the Avclar campus. Academics from this university can launch a company and are supported with exemptions of tax (Int. 10, Early Academic, Fac. of Adm. Science, IU).

Academics are turning to the sector. Academics who works in the area that brings more money, are seen less at the university. Relations at the chairs evolves in this way that it effects the relations of professors and assistants, since assistants help professors in their sectoral works such as writing expert report, dictum (mutalaa) or petition, rather like the traditional apprenticeship relation like our term's assistant-professor relation demolish apprenticeship tradition (Int. 15, Early Career Academic, Fac. of Communication, IU).

Overall, the data evidence has revealed that while IU resisted the implementation of particular practices due to a well-established chair system and social movement tradition, which are rooted in the history of the university, it has slightly compromised on some of the prescriptions demanded by market logic, as explained throughout this section.

6.3.2.2 Responses of the METU

My analysis shows that by recognizing the opportunities created by compatible market logic to sustain and extend its research oriented-status and legitimacy, Middle East Technical University (METU) engages in prescriptions demanded by the market logic. This is mainly evident in its approach to research, as will be discussed in this section. Accordingly, METU engages in 'acquisition' as an organisational level strategy (Oliver, 1991), which corresponds to the 'aggregation' strategy of Pratt and Foreman (2001). More specifically, METU has strengthened existing practices pertinent to market logic, which is referred to as 'augmentation' (Perkman *et al.*, 2015) or 'strategic acceleration' (Staggs and Wright, 2014). To start with, considering the responses of universities in coping with direct governmental interventions, METU is more like to choose to compromise between strategies, through conforming to the minimum standards of what is expected from government authorities and which threaten organisational identity.

Rather than complying with the demands of YOK, we readjust these demands according to our own practices, without demolishing our own spirit. In doing so, gathering all authorised and concerned people, we discuss on how to adjust these demands. Evaluating all leniencies in imposed demands, we aim to say that we give the last decisions about our university. **We achieve to do this due to our culture of debate and extraction of common sense** (Int. 8, Academic, Dep. of Sociology, METU).

This is achieved through readjusting demanded practices according to its own requisitions. The democratic and collegial culture, which facilitates expression of different ideas, provides a basis for the achievement of this response. Compromising requires 'the crafting of a new behaviour that brings together elements of the conflicting demands, or through bargaining with institutional referents' (Pache and Santos, 2013, p. 7). Participants gave an example of this strategy in dealing with governmental demands for the appointment of external examiners for the oral proficiency exams of PhD students, by bargaining with government authorities and crafting the practices.

Additionally, participants highlighted that as institutional pressures (political pressures) increased, by intimidating and undermining the identity of METU, although there were conflicts within the university, organisational members

began to appreciate each other more, and focus on working together in their area. In other words, in coping with institutional complexities, organisational members have chosen aggregation strategy, which refers to 'identifying relationships and synergies within their environment, in order to link all organisational parts, find complementarities and make sense of it as a whole' (Svenningsen *et al.*, 2016).

When you provide oppositional identity to the public, then we improve this oppositional identity with our practices. For example, we adopt our students movement tradition more (Int. 7, Academic, Dep. of Sociology, METU).

Retro-fitting the research identity of the university, METU has been focusing more on practice-oriented research, and publishing more in impactful journals. On the other hand, sustaining recruitment of international academics congruent with the culture of the university is another practice feeding market logic.

METU never recruits its PhD students, albeit recently, some academics graduated from here are recruited under the condition of working at overseas, at least one year...Highly intertwined nature of political and higher education field force us to apply some of the exclusivist practices in recruitments. Although it contests with universal values of the METU, this is required to secure our status. Because field conditions does not hamper its positioning based on using its own capitals (Int. 7, Academic, Dep. of Sociology, METU).

In order to prevent imprinting, METU requires doctorate degree from prestigious universities (Int. 1, Academic, Dep. of Business Administration, METU).

Overall, METU proactively seeks to strengthen its research identity, which distinguishes it from other universities in the Turkish context, and is a crucial way of influencing governmental decisions that confront the values of academic professionalism logic. Table 6.3 provides a comparative presentation of these organisational-level dynamics.

Table 6.3 Turkish context: Summary of institutional complexities and responses

Uni.	Distinctiveness	Organisational experience of institutional complexities	Strategies to cope with institutional complexities
Istanbul University	<p>Traditional university embedded in vocational logic</p> <p>German-francophone roots / Chair tradition</p> <p>Student movement tradition stemming from resistance to infusion of market values</p> <p>Close interrelation with government</p> <p>Theory based teaching orientated</p> <p>Distinctiveness in social sciences and medicine</p> <p>Culture: Bureaucratic - hierarchical</p> <p>Embodiment of institutional logics: Vocational logic and academic professionalism logic is dominant</p>	<p>Experience of market pressures</p> <p>Market logic experienced as contradictory</p> <p>Institutional complexities are experienced as a challenge to traditionality of the IU</p> <p>Experience governmental interventions</p> <p>Threat to sustain its core values and autonomy</p> <p>Segmentation in supports</p> <p>Allocation of some of the resources and supports on the basis of</p>	<p>Organisational-level response: Compromising, Complying</p> <p>Partial adoption of demands (assimilation of some of the new and enrichment of some of the existing practices, while resisting some of them)</p> <p>Complying with strategy in relation with government</p> <p>Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders</p> <p><u>Sustaining existing relations with government</u></p> <p>Complying with governmental demands</p> <p>Reconfiguration of practices</p> <p><u>Maintenance and reproduction of particular practices and culture (traditional logics)</u></p> <p>Preserving practices adhering to traditional characteristics of the IU</p> <p>Preserving apprenticeship relations and chair tradition</p> <p>Conservativeness in recruitment</p> <p>Continuation of theory teaching orientation</p> <p>Resistance to particular demands of market logic</p> <p>Protesting against private employee laws, which threaten chair tradition</p> <p><u>Assimilation of new practices adhering to the market logic (layering, dissipation)</u></p> <p>Unbending initial conservativeness in recruiting its own students and franco-phone rooted professors</p> <p>Arrangement of certificate programmes and online education</p>

	Constrained effect of market logics	ideological stance of the faculties	
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Middle East Technical University	International research oriented university embedded in academic professionalism logic Anglo-Saxon roots Student movement tradition stemming from scientist logic Oppositional stance stemming from scientist logic Extensive research oriented Distinctiveness in engineering Culture: Democratic – collegial Embodiment of institutional logics: Academic professionalism logic is dominant Market logics as clinching logics	Market logic experienced compatible Institutional complexities experienced as opportunity for status extension (distinguish itself from others and influencing governmental decisions)	is as are as	<p><i>Organisational-level response:</i> Acquiescence, Aggregation Adoption of demands (structurally) (assimilation of new and augmentation of existing practices) Compromising strategy in relations with government</p> <p>Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders <u><i>Sustaining and negotiating existing relations with government</i></u> Compromising governmental demands</p> <p>Reconfiguration of practices <u><i>Sustaining and extending research orientation</i></u> More emphasis upon publishing in highly ranked journals Recruitment of international research-oriented scholars</p>
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6.4 Conclusion to the chapter

In this chapter, I have provided a comparative organisational level analysis pertinent to two universities, carrying distinct characterizations from the Turkish context. Relying on the organisational level documentation and interview data, I first introduced the saliences of these settings, and showed how their interpretations of institutional complexities stemming from both the incursion of market values and governmental interferences differs on the basis of relative saliences. Importantly, I observed that, unlike other contexts, universities' experience of institutional pressures is greatly informed by their ideological stance. As such, even in the same university, faculties might suffer from depleted resource allocation because of their inter-relationship with the higher level authorities. By providing insights into the macro-field dynamics of the organisational responses, this chapter has offered a contextualised understanding of the phenomenon. The next chapter presents the organisational level findings for the universities in the Canadian context.

Chapter 7: Dynamics of Organisational *Habitus: Canadian Universities*

7.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter engages with the analysis of organisational level findings pertinent to universities selected from the Canadian context, which are the University of Alberta (UoA) and MacEwan University (UoME). More specifically, first I present the characteristics of the organisations stemming from their historical roots as a case account, with a focus on critical comparison and evaluation of the distinct characteristics of these universities. This is followed by the analysis of the organisational interpretation of institutional complexities and organisational responses of these universities.

7.2 Case accounts from the Canadian context

Unlike the Turkish and UK contexts, universities in the Canadian context are governed by three legislative layers, which are federal, provincial and city-law. Hence, HEIs could be exposed to different sources and levels of institutional complexities, on the basis of their affiliated province. Within the scope of this doctoral study, I have selected two universities from Alberta province, where universities have experienced huge budget cuts from provincial government. More specifically, the University of Alberta (UoA) and MacEwan University (UoME), while based in the same are drawn from this province, have based on the polar characteristics in some aspects, including institutional orientation (intensive research vs. student learning-centred professional training) and general capacity in terms of student numbers (large vs. small), among others. Diversity in these aspects is crucial in terms of causing variations in organisational level experiences of institutional complexities.

7.2.1 Case Account three: University of Alberta

The University of Alberta (UoA) is a community driven, international research-oriented university. Its provincial development mission, based on its institutional heritage, and its international research orientation, achieved by the strength of its engineering and healthcare departments, render this university unique in the Canadian context. Notably, UoA is a crucial case for this doctoral study, which aims to explore institutional complexities and organisational implications. UoA has a unique setting, having experienced continuous budget cuts by the Government since the 1990s, minimizing the role of government in its affairs. This is noted by the participant: 'Sometimes these cuts seem to be cyclical in nature, like history repeats itself, strangely enough!' (Int. 6, Senior level Administrative Manager, Rectorate, UoA).

UoA embraces a total of 36,817 students (7,204 graduates and 29,625 undergraduates) from 151 countries in 18 faculties (offering 200 undergraduate programmes- and 170 graduate programmes), with 2,071 full-time faculty members (358 assistant, 745 associate, 968 full), 926 contract academic staff, and approximately 600 post-doctoral fellows (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2016, p. 65). The current mission statement of UoA is presented below:

Within a vibrant and supportive learning environment, the University of Alberta discovers, disseminates, and applies new knowledge through teaching and learning, research and creative activity, community involvement, and partnerships. The U of A gives a national and international voice to innovation in our province, taking a lead role in placing Canada at the global forefront (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2016, p. 65).

UoA was founded by Alexander Cameron Rutherford, the first Premier of Alberta, and Henry Marshall Tory, a McGill University professor, who became the University of Alberta's first president in 1908, after the Government granted its official opening with the University Act in 1906. The university was originally established with five professors and 45 students, aiming to contribute to provincial development. The first courses were delivered at the Duggan Street School (now Queen Alexandra Elementary School), as UoA's first official faculty. Providing courses in English, classics, modern languages, mathematics and civil engineering, the university was established with the aim of providing non-denominational, secular, co-educational, publicly-funded education, and serving

all in the province, rather than just the elite. (www.ualbertacentennial.ca/). The establishment mission was clearly stated by the first president and founder of UoA:

We are laying the foundation of a university which will be for the benefit and up-building of the province as a whole. We can congratulate ourselves on the fact that we are not called upon to deal with religious strifes of any nature, but are starting the work as a united body. We ought to realize that we cannot cut loose from tradition. We must use tradition as a guide and take from it the best that it contains as a lead for us in our work (Dr Henry Marshall Tory, March 30, 1908, - retrieved from the website of UoA).

Overall, the history of the university shows how UoA was driven by the needs of the local community. For example, since Alberta's economy relied heavily on agriculture during the period when the university was established, special credit was given to the Faculty of Agriculture and United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), in order to serve the provincial development. Afterwards, in line with technological advances and the discovery of the oil resources in 1947, the need for engineering resulted in the development of the Faculty of Engineering (www.ualbertacentennial.ca). The local community orientation of the university was also highlighted by participants:

I would say U of A is more of a community member than other universities. Sometimes it's at odds with the community around us, but there's always an involvement. The civic community around us is always considered in the development of the University(Int. 11, Administrative Staff, Rectorate, UoA).

We were the first university in the province and the founding university, and we have strong historic roots in the community (Int. 19, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

In alignment with this, UoA strengthened its distinctiveness in particular disciplines, including engineering and health care, aiming to meet the requirements of the local community. The university is at the 68th position worldwide in Pre-Clinical Networked Education, according to the Times Higher Education World Ranking in 2014-2015 (www.timeshighereducation.co.uk). Distinctiveness in these disciplines was also highlighted by participants:

We say we are the best in hydro-carbon energy research in Canada and one of the best in the world...Much of the differentiation comes from being in an institution that is looking to being forced to distinguish itself from competition (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager).

The University of Alberta has a very strong – two faculties are very strong. One is the Engineering Department. The Engineering Department is really, really strong and they have a lot of projects, because in general Alberta is a very strong engineering need, because of the oil and gas. They have a lot of money, they have buildings and facilities...The other one is the Health Department. So Alberta has a strong component of health care, in the sense, and study health care. The healthcare buildings are really nice! (Int. 9. Early Career academic, Business School).

UoA is an intensively research-orientated university, aiming to be one of the leading universities in research. The following quotes depict the perceptions of participants on its research orientation and strategic focus:

We are in the U5 in the country; you know, the top 5 research intensive universities. So there's U15 that's the big, and then we are in the top 5 of those (Int. 15, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

People come here knowing that we have terribly cold winters, because they see something in the research culture in the [U of A] that appeals to them. We've got some amazing, amazing, research stars at the whole University (Int. 8, Administrative Staff, Business School, UoA).

Regarding the culture of the university, participants highlighted the dominance of the collegial culture in working routines. The consultative, collaborative working environment, flexibility in working routines, importance of informal relations, and 'can do positive forward thinking' were emphasized by the participants:

There is sort of a culture of "Oooh we are all so separated and we need to work together," Everybody is working together so well...I find it much more collaborative here, even just on the administration level, you know, filling out a form, and not knowing how it works. I know that I can call a colleague, or I can call the office where the form has originated from, and somebody will help me (Int. 11, Administrative Staff, Rectorate, UoA).

We are very consultative; we work really closely with each other; we keep each other informed; we collaborate. Our supervisor introduced that we won't allow the problems to fester away and make us unhappy and talk amongst ourselves and things like that, but instead be really open and frank about our concerns. And I think that holds us in really, really good stead (Int. 6, Senior level Administrative Manager, Rectorate, UoA).

The following quote highlights the flexibility in working routines and importance of team work:

The university provides a lot of freedom in how to achieve your results and your goals... We have a lot of opportunity to develop a team which is strong. We have an enjoyable group of people working together, driven, and from this perspective we are very attractive place to work (Int. 12, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoA).

The importance of the informal relations in working routines for efficiency is implied in the following quotes:

Not everything needs to be fully documented. Picking up a phone and phoning, or running to somebody's office and talking to them, and then discussing an issue or changes or something, a lot of times its way more effective and beneficial than formally writing something down (Int. 2, Middle-level Administrative Manager, Business School, UoA).

I think lots of things are done informally, and then turned into decisions, sort of like 'the garbage can' model; Well of course the 'garbage can model' is even more extreme in that there are solutions looking for problems and people are carrying around solutions looking for problems to solve (Int. 3, Middle-level, Academic Manager, Business School, UoA).

Lastly, the positive attitudes of the institution, fostering a supportive, encouraging environment, even during crisis periods, are evident throughout the history of the university. This was noted by participants:

There is very much a "can do" positive, forward thinking cultural quality to the University of Alberta. I have seen so many positive and tremendous changes at this institution, even from the time when I was a student here. (Int. 6, Senior level, Administrative Manager, Rectorate, UoA).

Overall, UoA is characterized by its distinctive intensive research and local community orientation, its focus on the engineering and healthcare departments, and dominance of the collegial culture, which is evident in the flexible, informal, consultative and collaborative working conditions.

7.2.2 Case account four: MacEwan University

MacEwan University (UoME) is an undergraduate teaching-oriented university, which was established in 1971, with name of Grant MacEwan Community College in Scona Campus (Strathcona High School). It had four programmes, including nursing, social work, child care and psycho-technician. Importantly, this institution was transformed from a community college to an undergraduate university in 2009, which rendered this setting unique in terms of its mission, institutional heritage, institutional orientation and organisational culture, compared with traditional universities.

After gaining university status in 2009, it was officially rebranded as MacEwan University for all public communication and marketing purposes in 2013 (www.macewan.ca/wcm/Discover). Currently, the university provides education in four faculties, (Arts and Science, Fine Arts and Communications, Health and Community Studies, Nursing), two schools (Business and Continuing Education), as well as Open Studies, and offers 65 programmes in total for undergraduate degrees, certificates, diplomas and degree-transfer programming. MacEwan University has 2,864 full and part-time academic and administrative staff, and serves 19,250 part and full-time students (10,916 -full time) (www.macewan.ca/wcm/Discover).

Given its establishment roots and mission, the main premise of the university is in provision of technical/professional orientated training, aimed at raising practitioners, rather than providing a liberal education. In particular, it has an institutional reputation in programmes such as nursing, police and music. Based on this premise, MacEwan University is characterized by its distinctive applied teaching orientation, student-centred focus, which is evident in its reputation for small class sizes and intimacy between lecturers and students, student learning experience and student-engaged research, as well as sustainability in education and campus operations.

Macewan has its reputation really around quality and in terms of the more intimacy with the instructors; so it's smaller classes, more time with instructors...What happens in the classroom is the most important thing. But we pay attention to all the other things; the overall student experience as well; all the other aspects of the student experience (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).

The motto and symbol of the university also reflect its focus on learning-centred teaching orientation, 'Through learning we flourish', the circle in the symbol representing 'the never-ending process of learning and the principle of inclusiveness' (www.macewan.ca/wcm/Discover). This focus of the university is clearly stated in the Strategic Plan:

Defining the role of research, scholarly and creative activity within the context of an undergraduate university focussed on teaching, learning and the student experience is critical to the evolution of the unique role the university envisages for itself...By actively and consciously reflecting this student-centred focus, MacEwan University can distinguish itself as an undergraduate university that truly considers students its highest priority (Strategic Plan, 2014, UoME).

Aiming for teaching excellence, and establishing itself as an undergraduate teaching university, UoME aims to sustain its core identity with this mission, rather than aspiring to be a research-oriented university. Participants highlighted that MacEwan differentiates itself from other traditional universities. Accordingly, although the approach of the university towards research has been changing in line with its newly gained university status and demands of the external stakeholders, teaching is still the core responsibility of lecturers, while research is conducted in order to supplement the student learning experience and keep faculties in the field.

We are not really in the scholarship research focused, so we have this other place in the world, we fulfil a very important niche. We are not quite partners and equal in that academic research world, where the top tier universities right? But we're credible. We need to be there. We're just not considered the same (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Our focus is really trying to create a different type of University that truly focuses on the student experience. The University of [Alberta] has a very fine reputation in graduate and post-graduate programmes. We don't feel a need to replicate that. If those institutions want to continue to evolve and grow in those areas, that's great; we want to focus on the undergraduate experience (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

Based on its teaching orientation, which restricts endowments from donors and requires more internal self-running revenue generation mechanisms, the

university adopted a reserved budget approach from its inception. This requires saving yearly unused revenue for the following years. Since donors give money for specific purposes for a particular time period, adoption of this approach provides flexibility in controlling the institutional budget, and renders this university distinctive compared with traditional universities.

That's how this Institution has historically done things. There's no big push to go and spend every penny that you have. Like in my office is an example. If I have a year in which I don't need to spend \$20,000 or \$30,000, I don't rush out and spend it, so by virtue of not spending that money, that money goes back and stays in the Institution, it's available to use for something else. As an example, at one point the Government did not provide us the funding for our Bachelor of Music Degree in sufficient time to launch the Degree, so the Board agreed to take money out of reserves, and get the Degree started (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

The delineation of the organisational characteristics of universities constitute their competencies and strategic responses to address variations in the experiences of institutional complexities. This is the concern of the next section. Table 7.1 shows a cross-comparative description of the case reports of UoA and UoME with illustrative quotes.

Table 7.1 Cross-comparative description of organisational dynamics of University of Alberta and University of MacEwan

Elements of distinct characterisation Universities	University of Alberta (UoA)	University of MacEwan (UoME)
General capacity in terms of number of faculties, students and staff	<p>Provision of undergraduate, graduate and post-graduate programmes</p> <p>18 faculties (200 undergraduate prog., 170 graduate prog.)</p> <p>36,817 students (7,204 graduate students, 29,625 undergraduate students)</p> <p>2,071 full-time faculty members (358 assistant, 745 associate, 968 full), 926 contract academic staff, approximately 600 post-doctoral fellows(by 2016)</p>	<p>Provision of only undergraduate programmes</p> <p>3 faculties, two schools, 65 programmes</p> <p>19,250 full-time and part-time students</p> <p>2,864 (part-time and full-time academics and administrative staff)</p>
Historical origins of dispositions <i>Establishment year and programmes in established time</i>	<p>Foundational roots back to the Dugan Street School in 1908</p> <p><u>First programmes:</u> English, Classics, Modern Languages, Mathematics and Civil Engineering courses</p>	<p>Foundational roots back to the Grant MacEwan College in 1971, Gained university status in 2009</p> <p><u>First programmes:</u> Nursing, Social Worker, Child Care, Psychotechnician</p>
<i>Establishment roots and mission</i>	Anglo-Saxon rooted Community based university	Professional training rooted (locally oriented)

	<p>Est. mission is on provision of education and research for provincial development purposes, meeting needs of provincial demands (first university in the province)</p> <p>(regional development mission)</p>	<p>Est. mission is on provision of professional-technical training purposes, meeting needs of particular professions (e.g. nurse, police, music performers)</p>
<i>Institutional heritage (distinctiveness stemming from historical origins)</i>	<p>Community orientated as being economic engine of the province</p> <p>I think that the School was trying the best to show that they have actually impacted on for example the number of alumni or graduate students, or students who graduate where they start a business. Actually having an impact in terms of profit generation, the economy, the growing of the economy of Alberta (Int. 9, Early Career academic, Business School, UoA).</p> <p>The university is trying to say to the government that we are very important for the economy, so don't just treat us as an educational institution, we are more than that, we actually are a big economic engine in the region (Int. 18, Academic, Business School, UoA).</p>	<p>Student experience orientated</p> <p>The student-centred focus and the focus really is on undergraduate teaching. We do research to help keep faculty current in their field; and to help students with their learning. But it's not done as a major piece of activity. We say student centre, but a lot of that focuses around being a teaching university as opposed to a research university (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p> <p>One of the biggest things that it has in terms of the reputation is that the classes are quite small. So in our programme the maximum size of any of our classes is 50 students. And many of our classes are 25 students (Int. 4, Senior-level Administrative Manager UoME).</p>
	<p>Individual professor driven research culture</p> <p>A research intensive culture, often individual professor driven. Here it's a bottom up culture which individual professors decides what he or she is going to do; we as a university support that and allow it to flourish (Int. 15, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p>There are cultures within certain faculties that do not lend themselves to a team approach; that they are designed for the solitary researcher. And it's the culture of that discipline for people to work on</p>	<p>Historically adopted reserved budget approach as heritage</p> <p>So historically this Institution has been a prudent budget manager. We are fairly conservative in how we budget, so we are quite realistic, quite practical, and we do believe in saving monies. When you do carry forward monies that you haven't used, you put them into a reserve, like in a special – basically a savings account. So by doing that, you target that money then to deal with things like the actual -. We had some more flexibility than perhaps some others did, because of the way we manage our money period, and it's that conservative, prudent approach that's really been a</p>

	<p>an individual basis. The way we assess professors is as individuals not as teams (Int. 21, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>	<p>hallmark for this place (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p>Collegial culture stemming from institutionalized research orientation (academic professionalism logic)</p> <p>This is the third Chair that I've had since I started this job and he is by far the best for me to work with, because he treats me like a colleague, and a co-worker, he doesn't treat me like an underling (Int. 8, Administrative Staff, Business School).</p> <p>I love this place I find it to be a very collegial place (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School).</p>	<p>Community college culture</p> <p>Even if you talk to others that come from other universities. They really do talk about the enthusiasm and the energy and the collegiality, and the collaborative nature, compared to other universities. I think a lot of that does stem from our flat structure when we were a community college, where everybody had the same title, where there wasn't a rank and merit peer review committee in place to judge their colleagues and decide whether they are promoted or not (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME)</p>
<i>Institutional orientation</i>	<p>Extensive Research oriented</p> <p>I find that the culture is very -. There is a lot of appreciation for research; I think this is the strongest trait of the school. The school really wants to be perceived from the outside as a research intensive school, so everything you do is based on research.So research is the first priority. You should focus on research, research is important, you have to do really high levels of research... this is you know, extremely distinctive (Int. 9, Early Academic, Business School).</p>	<p>Undergraduate Applied Teaching oriented</p> <p>Teaching is probably more focused on less lectures and more kind of student kind of focused instruction, and clearly more - we call many of those programme that are diploma programmes 'career programmes', so more focused on career, so that many of our courses are applied courses, as opposed to theoretical courses. So we actually have more applied -. So in our programme we have a course on counselling skills and where they have to learn practical counselling skills, interviewing skills. We have a course on report writing (Int. 4, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>

	<p>Main premise is on liberal education, raising scholars (theorists), instructors or managers</p> <p>The core mission of the university to be a world leading Institution for higher education, for education and research is the primary goal, and everything is aimed at fulfilling the core mission of the university (Int. 25, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA)</p>	<p>Main premise is on technical/professional expertise oriented training, aiming to raise practitioners</p> <p>In this programme, we are training people to actually work in a profession, and they want those people as quickly as possible. And so they're not as concerned about students getting a well-rounded liberal education (Int., 4, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p> <p>We don't teach people who go to work in a school as a teacher who want to teach music to children; we teach performers. It's different, right, we teach people who have gone out to earn a living as a music performer (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
<i>Distinctiveness in particular discipline</i>	<p>Institutional reputation in Engineering and Healthcare</p> <p>Institutional reputation in graduate studies</p> <p>Ranking: 68th position worldwide in Pre-Clinical Networked Education (2014-2015)</p> <p>These things aggregate up the strength of the faculties, so that its healthcare, it's energy in the environment. These are our priorities, and these are where we have excellence (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager).</p> <p>It is the faculties that raise the most money at the University of Alberta, are Engineering and Medicine (Int. 24, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>	<p>Institutional teaching reputation in programmes in Nursing, Music and police</p> <p>Our Bachelor of Music and Jazz and Contemporary Music is a national programme basically. Like we have students from all over Canada that come to that programme, because of its reputation. If I was to look at a national branded programme that would be one of them... Nursing is a unique field of study anyway, so our approach to it is a bit different. So students are coming here for that teaching environment, and also because of the reputation of that programme, the long reputation of that programme (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p> <p>Our music degree is one of the only music degrees in contemporary and popular music, and jazz and contemporary music. So like that also makes us very distinctive (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
Strategic (futuristic intentions) focus	<p>Desire to sustain and extend research orientation</p> <p>We aspire to be like UFTN, UBC as far as a University. In the Business School we think about</p>	<p>Desire to preserve self-sustained teaching orientation</p> <p>There some things we do want to be the same, but there's also other things we don't want to be the same. So that's</p>

	<p>how Queens and UFT and IVY Western have such a strong position with MBA's and they charge like \$80,000 and we charge \$20,000 or something like that for an MBA degree (Int. 3, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoA).</p> <p>In the Business School, the major change in the past 10-15 years has been a much bigger emphasis on the internationally recognised for the kind of research that we do. There has been a big push to become much more recognised as a strong research School (Int. 18, Academic, Business School, UoA).</p>	<p>very difficult to sort of manage. And you know, the research issue is again where a – not all – but a number of faculties really push that desire to want to do a lot more research. But that's not our focus; our focus is on the teaching. The research is there to help Faculty stay current in their field, but not as a major (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
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7.3 Canadian context: Interpretation of institutional complexities and organisational responses

The influence of neo-liberal politics over higher education institutions in the Canadian context has been elaborated in Chapter 5. Revisiting these insights reminds us that the effects of the enactment of neo-liberal ideology are greatly evident in budget cuts on universities by provincial governments. This has led to changes in legitimacy sources, such as the increasing importance of research orientation and rankings of universities, as well as an increasing reliance on the diverging expectations of internal and external stakeholders. Additionally, standardisation of higher education institutions, which is achieved through the transformation of technical colleges to universities as a global trend, is another demand of the neo-liberal politics, and is evident in the Canadian context.

Hereby, these reforms have brought institutional challenges in various forms, based on the salient characteristics of universities, and stemming from their historical and cultural roots. More specifically, one important aspect that leads to variations in the experience of institutional complexities is the institutional orientation of the Canadian context. Being oriented either towards research or to teaching, which is traced back to the historical and cultural roots of universities, determines their expenses, legitimacy sources and, in turn, the nature of their relationships with stakeholders. This is highlighted by participants:

A big divider though is research. Are you doing research or not? If you are doing research, it's a huge issue. Research is expensive; it's expensive to do a research. Faculty have to fund their grad students, so have to grants, and publications to get the grants. But the other faculty in the non-research institutions don't have to do that. That is the divide in this province (Int. 22, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

Pertinent to the institutional orientation of universities, resource dependency ties with external stakeholders, and institutionally adopted revenue generation mechanisms are also influential in the experience of institutional pressures related to fiscal restraints. Comparing UoA and UoME, the following quotation exemplifies this:

UoA has been struggling because of the budget cuts. But we don't have the big expenses and the big endowments. They have a lot of endowments that suffered under the interest rates being so low and all of them counting on endowments to fund a lot of things. We don't have that here. We haven't got much in the way of external funding, no. It's been mostly Government, and good stewardship of the money we've received, student tuition. We don't have endowments, like the University of Alberta. Nowhere near (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager UoME).

However, differences in the experience of institutional complexities are not limited to institutional orientation and degree of reliance on external stakeholders, but also to other aspects of the universities. These include for example, distinctiveness in particular disciplines and organisational culture that constitute the core strategic approach of a university and lead to variations in organisational responses. This is elaborated in the next section.

7.3.1 Interpretation of institutional complexities: University of Alberta and MacEwan University

Comparing UoA and UoME reveals how differences in institutional orientation, foundational missions, and distinctiveness in particular disciplines, along with other elements stemming from the historical and cultural orientation of these universities, create variations in the apprehension of institutional complexities, deriving from the encroachment of neo-liberal ideology.

Regarding the case accounts for this study, UoME is the only university which was recently transformed from community college to undergraduate university. Accordingly, UoME is mostly faced with institutional challenges related to this transition process. This has meant structural and cultural changes within the university, which bring ambiguity and constitute the main source of institutional complexities in this setting. To start with, transition to the university model required legislative changes in the functioning of the university, such as adoption of the Post-Secondary Learning Act. This facilitated structural changes from diploma/certificate programmes to degree- providing departmental structuration, and caused challenges due to the ambiguities pertinent to the new

structuration process. Re-allocation of both budgets and responsibilities of administrative staff, shifts in research and teaching-loads of academics, as well as changing criteria in the recruitment of academics were brought to the fore of the debate, as requirements of being an undergraduate university, which had not been experienced before. Overall, combined with the budget cuts to universities by provincial government in this province (detailed in Chapter 5), the transformation process to undergraduate university status heightened the institutional pressures on UoME:

Previously as a college, you would have structures, organizational structures where you would have programme Chairs. Now we have departments as opposed to programmes. That's a significant change that you'll see. I wouldn't say money was driving those decisions, no. Not at all. It's more of reconfiguring the School (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

The transition process, but the biggest challenge perhaps ... We've gone through becoming a community college to a junior college, to a degree-granting college, and now to a university. And that's been a significant transition in culture from a training institute to an education institute, and an Institution that is embedded in the academy in terms of scholarship and research, which wasn't the case 15 or 20 years ago. So that has been a major change (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Importantly, these changes are expected to cause cultural clashes between newcomer research-oriented scholars and existing teaching-oriented lecturers, who will be working in same departments, as highlighted by participants:

The faculty that teaches those diploma/certificate programmes will now be in a department with the faculty that teaches the degree programme that are PhD qualified researchers. So coming together in one department. You have two different cultures, so the challenge going forward is to integrate those cultures to ensure people are getting supported and contributing in the way they contribute, and probably to move everyone towards a more... So that's a challenge, moving everyone forward with the same mission landings (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

In this transition of trying to determine what part of the university didn't want to keep or want to be like in terms of general universities, but parts we don't want, that's a significant challenge (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).

On the other hand, the data reveals that the main source of institutional complexities for UoA is related to the budget cuts of provincial government from

universities. As noted earlier in Chapter 5, the provincial government of Alberta introduced 7% budget cuts from all higher education institutions in the province, in line with governmental policy on restriction of public expenditure. Notably, while the same amount was retrieved from all universities in this province, these budget cuts were experienced as crises, and were alarming for UoA, threatening the internal functioning of the university. Several aspects of the university heightened the effects of the budget cuts. First, the financial management approach of the university, which is reliant on the external stakeholders, its research orientation and desire to situate itself among the leading universities required extra resources. Second, the foundational mission of the university, which is based on provincial development, has increased the expectations of stakeholders from the university. Additionally, the size of the university also facilitates increasing rumours among academic and administrative staff that complicate the experience of these complexities.

...These goals will ensure the university retains and improves its position as a top 100 university in the world, and best serves its strongest ally and constituent community, the province of Alberta (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2016, p. 13).

The core mission of the university to be a world leading Institution for higher education, for education and research is the primary goal, and everything is aimed at fulfilling the core mission of the university. We don't have enough money to do everything that we do, let alone what we would like to do, right? And so there's a lot of challenges inherent within that! (Int, 25, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA)

Already the university has seen a net loss in academic faculty. This new financial reality gives rise to numerous institutional risks, including the impact on quality; ability to grow research and establish international partnerships; maintenance of programme accreditation; ability to attract and retain the highest-quality faculty, staff, and students; maintenance of infrastructure; and overall institutional reputation (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 45).

More specifically, compared to UoME, the financial management of UoA is more likely to be reliant on donors' grants, which are given for specific purposes, rather than governmental funding and student tuition fees. Accordingly, when

faced with budget cuts, the absence or insufficiency of reserved budgets has leveraged institutional tensions. Additionally, since the budget cuts were unexpected, the university did not have the opportunity to reconsider budget allocations, such as, for example, negotiations of academics' salaries. The following quote expresses how the financial management approach of UoA triggered this crisis:

It was this piece of the pie that got cut by 7%, which is really important, because our biggest piece of the pie in terms of spending, are salaries and benefits; and all of that spending, the vast majority, comes out of the operating budget. Our budget was cut, salaries and benefits continued to increase, because these were already negotiated, so they were already promised. 7% doesn't seem like that huge, but the reason why it's so huge is 'cos you have to make it all from a small part of the pie. You have to make it. In other words you can't take cuts from research funding for example, because research funding comes in is all restricted; meaning you can use it only for the purposes in which it has been given. The same is true for capital funding, because funding for capital expenses has to be only on a capital budget, it can't be moved over; you can't just put it over here. So it wouldn't help if you stopped building buildings, it doesn't help anybody that money would just revert back to the Government who gave it to you, because you haven't spent it in a way that it was designated. (Int, 25, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).

Compared to the UoA, UoME has experienced institutional challenges pertinent to the budget cuts to a lesser degree, and has been relatively unharmed. This is not only because of having fewer expenses, as a teaching-oriented university (with less reliance on external endowments), but is mainly due to its 'reserved budget approach' to financial management, as a taken-for-granted practice, which has been adopted since its establishment as a university. This approach requires preserving unused annual budget for subsequent years, as detailed earlier. More importantly, it entails continuous evaluation of the necessity of programmes and positions, and elimination of non-critical positions within the administrative and academic structure, with the aim of keeping some of the institutional budget in reserve. This approach enables UoME to be more flexible in expenses, and reduces uncertainty when faced with budget cuts from provincial government:

What we would do is find a position that had become vacant, and then we would re-allocate that position. So it was very controlled. So usually when growing fast, and you have a positive cash flow, there's a real tendency to add new positions. And we had to go through a more rigorous process, so that limited our exposure when the cuts came, because we knew we were in

a cyclical economy...The budget cuts have hit us a little bit, we were in very good financial shape before then, because we were in the growth mode for about 10 years, so that produced very positive cash flow as you grow, and you often have that. And we had lots of money in reserve; we've used that up now, and so the budget cuts were difficult (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

In terms of the budget cuts, so when you look at the budget cuts two years ago, what the Institution did then is if we could historically generate some surpluses that you put into reserves, then we all start to pull back on some of that...we may not have seen as big an impact, but the ones we are experiencing right now are much bigger impact, because of the flexibility we had before (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

Furthermore, as my analysis revealed, I observed that the nature and extent of the institutional demands from stakeholders also varies. Compared to other universities, UoA has experienced a higher degree of institutional pressure due to the increasing expectations of stakeholders, including Government, media, donors and society, which look for the value of UoA to society, due to its community-oriented roots:

There is a lot of scrutiny, the public is looking very closely -. You know, in this particular round of cuts, there's been a lot of debate and interest in the wider public in what is happening at university, and I think in March partly because the University of Alberta is such a big institution, and a very important institution to the City of Edmonton and to the province of Alberta. So people are interested in what's going on, and I think there has been a lot of focus on staff losses reported in the media and other (Int. 6, Senior-level Administrative Manager, Rectorate, UoA).

Considering UoME, the diverging demands of particular professions, in parallel with the transition from college to university status has meant ambiguities within the institution. More specifically, while particular professions demand practical equipment and the acquisition of professional skills as soon as possible within the two-year diploma programme, on the other hand the new status of the university requires the provision of a four-year degree programme.

There are some stakeholders that look at some of our small diploma programmes (niche diploma – Insurance is a good example). And they love the way it's doing its business right now; they don't want to see it change. And they're fearful that there might be a change where these diplomas no

longer exist... because they like the secretaries that come out of our School, but we are no longer in the business of training secretaries. So some things are shifting (Int.8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Apart from budget cuts, the prevalence of market logic is also evident in the growing importance of ranking systems which signal changing criteria for legitimacy and status by external stakeholders, and have triggered the expansion of competitiveness in the field of higher education. UoA has experienced the increasing importance of these legitimacy sources as a way of expanding its community orientation towards more international research orientation and situate itself leading status. This is because the research identity of UoA is an important aspect that differentiates it from its rivals.

You have the environment that is shifting, the School over time has become more and more aligned to that.... They hired professors that were able to publish, and then came from that. Over time, so the School got better and better and better and now right before we were out of the league, now we are in the league (Int. 9, Early Career-Academic, Business School, UoA).

As one of Canada's leading research-intensive institutions, the University of Alberta continues to work in partnership with national stakeholder organizations such as the U15 and the AUCC to advocate for instilling an increased emphasis on global research excellence in the overall suite of federal science and technology programmes (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2015, p. 26).

On the other hand, both the increasing importance of ranking systems and transition to university status has led UoME to give more priority to its research orientation. However, the increasing prominence of research-led ranking systems has been apprehended as a threat to its core identity, which is centred on the student learning experience, professional training and teaching. Since the main premise of the university lies in preserving this core identity, research-led activities and the desire to be like research-oriented universities can be regarded as a challenge. Accordingly, while teaching is a core responsibility of the academics, research is conducted in order to help faculties stay current in their field and support student learning, as highlighted by participants and in the strategic plans. Participants stressed that the main challenge in changing legitimacy criteria is related to moving everyone forward with the same mission, which is that of balancing research and teaching activities:

Especially those Chairs that are trying to recruit new faculty, they are feeling it [pressure] a little more so, because they are having to use more sessional faculty, rather than hiring full time continuously. So that's really starting to impact, because they're seeing there's less full time faculty to carry some of the service components, to carry some of the other things that need to be done operationally in the School, we have to rely on sessional. So that's really starting to hit us, and the need to hire more full time continuing faculty will become a larger pressure this next year (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

To sum up, the enactment of neo-liberal ideology and marketization of higher education institutions has been evident in the decline of public expenditure by provincial governments, and shifting relational configuration with external stakeholders. The nature and extent of institutional complexities experienced by UoA and UoME differ, based on their organisational attributes. Combined with the financial restrictions from provincial government, transition process to undergraduate university constitutes the main source of institutional complexity for UoME. This process not only means restructuration, from chair structuration to the departmentalisation, adoption and elimination of new positions, which has resulted in cultural clashes within departments, but also addresses the reconfiguration of relations with external stakeholders, as discussed throughout this section. On the other hand, financial constraints from provincial government and increasing expectations of external stakeholders impose a greater degree of institutional pressure on UoA. Table 7.2 presents the organisational experiences of institutional complexities in the case of UoA and UoME, with illustrative data.

Table 7.2 Canadian context: Interpretation of institutional complexities at the organisational level

Inst. comp.	Aspects of Ins. comp. Universities	University of Alberta (UoA)	University of MacEwan (UoME)
The Experience of market pressures at the field and organisational level (Changes in legitimacy criteria)	<i>Increasing importance of international accreditations and rankings</i>	<p>Opportunity to sustain and extend its international research oriented status</p> <p>The mission of the School has become to become top 20 in 2020. That drives a lot of what professors are asked to do... This is really important for the School because they realise that the only way to be at the top is to publish in top journals. (Int. 9, Early Career-Academic, Business School, UoA)</p> <p>I think there is an increasing element of reputation, international standing for university. Striving for excellence is, I think a very critical item and I see the university not so much changing, they are evolving in this direction with senior leadership team the university has in place. The two corresponding strategic documents which are guiding this university into nationalisation plays a role, particularly where we are involved on the research side, less on the education and student recruitment side. (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoA)</p>	<p>Challenge to sustain core identity of the institution, which is on student experience, professional training and teaching</p> <p>There is going to be pressure to let the mission drift, which is a focus on student learning and undergraduate education and teaching. And the main challenge is to keep us focused on that, because that's our core strength; that is what we're known for, so what we're very good at...The challenge for us is to stay focused on the students, and not get caught up in the university culture. I think that's the biggest challenge for us is that will we get down the path temptation of becoming more like a university and reducing teaching loads and asking people to go out and get research funds? (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>

	<p>Increasing expectations on applied research due to community roots, to a greater extend</p> <p><i>Changing expectations on nature of doing research and research (applied, interdisciplinary research and project culture)</i></p>	<p>We have donor acts that are putting pressures on us in different ways. And just the general public about 'what is the value of the university to a city?' A university in a city is really important, right? Like what role does a university play in the city of Edmonton? We are a huge economic generator for the community. The impact of our alumni, and what it's done for the city and the province, really big. (Int. 13, Senior-level Administrative Manager, Rectorate, UoA)</p> <p>In the last say 10 years, but really intensively in the last five years, the public is really expecting a lot more of universities, in terms of translating their research into something identifiable, some impact that you can measure and see and talk about or whatever in this world. And she's really talked about how that's shifted....there's much more expectation; that it just can't sit over here in the university, it has to get out into the real world. They expect to see a return on their research investments (Int. 14, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA)</p>	<p>Challenge to meet increasing emerging expectations pertinent to research orientation</p> <p>As faculty members, we're supposed to be doing more research. But what does that mean? So many of our faculty teach a lot of course because we are a teaching Institution. So how do you balance doing research and teaching? When I started teaching, we didn't do any research, and now of course we are being told that we should be doing research (Int. 4, Middle-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
Experience of political pressures at	<p><i>Increasing governmental control and accountability concerns</i></p>	<p>Increasing accountability demands of government as a challenge</p> <p>Certainly for the past year or year and a half, since they have upgraded the travel and expense module. Internal auditors have made it a practice to perform two or three,</p>	<p>Increasing accountability demands of government as a challenge</p> <p>Over the last probably 10 years, it's increased dramatically. So in terms of the Government being - you know, half our funding comes from the</p>

	<p>sometimes four audits per year, to come and see us, or they'll email us and they want to see a certain amount of data. So definitely more scrutiny (Int. 2, Administrative Staff, UoA).</p> <p>The government are saying 'with this funding, we want you to report back and be more accountable on how many students are you graduating, what are the outputs? Are they getting jobs?' you know, so the standard and the expectations from our previous funders have changed (Int. 13, Senior-level Administrative Manager, Rectorate, UoA).</p>	<p>Government – the amount of reporting has definitely increased a lot. So in terms of accountability for different things, different risks and different liabilities, the accountability has increased everywhere. There's increased legislation and definitely increased reporting requirements, especially the Government, and having to report and provide analysis (Int.2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p> <p>There is more and more of this compliance requirement, and accountability. So there's more Government policy requiring reporting; it's not just health, safety and wellness, but those are ones that just come immediately to mind (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
<i>Financial withdrawal government (financial challenges)</i> <i>of</i>	<p>Experienced as crises and alarming and threat internal functioning of the university</p> <p>This is just a crisis, and people are upset, but this crisis will pass. This is not a systemic thing. The money ceases, and then it flows again in two years... mean when the government cuts \$40 million from your budget, that's a crisis (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoA).</p> <p>If you take away half of the budget, and you only have a half for everything else, it puts pressure on everything else (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoA).</p> <p>We had an unexpected 7% cut to our budget, which they did not give us warning about; did not -. It was a shock. It was a terrible shock (Int. 25, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p>	<p>Experienced relatively as unharmed due to relatively less expenses and historically adopted reserved budget approach</p> <p>When there was new funding for programmes, so this is several years ago (7, 8, 9 years ago), we didn't allocate all the funds out, we kept a bunch in reserve, so ended up building up some reserve funds. And so when the first set of cuts came several years ago, we were able to do it without really impacting the programmes in any way. (Int. 2, Senior-level Manager, UoME).</p> <p>Faculty haven't totally been immersed in the challenges of the budget cuts. Because we had a lot of reserves. We don't now, but we did. We were well managed, a good stewardship, which meant that we were always running very efficiently and creating ourselves lots of surpluses that we could use on a rainy day (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>

Hereby, these varying degrees of challenges are shaped by organisational attributes and lead to variations in organisational responses. This is the concern of the next section.

7.3.2 Organisational-level responses to institutional complexities

In this section, I present my analysis on how differences experienced in institutional complexities, combined with organisational attributes, lead to variations in the approaches of UoA and UoME to the increasing and diverging demands of stakeholders and revenue generation, as well as research.

7.3.2.1 Responses of the University of Alberta

My analysis indicates that the University of Alberta (UoA) engages in 'compromising' strategy in relation to the Government, which is evident in its pro-active attempts at advocacy with Government in order to claw back restricted funds in the face of shrinking public budget (as explained in the earlier sections). On the other hand, due to compatibility with market logic for UoA, prescriptions demanded by this logic are experienced as the opportunity to sustain and extend its research orientation and status in the field. According to Oliver's (1991) response strategies, UoA engages in 'acquisition' as an organisational level strategy, which corresponds to the 'aggregation' strategy of Pratt and Foreman (2000), in the sense of adapting to the demands of market logic and forging links with existing logics. More specifically, in the case of UoA, acquisition is evident in attempts at adoption and assimilation of new practices as well as 'strengthening existing practices with application of activities of the new institutional logic', which is termed as 'augmenting' (Perkman and Schilt, 2013). The following parts of this section are devoted to the delineation of these strategies in coping with governmental and market demands.

Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders

Differently from other contexts, budget cuts from the provincial government have been experienced as crises in this context, participants mainly highlighting reflections of these budget cuts. Strengthening relations with stakeholders and practices in controlling institutional budgets have been developed and leveraged in parallel with these cuts, which have been evaluated as recent implications of neo-liberal ideology in the Canadian context. However, my analysis is not limited

to reactions towards the cuts, but comprises the general trend in organisational response patterns over the past decade, in light of the enactment of the neo-liberalism.

Accordingly, as a first attempt at compromising with governmental demands, the university has sought advocacy with the Government, since its main source of revenue comes from provincial government (60%). This has been achieved through increasing communication with governmental representatives, with more consideration given to accountability and transparency, as well as benefiting from third party advocates. The following quotes stress that university managers have been advocating the government by demonstrating the economic and social value of UoA for provincial development, and highlighting how reductions in budgets would cause deterioration in this contribution to society:

We advocate to Government to protect our grant, to increase our grant. We report back to Government to show them that we are a good investment for them, so we want to show them that we are aligned with their Government mission...what we try to do is, we try to show that we are essential. So if the Province of Alberta is going to be an important Province on the global stage, they have to have a university like the University of Alberta, if they're going to get there. With our research component, with our students and Alumni do; what our Faculty do and so forth (Int. 23, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

Through our Government Relations Team, we were advocating very, very, very strongly, but not in the media. And the results of that were good, 'cos we did actually get some of our funding back; we got \$14 million back so ... So the University of Alberta was kind of – they have this attitude towards Government relations, which is not to have the fight in public, but to have it through many, many conversations with our various stakeholders ... there are people in contact with our partners in Government all the time; like on a daily basis you know, with our Deputy Ministers, with our Associate, Ministers and people like that. We are in consistent communication with them. So lots and lots of conversations, tons of conversations in the last couple of years, to be showing them, and demonstrating that we're doing everything that we can think of to reduce our expenditures and to – you know, being as efficient as we possibly can (Int. 25, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).

Third party advocates such as media, alumni and other stakeholders are also considered an efficient means of convincing provincial government of the value of the university, which is crucial in sustaining its financial support. The growing

attention to the synergistic effect of relations with various stakeholders in influencing governmental decisions was highlighted by participants:

We'd better pay attention to the provincial and federal actions, just because of all these partnerships. And again those are things that we didn't pay attention to a long time ago, but now we do, 'cos those same donors that are potentially supporting a university, are talking to the politicians, looking at their bottom line, going "I want U of A graduates because they are going to be my future employees". So it is such a synergistic. We just have to get better at those relationships, and we never had to before (Int. 13, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).

In particular, UoA's contributions to the province in the field of health care and engineering has been highlighted in Annual Reports, which are mainly used as communication tools with Government. The following statement is one example of this:

Achieving excellence across the disciplines, U of A researchers are changing the lives of many. Major medical breakthroughs—such as Michael Houghton's advance toward a hepatitis C vaccine, Robert Burrell's nano-particle wound dressing, and Paul Armstrong's cardiac research— have eased the suffering of people close to home and around the world (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 6).

Overall, these endeavours in advocacy to provincial government have resulted in success, as stressed in the Reports: 'through dedicated advocacy efforts, the university won important reinvestments from government, such as funding for staffing in specified areas, a \$14.4-million boost to the Campus Alberta grant, and tuition-freeze backfill' (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 7).

As well as strengthening its relations with governmental representatives and advocacy to provincial government to claw back funding, UoA has also strengthened its communication with both internal and external stakeholders. More specifically, given its research orientation, which requires considerable intellectual and economic capital, UoA has always formed and sustained relations with alumni and sponsors, particularly in the areas of health care and engineering, which contribute to its distinctiveness and reputation. However,

restrictions in governmental budgets have meant greater reliance on other sources of external funding, which have changed from 'nice to have' to 'must have'.

Thinking about a new budget model, you then have to think about how are you bringing new funds into the university? We think about the new budget model, we think about how do we create new sources of revenue for the university? (Int. 23, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

Adoption of the new budget model entailed strengthening relations with alumni and current donors, as well as building partnerships with different stakeholders, with the aim of diversifying revenue sources. For example, the importance of keeping strong relations with the alumni, not only for the workforce needs of the province, but also as crucial stakeholders and donors to UoA was stressed both in the strategic plans and by the research participants:

Active and engaged volunteers throughout their communities, U of A alumni have also donated to their alma mater in record numbers in the past several years, helping to bring the university's total endowment well over the \$1 billion mark in 2015 (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 4).

Another big stakeholder group are the alumni. So we have the alumni office, and they try and keep in touch with the alumni and you hope that down the road they might donate money to the School....But I think that's one of the bigger changes over the last 10/15 years has been a deliberate attempt to manage relationships with the alumni; more attention being given to that (Int. 18, Academic, Business School, UoA)

The UoA continues to undertake greater efforts to engage its alumni and reconnect them with their alma mater, and those efforts have resulted in 10 per cent growth in program participation in 2013-2014, and a 50 per cent increase across all programs over five years. The Affinity programs offered to alumni as benefits generated \$1.7 million last year, a 13 per cent increase over the previous year. (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 32).

Hence, the diversifying of donors and strengthening relations with existing donors has been an important strategy for the university. For example, increasing philanthropic donations through the facilitating of online endowments is another recent revenue generation attempt of UoA:

In fiscal 2015, the UoA raised \$114,694,239 in philanthropic donations, the third highest annual fundraising total in the university's history, surpassing last year's total of \$87,733,354... A record number (3,362) of President's

Society donors (those giving more than \$1,000 in the year)... A record number of online donors (4,863) and money donated online (\$1.39M)...Lift Off Alberta, a project to launch the first made-in Alberta satellite, raised \$25,050 through the U of A's crowdfunding platform, an online way for supporters to donate money to university projects and initiatives. Play Around the World, a dynamic program that brings sport to underprivileged children around the world, raised \$15,560, while U of A Pride Week raised more than \$10,000 (Annual Report, 2014-2015, pp. 22- 25).

As well as strengthening relations with external stakeholders, UoA has also recognized the necessity of increasing communication among its organisational members, with the aim of smoothing institutional tension within the institution, which it has experienced along with the budget cuts. More specifically, administrative and, in particular, academic staff wanted to be informed more about UoA's strategies and relations with the external environment, and to be more engaged with institutional level processes. These requests were volubly expressed at the round table discussion with the president on 7th October, 2013, which was open to academic staff and students in two rounds, which a total of 40 participants attended. I also had the chance to attend this event, and what I observed was that participants were critically questioning the shortcomings of UoA in demonstrating its social and economic value to the external audiences, which was judged to be a main reason for provincial government cuts. Participants expressed their opinions on whether or not UoA was doing its best to maintain good relations with external funders. Participants also suggested that UoA should undertake more proactive strategies, such as advocacy to Government directly or via third party advocates, as outlined earlier, and highlighted the importance of visibility of the president to external and internal audiences.

These discussions paved the way for increasing levels of communication and transparency within the institution, as well as increasing the visibility of the president. This was mainly evident in the president's weekly published bulletins, in which crucial actions within UoA and relations with stakeholders have been summarized every Friday since October, 2013. UoA has also created blogs, with the aim of getting feedback from organisational members on the strategies of

UoA, and facilitating further discussions on these strategies. In sum, the establishment of of round table discussions, weekly bulletins of the president and creation of blogs, along with other practices, such as increasing the number of town hall talks by the president, show that UoA has been strengthening communication and transparency with internal audiences, with the aim of informing organisational members more about decision-making processes and alleviating institutional tension. The following interview extract from the strategic plan stresses the increasing demands of organisational members for transparency, and the responses of the UoA:

When the Deans were first sent their letters nine months ago to say what their budgets would be for 2013/14, there were some people on twitter that were asking 'Where is it? Why can't we all see them? Why can't we see these letters? Why don't you tell us what you are giving to each faculty? Why, why, why,why, why?' We then decided that we are going to move to a new level of transparency, and we will put out the faculty numbers but we'll try to do it with as much explanation as possible. So we did do that. And I can tell you that hardly anyone has gone to look at it. So people want to ask for transparency, they want to make a stink about transparency, but they don't actually really want the information..... I can tell you from an administrative side, hours and hours were spent on preparing that chart, and all the footnoting and all the explanations (Int. 14, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).

In August 2013, President Samarasekera launched an email weekly bulletin for all employees to ensure that the university community is up to date on issues, concerns, and activities of importance to them, and to help inform them about the work of the senior leadership (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 48).

Sustaining and extending research orientation

Desiring to become a more research-oriented recognized university ranked among the top, UoA has been 'augmenting' (Perkman and Schildt 2013) its research related practices that are consistent with its establishment mission and research identity. These practices include recruitment of international research-oriented professors, strengthening its graduate education, increasing its prioritizing on industry-driven applied research, and on international research partnerships, as well as the facilitation of inter-disciplinary research. This was highlighted in the Annual Report (2014-15):

An institution that aspires to be among the top research-intensive universities in the world can only achieve that goal through the recruitment of internationally renowned faculty, the capacity and funding to attract graduate students and post-doctoral fellows, the ability to provide the necessary research supports and infrastructure, and the establishment of strategic collaborations and partnerships with an extensive range of stakeholders. (Annual Report, 2014-15, p. 45)

Although budget cuts by provincial government restricted the recruitment of professors, and resulted in decreases in recruitment of post-doctoral fellows by nearly 1.4% in 2013-2014, and 1.9% in 2014-2015 academic years (Annual Report 2014-2015, p. 15), considering the general trend in recruitment of post-doctoral fellows over the past decade, these numbers have increased significantly from 381 in 2005-2006, to 580 by 2015-2016 (UoA databooks). This inclination also shows the prominence of UoA in research, as stated in the Strategic Reports:

Post-doctoral fellows (PDFs) contribute to the research mission of the university. The attraction of post-doctoral fellows, researchers, and visiting faculty from around the world to join the academic community is a key Dare to Discover strategy. The University of Alberta's complement of PDFs decreased over the reported period. This decline, though not desirable, is expected in the current fiscal climate (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 15).

In many areas of research conducted at the University of Alberta, advances depend heavily on the contributions of highly productive post-doctoral fellows, most of whom originate from countries outside of Canada (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 13).

Reinforcing its research orientation, UoA has continued to recruit international research-oriented scholars from diverse backgrounds, aiming to:

The university continued to achieve important success in attracting and retaining top scholars. Twelve new Canada Research Chairs were awarded to the U of A during 2013- 2014: six Tier 2 chairs and six Tier 1 chairs. Four previous appointments were renewed and two CRC holders were promoted from Tier 2 to Tier 1. This brings the total number of CRCs active during 2013-2014 to 99. The total value for the year of these awards was \$13.5 million (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 16).

UoA has also sought to emphasize industry-driven research in alignment with its historical sensitivity to meeting provincial development needs, and financial necessity to comply with the previously determined research demands of donors. These initiatives were highlighted in strategic plans and by participants:

University of Alberta and our province, and our country is pushing much more for translational research, and translation is you have got different meanings to different people, but it is applying the research to societal problems, and those often end up being commercially relevant (Int. 15, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

Enhancing graduate studies and professional research programmes to strengthen the impact of graduate education has been achieved through increasing both the number and competency of graduate students by, for example, increasing professional skills development (CIP, 2016, p. 21). This was perceived as a strategic decision that strengthens the research identity of the university:

The university become more of a stronger graduate research programme. And to do this, we have to pay greater attention to raising the quality of graduate programmes throughout the university... The president of the university highlighted that the acting provost will be responsible for initiatives regarding improving graduate education. This is more the strategic goals of the University, in strategic positioning (Int. 3, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoA).

The university's goal remains to increase the number of graduate students by recruiting high-quality domestic and international students. To achieve our graduate enrolment goals and increase the acceptance rate of our offers to top applicants, the U of A is exploring the inclusion of multi-year financial support packages with offers of admission to graduate programs. The University of Alberta has a graduate to-undergraduate ratio above of the top public four-year universities and must make a substantial investment in graduate students to reach its target...Progress is evident, but the global competition to attract the best and brightest graduate students is intensifying and often linked to available funding (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2015, p. 35-40).

The U of A has been engaged in a major process of review, analysis, and revision of graduate student education over the last two years...(Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 5).

The increasing number of graduate students, compared with the decreasing size of undergraduate enrolment, also shows the priorities and research orientation of UoA:

Between 2006–2007 and 2015–2016, total undergraduate student enrolment at the U of A decreased marginally (by 0.6 per cent) compared with graduate enrolment, which has increased significantly over the same period (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2016, p. 57).

As part of the internationalization agenda, establishing international research partnerships has also been one of the institutional priorities of UoA, in alignment with need to change its institutional environment:

Over the last several years, the university community has taken a targeted, strategic approach, with focus on India, China, Germany, the United States, and BrazilOur goal has been to enable interdisciplinary, cross-border research teams and projects; open up graduate student and post-doctoral internships; and link universities with industry, community organizations, and government agencies (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 5).

Furthermore, the importance of enhancing cross-disciplinary initiatives for the overarching cutting-edge research objectives of UoA has been highlighted in the strategic plans. In line with this, the university has used its newest buildings for the facilitation of interdisciplinary research, as a response to its external constituencies, and to establish its research centres:

Another big change that has happened under her presence is the move towards, trying to get people out of their silos, as they say, and get them working together. We adopt both the CCIS and ECHA those buildings are actually designed to facilitate interdisciplinary educational opportunities and programmes. That's a big change, and a trend in universities. It's hard, it's really hard to make that happen. That too is a response to outside pressures (Int. 14, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).

In June 2013, the European Union Centre of Excellence at the University of Alberta was launched as part of an existing consortium of four other Canadian EU Centres of Excellence, 10 U.S.-based EU Centres of Excellence, and 22 international EU Centres around the world. The centre generates multidisciplinary collaboration across the university to deepen and increase research in areas of common Canadian and EU interest, including multiculturalism and minority rights, energy and the environment, and the North (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 24).

Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic

Albeit the main approach of UoA to revenue generation has been based on external endowments, the university has also reconfigured its internal mechanisms through the assimilation of new, and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices, adhering to market logic. These are classified under two sub-themes, and have recently been adopted for revenue generation, together with the reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism.

To start with, the recently adopted administrative practices, aiming for efficiency in operations and minimising cost, included: revenue generation through administrative and academic units' sale of services and ancillary services; elimination of certain non-revenue generating (non-critical) programmes; reductions in administrative staff and non-tenured academic staff (assistant professors); reductions in discretionary accounts; and adoption of a zero budget planning approach in operations. Illustrative quotes pertinent to these practices are presented in Appendix 6.

More specifically, the data show that UoA has adopted new revenue generation practices, such as sale of particular services, as underscored in the strategic plans: 'academic and administrative units generate revenue through the sale of services and products to both individuals and organizations external to the university... academic and administrative units generated sales of \$93.0 million' (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 42). These services include, for example, provision of consultancy and project management or educational programmes offered by the Faculty of Extension, such as one year Masters programmes, among others:

So we are doing project management services from Narquest College downtown, (they've got a major building addition) that rather than them go out and hire people to do it, they partnered with us, we work with them, we put up the expertise, and we can deliver that project for them on a project management basis. So we are doing that within the Alberta model (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

Faculties control their budgets, and they'll engage in revenue generation. They are offering one year Masters, six courses in China, and then doing a capstone back here in Edmonton. It's one programme, it's just going through. We have capital, intellectual capital; we've got a lot of brains here, and we basically give it away (Int. 22, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

Secondly, UoA has engaged in the reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism in order to cope with the demands of external stakeholders. The grafting of new educational programmes is one of example of this. The following quote highlights how the implementation of digital education technologies, such as MOOCs, is evaluated as an educational imperative, in line with the need to adapt to the changing environment and respond to institutional demands.

We need to move at a quicker pace to change and respond to our current realities too...We've got to find the balance, because not everybody can take a MOOC, they are expensive. It's like this is where we have to think not traditionally. We have to think about what is going to MOOC-able, like what's possible in the MOOC world. And there will be focus, because not every course, every expert, every brilliant Bill Curry-like person is going to get their MOOC. (Int.13, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).

But now things are changing, and they're really realising we have to be active in the online education field and stuff..."They have told us to be creative, they have told us to think about ways in which we could raise money, MOOCs might be one solution. Faculty of Science has started -If you go to the website DYNO101, and they are hoping that that would be a big revenue generator for the Faculty of Science. I don't know if it will be, it's an experiment, but at least it's an attempt to do that (Int. 14, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).

Given that the community and international research orientation priorities of UoA lie in its internationalization and diversity agenda, for which it has been targeting and achieving increasing numbers of international undergraduate and graduate students since 2005, the education of minorities, including sexual minorities and ethnic minorities such as northern, francophone, multi-cultural and Aboriginal communities, has been one of its strategic institutional objectives since 2008.

We have had a strong international student strategy for probably the last seven or eight years, and that continues to be important. So I would say international students are a very important part of our strategy going forward. The way we do that in [Alberta] is that international students are no cost to the taxpayer. When you work it out, the revenue from the tuition of international students, which is higher, upsets the difference between what the tuition pays for and what the Government pays for per student (domestic

student). So that's the model in [Alberta] which is being run (Int. 21, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).

The University of Alberta has set in motion strategies to pursue selected long-term enrolment objectives. These include representative proportions of undergraduates from rural and Aboriginal communities of Alberta, as well as higher proportions of international undergraduate and graduate enrolments... More than \$525,000 was raised for the Carl Amrhein Aboriginal Student Fund, which will promote greater student participation in programs that offer Aboriginal teaching and learning experiences (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 13).

In parallel with the expansion of competition in the field of higher education, UoA has been actively engaging in the commercialisation of products and services through spinoff companies, which have increased from 77 to 88 in the past two years. As such, the UoA ranks ninth out of 131 major North American universities in the creation of spinoff companies, which bring in millions of dollars as external research revenue (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 25).

Moreover, endorsing the practices prescribed by market logic, UoA has enhanced its professionalism through the provision of professional training for executive leaders and administrative staff, and centralization of administrative services, in addition to the creation of new senior-level positions and expansion of position categories.

Overall, UoA has been proactively searching for new ways of funding through strengthening its relations with Government and other stakeholders. This has been greatly reinforced by the adoption of practices which have strengthened its research identity and community orientation, as discussed throughout this section. Additional illustrative data pertinent to the organisational responses of UoA are provided in Appendix 6. The next section is devoted to the organisational approach taken by UoME to the demands of stakeholders and revenue generation.

7.3.2.2 Responses of the MacEwan University

In coping with the institutional complexities stemming from the encroachment of market logic, UoME has partially responded to the relevant institutional demands. In other words, UoME enacts compromise as an organisational level strategy, without interfering with its traditional activities, but through 'enrichment' (Dalpiaz *et al.*, 2016; Perkman and Schildt, 2013). More specifically, while UoME maintains and reproduces practices pertinent to its core identity and distinctiveness, which lie in its applied teaching orientation and student centred focus, on the other hand, it has assimilated new practices pertinent to the demands of market logic. These include enhancement of its research orientation, which was not the initial focus of the university, and assimilating new administrative practices, with the aim of saving revenue.

Maintenance and reproduction of particular practices and culture

My data reveals that UoME aims to sustain its teaching orientation and student-centred focus through, for example, preserving standard teaching course loads (with slight changes), signalling senior-level academic managers' teaching responsibilities, and maintaining performance evaluation of student satisfaction and teaching excellence. Due to the establishment mission of the university, its resources and competencies are largely applied to its teaching orientation as the core strength of UoME. The following quotes highlight participants' opinions on the intention to preserve teaching orientation as a core.

Some faculties want to have you know, less coursework and more time for research, but that's a key part we don't want to change, as we are focused on teaching, so we maintain a higher course load than other, say, traditional universities would (Int.2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).

If you work at MacEwan, you are never going to have a 1:1 teaching load, which you would get at the University of Alberta, that's never going to happen. So if you want to do research, it has to be incorporated into the kind of Institution that we are. But the Institution is not going to change to accommodate your particular research needs (Int. 6, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Importantly, senior-level managers also undertake teaching responsibilities, with the aim of signalling institutional referents on the importance of the teaching orientation in this university.

I teach of course. So even though it's only half a course a year, it sends a signal to everybody else in this Institution, that teaching is important (Int. 6, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Situating itself as a teaching-oriented university, UoME compares itself with other teaching-oriented universities, rather than with well-established research-oriented universities. This is evident in its prioritizing of performance evaluation of teaching excellence and student experience, rather than research-related activities. The following quotes highlight this:

We are not ever going to outrank a place at the UoA in the in the Financial Times rankings, because they are heavily weighted on library acquisitions and on research publications. So we are not playing their game. But there is a ranking - There's two. One called NESSIE which is the Student Experience Survey that we all do internally, and it is really focused on the students' perception, and there are five categories, and we rank in the top three in Canada in all five, as a teaching university. So we're really focused not just on the teaching, but the whole student experience. So we put a lot more effort (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

We have a good support system for peer review, a Faculty, what's called the Centre of Advancement of Faculty Excellence that really focuses on the teaching agenda. It does some things obviously to help them with the research agenda, but all of those things, instructional workshops, hiring Faculty that are good at teaching or have strong potential to be very good teachers and are engaged in the teaching mission (that's incredibly important) (Int. 6, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Assimilation of new practices in alignment with enhancement of research orientation (Enrichment)

UoME has been determined not to change its teaching and student focus, as outlined. However, its transition to university status, and also the increasing importance of research orientation and ranking systems as legitimacy criteria have elicited increasing priority for research-related activities. These practices include, for example, enhancing the research-related capabilities of existing faculty members through mentoring and initiating professional development in research, as well as the recruitment of PhD-holding full-time faculty staff in order

to lecture on the 3rd and 4th year degree programmes. The following quotes highlight this:

We're also mentoring a lot of people who have not been involved in research. So we're having them mentored by people who are engaged in research, and encouraging them. (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME)

In our School we also have some professional development, and so I think if you go back 10 years, professional development focused on instruction and teaching. But now we are providing for professional development in research, and in peer review. So for instance we develop a distinguished visiting scholar series, and visiting scholars, research ethics seminars and seminars. We have expanded dramatically through our library access to databases for research, probably to the tune of maybe \$150,000 to \$200,000...We're having more professors that was in a meeting, hiring more full professors. So we are not relying more on sessional (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

We've developed all the curriculum toward a 4-year Degree for the Social Work programme. We are going to hire more people with Masters and PhD's to teach in this programme, particularly in Years 3 and 4 (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

Unlike the case of Istanbul University, assimilation of some practices (e.g. employing research-related practices) in line with the demands of institutional referents does not mean demolishing the traditional logic of the university. Rather, this is regarded as 'enrichment' (Perkan and Schildt, 2013) of current practices. This is because UoME has preserved its 'interpretative schema on its core traditional strength, while structurally blending research activities associated with the market logic in line with the prerequisites of existing logic' (Perkman and Schildt, 2013).

Assimilation of new administrative practices adhering to the market logic

In the face of the financial challenges that Canadian universities have been experiencing, with huge budget cuts, and given its size, establishment mission,

and historically adopted reserved budget approach, UoME has not been affected as much as many research-oriented universities (e.g. UoA). By enacting more internally oriented revenue generation strategies, UoME has assimilated new administrative practices promoted by market logic. These include the adoption of new revenue generating practices and the reconfiguration of positions/responsibilities and programmes. The following quote exemplifies how revenue generating strategies are fundamentally shaped by prioritization of the mission and core identity of the university, which is based on the student learning experience:

That's why you're going to see a lot of user fees go up in terms of our parking and things. That's how our revenue generating. Our thing is ancillary operations, cutting back and stopping doing things that perhaps we've done in the past that were nice to do, we can no longer afford to do. But while maintaining of focus on the student, and our quality student experience, that's the key. So what can we cut out, and stop doing, that's going to save us money, without impacting our student quality experience of our students. (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

First, drawing on the principles promoted by market logic, which dictate maximum efficiency at minimum cost, UoME has adopted new revenue generating practices. More specifically, given its institutional reputation for teaching, UoME has extended its teaching portfolio through the adoption of new educational programmes, which are: Open Studies (evening classes), ESL (English as a second language), College Preparation and School of Continuing Education. These programmes are primary chosen with the aim of contribution to the revenue generation, as stressed by participants:

We've also tried to increase our offerings in Open Studies as a revenue generator. You can register in a class or two or three. You pay more, and it's a revenue generator (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

We also now have the continuing education - Faculty of Continuing Education, and so that's part of our strategy. That's more revenue generating than traditional programmes are. Well the continuing education is the significant change. It doesn't sound like a lot, but it's about half a million dollars, it makes a difference. So that type of structure change makes a difference (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

Additionally, the rearrangement and centralization of capital replacement funds is a critical example illustrating the tight budget allocation approach of the

university. Accordingly, allocation of capital assets, such as computers or furniture is centralized, rather than through departmental allocation, in order to manage the budget better. The adoption of this practice has been criticized by some academics in particular, since it restricts departmental authority, and conflicts with research-led culture, owing to the fact that the academic freedom and research orientation of academics is largely dependent on the autonomy of faculties and departments in a wide range of issues, including financial and administrative affairs.

Few years ago capital replacement fund was rearranged. Capital assets and furniture and things like that... they are all centralized. They have more control, there's more consistency of the technology...We need to make sure that we are managing that money well. (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME)

Moreover, by offering discounts in enrolment for a second course (one for \$80 and two for \$110), UoME has changed its fee payment application, which is evaluated as another way of increasing revenue. Increased parking fees have also been seen as a significant change, since these have doubled:

We have all the revenues off our parking. So there's a lot of pressure on our parking facility and on our retail and Campus services to make money. So our parking has basically doubled, as of July 1st, and will cost us all twice as much to park here. We are trying to make money when you generate off of those services (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

In addition to the recently adopted practices aiming to save revenue, UoME has also reconfigured some of the positions, responsibilities and programmes, as well initiating professional training in human resources and education. Accordingly, based on its historically adopted 'reserved budget approach', which relies on an internal self-running financial management approach, UoME has started to eliminate non-critical expenses on a continuing basis, and to formulate new ways of internally managing its finances, rather than relying on donors. This is mainly due to the internal institutional orientation and limited resources of the university. The following quotes stress the university's strategy on elimination of existing non-critical and expensive positions, as well as the

'hiring freeze' of non-critical vacant positions, at the expense of increasing the workloads of particular positions:

We do have to look at other departments and reducing other budgets to make it all work out. We really reduced a lot in terms of senior positions. We reduce for example, someone in the custodial areas; we try to thin out some like Finance and HR a little bit if there's particular things they're doing that the university doesn't really needs any more. We said that "We can live without that." it's been across the university, so every area had to go through that exercise, it's not any one particular area (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME.)

Certain positions weren't filled. We did go through the freeze in terms of hiring restraints. But we came through it relatively unscathed (Int. 8 Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Notably, another crucial change has been in the restructuration from programme structure to departmentalisation, which is mainly due to the transition from community college status to degree-providing university status. The adoption of this new structuration was favoured by university managers, since it has also helped to preserve budgets:

My position has changed, and now I will have three programmes and all be under one department, and I will be the chair of that department. So what it will do is remove the smaller chair position, and there will all just be one larger department. They've restructured this way is to save finances (Int. 4, Middle-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

As highlighted in the previous section, particular professions, such as policing and secretaries demand continuation of the diploma programmes, in line with the urgent needs of the market. McEwan University has responded to these demands by sustaining its previously provided two-year diploma programmes, rather than choosing to offer only four-year degree programmes, as adopted by other universities in a similar position, which have transformed from community colleges. While this provides flexibility to students to leave after completion of either the two-year diploma programme or the four-year degree, it also meets the immediate needs of particular professions.

We still have maintained a number of diplomas and we are integrating those diplomas into our degree programming. So students have the option of staying with us and getting a diploma and leaving, or continuing with a

degree. That's what's unique about us (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).

We have the balance between trying to create professionals who have to work out...But we need to have a strategy to get some students out quicker and other students out in four years. So for us, what we're going to do is have a two year accept, that some students will accept the diploma and some students will accept with the degree (Int. 4, Middle-level Administrative Manager, UoME).

The provision of professional training in HR and education is another newly adopted practice that UoME had not used previously:

The professional training, the professional designations are far more important than they used to be. So in that respect, I think we're reasonably similar to other universities now. But you know, 15 years ago, that wasn't the case (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).

Additional illustrative data pertaining to the organisational responses of UoME are provided in Appendix 7. Overall, given their distinctive attributes, historical and culturally-oriented practices, UoA and UoME have been selecting from the repertoires of organisational responses available to them. Table 7.3 provides cross-comparative presentation of the organisational experience of and responses to institutional complexities, with their distinctive characterizations.

Table 7.3 Canadian Context: Summary of institutional complexities and responses

Uni.	Distinctiveness	Organisational experience of institutional complexities	Strategies to cope with institutional complexities
University of Alberta	Extensive Research orientation Establishment mission is on provincial development Institutional reputation in engineering and healthcare Institutional reputation in graduate studies Desire to sustain and extend research orientation Collegial culture stemming from institutionalized research orientation and professionalism Embodiment of institutional logics: Academic	Experience of market pressures `Market logic` is experienced as compatible Institutional complexities are experienced as opportunity for status extension (become more global player) Experience of governmental interventions Experienced as crises and alarming and threat to the internal functioning of the university	Organisational-level response : Acquiescence, Aggregation Adoption of demands (structurally) (assimilation of new and augmentation of existing practices) Compromising and pro-active advocacy strategy in relations with government Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders <u>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</u> Advocacy to government Increasing communication with government representatives Increasing transparency in strategic plans Third party advocates in relation with government <u>Strengthening communication with other external and internal stakeholders</u> Strengthening Alumni relations Diversifying of donors and strengthening relations with existing donors Strengthening communication and transparency with internal stakeholders Reconfiguration of practices <u>Sustaining and extending research orientation</u> Recruitment of international research-oriented scholars Recruitment of academically qualified president Strengthening graduate studies and research professional programmes More emphasize upon industry-driven research More emphasize upon international research partnerships Facilitating interdisciplinary research (Creation of inter-disciplinary research centres)

<p>professionalism logic (dominant)</p> <p>Market logics as leveraging logics</p>	<p><u><i>Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic</i></u></p> <p>Adoption of new revenue generation practices</p> <p>Revenue generation through administrative and academic units' sale of services</p> <p>Revenue generation through ancillary services</p> <p>Elimination of particular non rev. gen. programmes</p> <p>Reductions in administrative staff and non-tenured academic staff (assistant professors)</p> <p>Reductions in disc. Accounts</p> <p>Adoption of zero budget planning approach in operations</p> <p><u><i>Reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism</i></u></p> <p>Provision of Educational programmes offered by Faculty of Extension</p> <p>Implementation of digital learning technologies (MOOCs)</p> <p>More emphasize upon internationalisation agenda: increasing recruitment of international students and staff</p> <p>More emphasize upon diversity agenda</p> <p>More emphasize upon spinoffs</p> <p>Enhancing Professional training for executive leaders</p> <p>Professional training for administrative staff</p> <p>Centralisation of administrative services</p> <p>Creation of new senior-level positions</p> <p>Expansion of categories of positions</p>
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University of MacEwan	<p>Undergraduate Teaching orientation</p> <p>Establishment mission is on provision of professional training</p> <p>Teaching reputation in programmes in nursing, music and police</p> <p>Applied teaching, small class size and intimacy with students)</p> <p>Historically adopted reserved budget approach as financial management approach</p> <p>Desire to preserve self-sustained teaching orientation</p> <p>Community College culture: Democratic stemming from flat organizing</p> <p>Embodiment of institutional logics: Vocational logic dominates academic professionalism logic</p> <p>Constrained effect of market logics</p>	<p>Experience of market pressures</p> <p>'Market logic' is experienced as contradictory</p> <p>Institutional complexities are experienced as a challenge to core identity (teaching orientation)</p> <p>Experience of governmental interventions</p> <p>Increasing accountability demands of the Government as a challenge</p>	<p>Organisational-level response : Compromising, Compartmentalisation Partial adoption of demands (assimilation of some of the new and enrichment of some of the existing practices, while resisting some of them)</p> <p>Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders</p> <p><u>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</u></p> <p>Enhancing relations with Government Increasing communication with government representatives Creation of new positions to deal with governmental demands <i>Increasing visibility to external and internal referents</i> Enhancing branding of the institution (creation of marketing position) Increasing communication within the institution</p> <p>Reconfiguration of practices</p> <p><u>Maintenance and reproduction of particular practices and culture (teaching and student orientation)</u></p> <p>Preserving practices adhering to core identity (teaching orientation) of the IU Preserving standard teaching course loads (with slight changes) Signalling for senior-level academic managers' teaching responsibilities Performance evaluations on student satisfaction and teaching excellence</p> <p><u>Assimilation of new practices in alignment with enhancement of research orientation (Enrichment)</u></p> <p>Enhancing research related capabilities of existing faculty members through mentoring Recruitment of PhD qualified (full-time) academics for degree programmes Initiating professional development in research</p> <p><u>Assimilation of new administrative practices adhering to the market logic</u></p> <p>Adoption of new revenue generation practices Adoption of particular rev. gen. educational programmes Rearrangement and centralization of capital replacement funds Revenue generation through ancillary services</p>

		<p>Changing fee application payments for rev. gen.</p> <p>Reconfiguration of positions/responsibilities, programmes and professionalism</p> <p>Elimination of uncritical or expensive positions and re-allocation of responsibilities</p> <p>'Hiring freeze' for non-critical vacant positions</p> <p>Re-structuration from programme structure to departmentalisation</p> <p>Provision of both diploma and degree programs to deal with demands of particular professions</p> <p>Initiating professional training in HR and education</p>
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7.4 Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter has presented my organisational level findings pertinent to the apprehending of institutional pressures and organisational implications in the cases of UoA and UoME, in a Canadian context. The next chapter gives an account of the organisational level dynamics of organisational responses to institutional complexities in the UK context.

Chapter 8: Dynamics of Organisational *Habitus*: UK Universities

8.1 Introduction to the chapter

In this chapter, I provide my analysis on universities selected from the UK context, which are the University of Southampton (UoS) and the University of Manchester (UoM). In the first section, I present an introduction of each university as a case account, with an emphasis on the critical comparison and evaluation of their organisational-level distinctiveness, stemming from their historical origins. This section forms a basis for analysis of the findings. The second section gives an account of how UoS and UoM deal with their institutional experiences, based on their relative saliences. This followed by a section exploring the organisational-level responses of UoS and UoM.

8.2 Case accounts from the UK context

I have selected UoS and UoM from the UK context on the basis of their distinctiveness in particular areas, and differences in their institutional orientations, as discussed in the fourth section (3.4) of Chapter 3. While UoM is distinctive in its strong social responsibility agenda, reflected in key areas of research, education programmes, curricula and community engagement activities, UoS is known for its spinoff business connectivity and industry-oriented applied research agenda. These differences are also evident in their relations with different stakeholders and institutional orientations. While UoM is considered to be more community-oriented, UoS is more student-oriented, which is detailed in the following section. These differences, along with others, also reflect differences in the internal dynamics, organisational responses and underlying rationale, which aligns with the overall research question of this

study. Distinct characterizations of each university are discussed in the following sections.

8.2.1 Case account five: University of Southampton

The University of Southampton (UoS) is characterized by its focus on interdisciplinary research, distinctiveness in particular disciplines, such as ship science, engineering and computer science, spin-out activities through engagement with business and industry and, in turn, practice-based intensive research orientation. These entrepreneurial characteristics, among others, differentiate UoS from other Russell Group Universities, and render this university valuable for the theoretical interest of this work.

The roots of UoS can be traced back to the formation of the Hartley Institute in 1862, providing education to 700 day and evening students. After being renamed as the Hartley College in 1896, and Hartley University College in 1902, the status of university was granted to the institute in 1952 by royal charter. During its establishment period, UoS comprised an art building and laboratories, including biology, chemistry and engineering. The first departments of the institution were chemistry and engineering, which gained national reputation and rewards in 1931. This reputation helped to further strengthen these departments. For example, the Department of Electronics was established in 1947 by radio engineer, Eric Zepler, and was one of the first of its kind in the world. Moreover, the start-up enterprise, Southampton Photonics was born from the Optoelectronics Department in 2000, with the aim of business connectivity. The other distinguished department of UoS, the National Oceanography Centre (NOC), was opened in 1995 in collaboration with the Natural Environmental Research Council (www.southampton.ac.uk/about/reputation/history-timeline.page).

Overall, based on the establishment history of the university, special credit is given to particular disciplines which gained the university its reputation. The Departments of Engineering, Computer Science and Maritime studies are acknowledged worldwide for their distinctive characteristics:

Well I think the things it's known for -. So yes there is an identity. I think that story has remained true. And I think its areas of expertise are still part of its story; so it's known for ship science; it's known for engineering; it's known for computing, so there is a core of a story that's gone through for many years (Int. 1- Middle-level, Non-Academic Manager, Human Resources).

There are some discipline areas, where we are not just good nationally but world-leading. So in, for example, aeronautical and marine engineering; in fact most of our engineering is ranked among the best in the UK, and certainly among the best in the world. Our Oceanography - we have the National Oceanography Centre here is among the best in the world; electronics and computing science is absolutely world leading; Optoelectronics is world leading. So that's distinctive about us, because you won't find the same peaks of excellence in other universities (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

The business connectivity of UoS, which the university is known for, emanated from the Department of Optoelectronics, which was the one of the first departments in the university. A total of 12 companies have spun out from UoS, for instance the establishment of Southampton Photonics as a start-up enterprise. Special credit has been given to its business connectivity activities throughout the history of UoS, which represent a strong part of its institutional heritage. This was highlighted by the participants:

One of the great things about this university is that it has a fantastic track record of engaging with business and industry. That's mainly through engineering disciplines. So we have had a good record of spin out activity; we have a good record of consultancy activity for example, and we also have very strong enterprise units; and we have lots of links into industry through knowledge transfer partnerships, those sorts of things. So it's pretty much embedded in us (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

We are recognised, and genuinely been very good at both working with big industry, working with small and medium sized enterprises, and spinning out companies over our history. it's not just spin outs, the amount of consulting we deliver, very applied research, is also much higher than any of our competitors... we've done that that there's symbiosis between having a strong quite proprietary relationship with the company, that also enables us to do cross cutting, more fundamental research that benefits (Int. 5, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

UoS has established business connectivity not only through spin-out activities, but also business incubator partnerships, such as SETsquared business

incubator, which offers up to £50,000 of 'get-started' funding, access to free OpenDOOR Software, help with market research, support and guidance from InnovationUK, and a 'Researcher to Innovator' course for both entrepreneurs and researchers to start up a business (www.southampton.ac.uk/research/commercialising.page).

We are distinctive within the Russell Group in that we are regularly ranked in the top two or three for our business connectivity; so our business and enterprise connections. So we are one of the most successful British universities for creating spin-out companies. Every year we generate somewhere in the region of £30-40 million in business partnership contracts. The organisation that we run to spin-out companies is ranked number one in Europe and number three in the world, for supporting spin-out companies (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

Although the spin-out agenda relies mainly on the Engineering Department, it has been expanded to the other departments through the facilitation of a strong interdisciplinary team approach, which is unique in UoS. The university enjoys a global reputation with cutting-edge research centres and facilities (including the National Oceanography Centre Southampton; the Institute of Sound and Vibration Research; the Optoelectronics Research Centre; the Institute for Life Sciences; the Microsoft Institute for High Performance Computing; and the Centre for Maritime Archaeology), in which the strategic interdisciplinary research approach is employed in order to address global challenges in the environment, health, high-tech or energy-related issues. These interdisciplinary research groups and projects include: NAMRIP (anti-microbial resistance), autonomous systems, clean carbon, complexity, computationally intensive imaging, energy, institute for life sciences (addressing four grand challenges), sustainability science, population health (tackling inequalities), ageing, work futures, Southampton marine and maritime institute, digital economy, health technologies, nanoscience and neurosciences. Each interdisciplinary research project spans academics from diverse disciplines relevant to ongoing projects, including: chemistry, engineering, sociology, social policy, ocean and earth science (www.southampton.ac.uk/research/impact/interdisciplinary-research.page). This interdisciplinary research approach is regarded as one of the main distinctions of UoS:

We are genuinely very good at interdisciplinary work; working across traditional departmental discipline boundaries; and that probably feeds into

a genuinely entrepreneurial culture around the University (Int. 5, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

The third real asset is the interdisciplinary research. That is fairly unique. We have an ability to put different things together to discover new things, and we do it well, so we've got centres of excellence already (Int. 1, Middle-level, Non-Academic Manager, Human Resources, UoS).

Throughout its history, UoS has aimed to establish itself as an applied research-oriented university. It holds the 92nd position worldwide in Engineering and Technology and 77th position worldwide in Physical Science according to the Times Higher Education World Ranking (international outlook and citations are ranked highly) in 2017 (www.timeshighereducation.co.uk). Establishment of start-up enterprises have been a cornerstone in driving the institution to be more applied-research oriented:

If you looked at [Southampton] in the mid-1980's it was primarily a teaching institution, and there were a few pillars of research excellence, but it was not the mainstream activity. That's almost completely flipped today, and we are very proudly a world class research intensive university, and that's how we are judged (Int. 5, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

Simply with our students, we actually have got quite a good applied focus. That's something that we will aim to do (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering and Environment, UoS).

Regarding the general capacity of the university in terms of the number of faculties and students, UoS provides education within eight faculties (Business and Law; Engineering and the Environment; Health Sciences; Humanities; Medicine; Natural and Environmental Science; Physical Sciences and Engineering; Social and Human Science), and has 23,000 students in full-time education. The mission of UoS is:

Meeting the high expectations and ambitions of our staff and students, providing opportunities and inspiration and becoming a global leader in education, research and enterprise (retrieved from the website of UoS).

Regarding the internal dynamics of the university, collegiality is evident in the form of a democratic atmosphere in decision-making processes, rather than simple informality and flexibility in working routines (as in the case of UoA). The existence of an over-democratic culture, e.g. in asking the decisions of staff at all levels, and bureaucratic procedures in working routines were mentioned by some participants, as conditions preventing efficiency:

Having too many committees, we think we can't do anything unless everybody agrees. Well the problem is, you are never going to get everybody to agree to everything... that we tend to spend too long discussing things and not agreeing (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering).

There's a lot of bureaucracy but it doesn't necessarily mean it's efficient; I think it is not worked out a very good way of organising. And it's got the eight faculties, but it's not then always clear what the people at the centre are doing and how they interact with the Faculties (Int. 11, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Humanities).

Overall, UoS is known for its strong focus on well-established business connectivity activities, including spinning-out and partnerships with industry, as well as its interdisciplinary research approach, which are embedded in the establishment history of the university.

8.2.2 Case account six: Manchester University

The University of Manchester (UoM) is the biggest international research-oriented British university. Tracing its roots back to 1824, UoM is one of the oldest universities in the UK, and carries the distinction of embracing a strong cultural heritage, and being a driving force of the city of Manchester. This is largely due to its huge social, cultural and economic impact, which is achieved through strong social responsibility agenda. Overall, these characteristics make this context crucial for this doctoral study.

UoM was created by the merging of Victoria University of Manchester (VUoM) (1846) and Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST-1824) in 2004. Due to this merger, Manchester University is the biggest university in the UK. Today, UoM embraces four faculties (Faculty of Engineering and Physical

Sciences; Faculty of Humanities; Faculty of Life Sciences; Faculty of Medical and Human Sciences), 25 schools, and 38,430 students (full-time education).

We have the largest on campus students, we have the largest number of international students etc., etc. So that's what I would say is our distinctive areas (Int.3, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

We are the biggest university in the country. That means an amazing variety of experiences and interactions with the staff and of the range of things that are studied and are taught at the university; simply that size (Int. 5, Middle-level Manager, Fac. of Life Science, UoM).

The roots of Manchester University can be traced back to Owens College, which was founded in 1851, and became the first constituent part of the federal Victoria University. Owens College was reconstituted as the Victoria University of Manchester (University of Manchester) in 1903 (www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/history-heritage/history/victoria). On the other hand, the roots of the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST) trace its origins to the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, which was founded in 1824 in order to provide basic science (technical education) to the working classes. In line with the industrialisation of Britain, and the city of Manchester being a driving force of the country, the need for technical education had increased. The Mechanics' Institute was transformed into the Manchester Technical School in 1883, and was renamed as Manchester Municipal Technical School in 1892. Modelled on German technical high schools, the school underwent structural changes and was renamed as Manchester Municipal College of Technology in 1918. The College of Technology gained independent status as a university college in 1956, and was renamed as the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST) in 1966. UMIST became completely autonomous in 1994, and merged with Victoria University of Manchester in 2004 (www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/history-heritage/history/victoria/).

UoM hence carries the cultural heritage of two institutions, VUoM and UMIST. For example, due to its historical roots and size, UoM is the driving force of the

city of the Manchester, with huge economic and social impact. This which was repeated by the majority of participants, and is also evident in the Strategic Plan of the university:

We're the biggest business in [Manchester]. We're bigger than [Manchester] Airport, [Manchester] United and [Manchester] City added together and we have a £2.5 billion impact on the city. So in terms of the GBA, the economic consequences of the organisation so we can't be anything other than business like but we're still a university (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

We are the birthplace of many discoveries which have had a major impact on society, including the development of the first modern computer, the splitting of the atom by Rutherford, the first degree in nursing, and the birth of modern economics and medical ethics (President, Strategic Plan of UoM).

In alignment with this, UoM also carries the cultural heritage of the city of Manchester:

We have to take into account where we are and our origins. And if you say [Manchester] University to somebody in Britain, it conjures up something about [Manchester] and [Manchester] is a Victorian city built on industry. And somewhere in all of that there's this sort of culture of its grittiness; its entrepreneurship (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Medical and Human Sciences, UoM).

Its strong emphasis on social responsibility mission differentiates UoM from other British universities. This mission is embedded across the whole university in different areas, aiming to contribute to the local community through preparing specific agendas for school children and the unemployed, and raising socially responsible students by arranging new educational programmes and revising curricula. The following quotes highlight the distinctiveness of the university in its social responsibility initiatives, with the main focus on the local community:

We have got a social responsibility agenda as well and I think that makes us quite distinctive. And that isn't just something that's written down, that is actually something that is pursued as one of the core goals of the university, that each of the schools and the faculties is judged against and not to perform against (Int. 7, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Medical and Human Sciences, UoM).

The work we do in working with the local community, both in terms of when we go out and work with school children, but we also work with communities where there is high unemployment, and we work with very specific agencies to try and bring people from those areas who have been unemployed for some time into jobs in the university and to see the university as an employer not just an educator (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).

Special credit is given to establish educational programmes involving social responsibility mission, in order to raise the awareness of students about social issues. The following quote reflects this:

We are putting into the student curriculum across the university so that all our students will be aware of the importance of what they're doing in terms of sustainability. We also want to ensure that they think about the sources of inequality; where inequality comes from? Should we all be equal? What are the political and social consequences of that? Equality of access to education, to health care, equality faced with climate change (or inequality faced with climate change). So this is a programme....that is absolutely unique, no other university has such a vision about its social responsibility and ensuring that its students understand that (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences, UoM).

Apart from its social responsibility orientation, UoM is also one of the leading research-oriented Russell Group universities. This reflects upon the structuration of its programmes, as highlighted by participants:

There's a lot of PhDs, but Masters are very limited here. It's just the way we work, 'cos we are very research-oriented (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences, UoM).

In particular, its salience in Arts and Humanities, Clinical and Medical Science, and Life Sciences is evident in the rankings of the Times Higher Education World Ranking. UoM is at the 28th position worldwide in Arts and Humanities (citations and international outlook, in particular), 38th position worldwide in Clinical, Pre-Clinical and Health, 39th position worldwide in Social Sciences (citation, research and international outlook ranked highly), 58th position worldwide in Life Sciences (with international outlook and citations ranked highly) and 50th position worldwide in terms of reputation (in particular, research), according to the Times

Higher Education World Ranking in 2014-2015
(www.timeshighereducation.co.uk).

Participants highlighted the dominant culture of collegiality in the working routines inside the university:

The key ethos? Well our major selling points, our unique selling points are collegiality, and it's a very, very much academic environment, it's an academic led environment, so the ethos is very different to a commercial or industrial environment; it's very friendly. So it's kind of more nurturing than forcing people to do (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences).

When the Dean came in to develop the new strategy, part of that was a lot of consultation before the strategy was developed. So that was done in a variety of ways - focus groups, an online questionnaire, visits to each of the Schools and a thorough engagement before the strategy was developed... So it does feel collegial (Int. 7, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Professional Services, UoM). Overall, UoM is known as a driving force of the city of the Manchester, due to its huge economic and social impact, which relies on the social responsibility agenda of the university. Table 8.1 gives a cross-comparative description of case reports of UoM and UoS, with pertinent illustrative quotes.

Table 8.1 Cross-comparative description of organisational dynamics of University of Alberta and University of MacEwan

Elements of distinct characterisations Universities	University of Southampton (UoS)	University of Manchester (UoM)
General capacity in terms of number of faculties, students and staff	8 faculties, 23,000 students (normal education)	4 faculties, 25 schools, 38,430 students (normal education)
Historical origins of dispositions <i>Establishment year and programmes in established time</i>	Foundational roots back to the Hartley institute in 1862, royal charter is granted in 1952 <u>First programmes</u> : Biology, Chemistry and Engineering <u>First departments</u> : Chemistry and Engineering	Foundational roots back to the Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST-1824) and Victoria University of Manchester (VUoM) (1846). Merger of these institutions is achieved in 2004
<i>Establishment roots and mission</i>	Strong roots in natural science and engineering and engagement with industry	UMIST established modelled on German technical high schools Est. mission is on provision of technical education to the working class (in Manchester Mechanics' Institute, origins of UMIST) and Manchester's development as the world's first industrial city

		(regional development mission)
<i>Institutional heritage (distinctiveness stemming from historical origins)</i>	<p>Industry oriented as being driven by spinning out and business connectivity</p> <p>We are routinely number one or two in the HEIF data (Higher Education Innovation Fund) in terms of the amount of funding we get from small and medium sized enterprises. And part of that is the spin out agenda; part of that is just a culture of willingness to work (Int. 5, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate).</p> <p>They are really quite proactive in the enterprise line in trying to make sure that if we have a product, that product goes out to a market...spin outs, licences, industrial involvement (Int. 16, Life Sciences, UoS).</p>	<p>Both student experience and community orientated as being economic engine of the province</p> <p>We will always work very closely with the Students Union, and treat them as equals in terms of trying to get a feel for issues and understand why something might not work for students, and try and resolve that (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).</p> <p>It's a university economy without a doubt and we're all in positions of responsibility, we're all responsible for a certain amount of income generation (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Science).</p>
	<p>Distinctiveness in inter-disciplinary research</p> <p>We have traditionally had academics that have been quite enterprising in the sense that we have good interdisciplinary links across the university. That's a potential advantage that we have (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p> <p>I think interdisciplinary has been an agenda...we've succeeded undoubtedly here... there is a good level of interaction. (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering and Environment, UoS)</p> <p>What I think is exceptional for [Southampton] is the very proactive stance it takes to connecting these areas together. So it takes the concept of being inter-disciplinary far beyond just lip service; and the academics have that as a philosophy, so</p>	<p>Distinct social responsibility agenda in research, community engagement activities and educational programmes</p> <p>The campus and the city are interlinked, and so we have a very big strategic agenda around social responsibility, and our link to the community... our responsibility in terms of that impact on local culture and communities and that ability for education to help to change people's lives I think is vital (Int. 1, Senior Non-Academic Manager).</p> <p>I think the social responsibility agenda does a lot to give people a sense of community. The social responsibility is probably the one thing we should say would bind people together with added incentive to work for the university, because then it's seen to be altruistic, not just for themselves or for the institution, but for the community</p>

	<p>they work well together and they seek to work together. And I think that's quite unusual... It's actually done so that it works that way (Int.16, Middle-level Academic Manager, Life Science, UoS).</p>	<p>around us (Int. 2, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Law).</p> <p>We really do try to articulate students being encouraged to make a difference, which is what we've been talking about in the sense of social responsibility (Int. 3, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).</p>
	<p>Collegial and managerial culture, bureaucratic procedures in working routines</p> <p>We have too many procedures which are too complicated and too long, they change too often. You can get access to the old versions of the procedure, the old version of the form and that kind of thing, there is no ownership of that sort of clear documentation (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering, UoS).</p>	<p>Collegial culture</p> <p>There is still a very collegial atmosphere, and most academic staff would feel that they do have an input and a right to an input to decision making...I don't think that collegial side has gone, within [Manchester] certainly, I still think it's a very collegial environment....We do, certainly in terms of delivering strategy and making decisions, we work down at School level, that the Schools create their strategic plans, and then the faculties create theirs based on what the Schools have said, and the university plan is then the amalgamation of all of those plans together. So the university strategy inevitably has quite a lot of bottom up input (Int. 1, Senior Non-Academic Manager, UoM).</p>
<i>Institutional orientation</i>	<p>Extensive applied research oriented</p> <p>Where it is different is that it has developed a very strong practical science i.e. what you might call the 'Applied Sciences'. I'd include here engineering, the work done in electronics and computer science, marine technology. It has a lot of activity that is real world activity that is research, medical research also (Int. 11, Middle-</p>	<p>Extensive applied research oriented</p> <p>We are the major university in the Russell Group that has social responsibilities as a key global challenge. And we do take that incredibly seriously. So minority groups, disabled groups, all those things. We do a lot of outreach, a lot of public understanding. It's actually very good (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences, UoM).</p>

	level Academic Manager, Fac. of Humanities, UoS).	
<i>Distinctiveness in particular discipline</i>	<p>Institutional reputation in Oceanography, Engineering, Computer Science</p> <p>We are very distinctive around engineering, particularly in maritime and marine engineering, as well as in computer science and optoelectronics and some areas of medicine, for example. So these are academic advantages (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>	<p>Institutional reputation in Arts and Humanities; Clinical and Medical Science; Life Science</p> <p>Life Sciences is really well known for... there's a lot of research funding in Life Sciences Bio Medicine, but also there's a lot of activity in computation (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences).</p> <p>On the medical side, we have a unique health profile as well which may be different to the South of England, or other parts of Europe; and that helps to shape and define our research profiles in medicine and in the life sciences too. So there are distinguishing features I think of being in a university of this type (Int. 11, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Science).</p>
Strategic (futuristic intentions)	<p>Desire to situate itself as leading research position</p> <p>Certainly we aspire to be a world class university. That is highly dependent on having a really strong reputation worldwide. (Int. 5, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate).</p> <p>Our strategic goal of being a world-class university is actually contributing to the broader conceptualisation of society, but it's also impacting on our students (Int. p. 24, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Social and Human Sciences, UoS).</p>	<p>Desire to situate itself as leading research position</p> <p>Make sure that we are competing globally rather than just nationally. Ensuring we have the right powers on board in Europe, and beyond (Int. 11, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Science, UoM).</p> <p>We are committed to using this very sound base for further improvement so that we can reach our goal of becoming one of the top 25 universities in the world by 2020 (Nancy Rothwell, President of UoM, http://www.manchester.ac.uk/research/ref-2014).</p>

8.3 UK context: Interpretation of institutional complexities and organisational responses

As delineated in the UK setting section of macro-field level dynamics (outlined in Chapter 5), compared to the Turkish and Canadian contexts, the UK higher education field is one of the institutional settings whereby new managerial ideology has been applied fully, and has exerted stringent institutional challenges over higher education institutions in this context. These challenges mainly stem from: financial withdrawal of Government from HEIs, in spite of increasing governmental control and auditing; changing legitimacy criteria and the growing importance of REF as the main source of legitimacy and funding; and financially becoming more reliant on student tuition fees, educational programmes and funding agencies. The above challenges are combined with restrictions in immigration policy that hamper the recruitment of international students, who have been evaluated as the primary source of revenue generation and sustainability of the business model.

The main institutional pressures on British universities, in line with the importation of new managerial ideology, have been interrogated in the previous chapters. In the next section, revisiting previous findings relevant to the UK setting, I will look at the experience of institutional complexities and organisational responses, showing the organisation-specific strategies adopted in relation to their relative saliences. I will then present my first-order findings on the institutional challenges faced by UoS and UoM, based on their relative saliences.

8.3.1 Interpretation of institutional complexities: University of Southampton and University of Manchester

My data analysis reveals that UoM and UoS experience similar institutional complexities in varying degrees. Within the UK context, I determined three different, but intertwined kinds of institutional complexities. First, universities are experiencing financial challenges due to the UK Government's gradual withdrawal of financial support from universities, which has led them to search for other sources of revenue generation. Second, changing stakeholder demands are experienced as a challenge.

These include the incursion of 'students as customers' approach, and growing importance of RAE and ranking culture as a legitimacy imperative, which has led universities to become driven more by performance-based, external oriented evaluation criteria. Third, governmental intervention over universities, in spite of the decreases in financial support, is also apprehended as a challenge. In this section, I present my findings on how UoS and UoM have experienced these pressures, on the basis of their distinctive institutional heritage, institutional orientation, particular areas and disciplines, and culture.

Although changes in the external environment have been experienced as a challenge for UoS because of its inward looking nature, these changes may also be evaluated as an opportunity to become more outward looking and responsive to the demands of internal and external stakeholders. This is mainly due to the university's desire to reposition itself as a world-class research and teaching university:

Particular issues that could help it move even quicker than some of the universities. There is also a huge window of opportunity, and that's the way I see it, and that comes from the global market. And that's why I think it's so exciting the current time, you know, it's not a depressing time, it's a very exciting time, because all of a sudden, almost the globe has opened up. And so there's just huge opportunities it seems to me (Int. p.39, Responsible for strategy and planning, UoS).

Considering the UoS case, and given its strengths in particular disciplines, including maritime, engineering and computer science since its establishment, its reputation for business connectivity, which is achieved not only through spinout activities, but also business incubator partnerships, its interdisciplinary and applied research orientation, UoS is known for its entrepreneurial character in relation to business stakeholders. This has helped the business connectivity and financial stability of the institution. Herewith, business connectivity, particularly with SMEs, and spinning out activities, which have been evident throughout the history of UoS, have been evaluated as critical sources of revenue, which help to deal with financial challenges in the face of the changing financial regime. As highlighted by participants, the majority of revenue comes from businesses:

A large part of our income also comes from a whole range of business and enterprise related activity... Every year we generate somewhere in the region of £30-40 million in business partnership contracts (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoS).

At any one time, the university is working with over 1,000 external organisations; over 40% of our research projects involve one or more business partners; more than 150 international businesses have chosen the University as a key partner for their research and development; and we have a rolling patent portfolio of more than 300 active patent families with an annual income of about £1m (retrieved from website of UoS, <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/research/commercialising.page>).

More pertinently, its worldwide reputation and strength in particular disciplines, including engineering and oceanography have helped UoS to attract international students and academics, as well as helping to obtain funds from the Research Council:

The level of funding that we gained over the years because of our status and the amount of funding we take from EPSRC it's an example where we have extremely strong strategic partnership with the Research Council. Today we've got a regular teleconference with Research Council, because of that strength. There's only 12 institutions in the UK that have that access to EPSRC (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

In terms of the financial challenges experienced, participants highlighted that its institutional reputation for resourcefulness and credibility in the international finance markets somewhat alleviate the financial complexities for UoM.

Because we are a very big university, we have been able to borrow money - yes our credit rating - the university's credit rating is higher than the Government's. So we had a bond where we borrowed money on the international markets and we have a triple a rating. So we borrowed vast sums of money; we can build new facilities; we've got money coming from the graphene in nuclear research and so on (Int. 5, Middle level manager, UoM).

Notably, international students have become another major source of revenue generation for British universities, which has brought institutional challenges pertinent not only to endeavours in attracting international students, but also in the increasing number of students and their growing expectations in exchange for highly paid tuition fees, as discussed in previous chapters. UoS and UoM experience this challenge in varying degrees. More specifically, based on its distinctive student-oriented approach in terms of providing experiences to its students, as well as being the largest university in the UK, participants highlighted that it is not an extra endeavour for UoM to attract international students, but rather to maintain the

number of students. Pertinently, the main pressure in this setting derives from changing student portfolios from traditional backgrounds to non-traditional backgrounds, rather than increasing the number or expectations of students:

Suddenly you've got to spend a certain proportion on taking students from a non-traditional background, you've got to meet targets all over the place...students coming in without previous higher education in the family, or you are from a less traditional background. Changing to the A to B standard for the fee agenda that starts to disrupt that pattern, and you have to work differently. And so some of the things that we've been successful at, you are then having to change direction not because it isn't working, but because someone has made a new rule, and that makes it a difficult agenda to work in (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).

Compared to UoM, UoS experiences student related pressures to a greater extent. Participants from UoS highlighted that in spite of its entrepreneurial character in relation to business stakeholders, the historically adopted inward-looking approach of UoS increases the pressures stemming from the encroachment of market logic, which dictates being more responsive to external stakeholder demands. This has mainly occurred at the initial stages, when managerialism was experienced radically, and was evident in, for example, insufficient human resource settlements in professional services, dealing with the growing amount of administrative work for students as well as academics, and undertaking the high volume of teaching responsibilities.

It's a lot more than just recruiting students; it's about the curriculum; it's about staff; it's about research; it's about exchange; it's all these things. We don't expand the staffing as much as we should when we get more students (Int. 14, UoS).

It's too inward looking. For its aspirations. I mean there's nothing wrong with being inwardly looking, if you want to stay a provincial, regional university with limited international aspirations. But if you want to be an international university, and play with the top dogs, you've got to be outward looking and you've got to sell yourself (Int. 16, Middle-level Academic Manager, Life Science, UoS).

We tend to be a bit too inward looking (a little bit) and we lack self-confidence about ourselves. So I think this university is finding that really more difficult than perhaps other universities might be at the moment (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

More pertinently, participants also drew attention to how the diverse structuration of UoS also results in institutional complexities:

All the things that have to happen in order to get to that point seem to be more complicated here than in other places. We are very multi-faceted. it's easier in some ways, if you've got a more unified organisation where the structures are pretty much the same across the piece... the richness and the interesting dynamics within the organisation, because I thought 'Oh it will be – there's a lot of new areas for me to pick up; there's a lot of complexity' (Int. 8, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, UoS).

One challenge is to find the position in the new market, and to decide the balance between teaching and research, and between the different sorts of teaching they do. For example, how big were the post graduate community be compared to undergraduate community; how aligned would they be to the overseas market, and how diverse would the support to the overseas market be (Int. 2, Middle-level Manager, UoM).

There's always some conflict between the research and teaching agendas in terms of the time that academic staff have. And the more demanding and the higher the student numbers, the more there is a demand on teaching, the less time there is for research, and that's an issue...as students pay more and are more demanding as customers, the pull on academics time for each student is higher than perhaps historically, and that does start to pressurise research time (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).

On the other hand, challenges pertinent to becoming more business-like and responding to the demands of market logic have been also experienced as an opportunity to reposition itself as a city university for UoS. As another institutional challenge, both of these universities have been exposed to pressures stemming from dealing with the demands of students, and publishing in highly ranked journals, with the aim of meeting performance management criteria at the individual academic level, and increasing the ranking of the university at the institutional level. Participants from both universities stressed how the changing funding environment has led the universities to engage in both research and teaching related activities as an institutional strategy. However, differently from UoM, participants from UoS asserted that its aspiration to reposition itself to world-leading research university status conflicts with academics' increasing responsibilities in teaching related activities, heightening the pressure to a greater extent:

The trouble is, we are trying to be a world class university, which we can be to a large extent academically ... I think the most challenging thing is really to be world leading at everything you do. It's quite a challenge... People are looking at it and saying 'Did you do that teaching well, and are you doing any research?'... So I

think there has certainly been a lot of pressure on people to do research, and now that research, you have got to aspire to be world leading; that's quite a tough place to be (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering, UoS).

Research in [Southampton] not only aspires to offer an excellent education, but it also aspires to be an internationally significant university in research, therefore the pressure to produce high quality research to bring in research income, to bring in enterprise income as well, to make money out of our expertise, these are all many different pressures. So it's a very complex business; it isn't just an education business, it has many other aspects to it (Int. 11, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Humanities, UoS).

If we don't teach people, we get most of our incomes through education, yet as a university we still remain a Russell Group university, we seem to value research more than education. So it's quite a challenge (Int. 3, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoS).

Apart from the financial challenges and 'students-as- customers' approach, universities in the UK contexts have been exposed to pressure in the face of the impact-driven research demands of external stakeholders. More pertinently, due to the prevailing impact agenda, Government not only pushes universities to highlight the social implications of their research, but the Research Council also requests clear demonstration of the impact of the research in order to fund it. This is because of research funds being highly selective in their delivery, as a result of government funding restrictions. This exerts pressure on universities in varying degrees, mainly based on their institutional orientation (research, applied research orientation, teaching) in general, and disciplinary differences in particular. Given its applied research orientation, which has been adopted as part of its entrepreneurial culture, and strength in particular disciplines, including engineering and business connectivity, UoS has experienced challenges related to the impact case study demands of stakeholders to a lesser degree:

The research that we do is going to have some application somewhere. So for us, the impact case stories thing for the REF wasn't really a big deal. We got lots of impact case stories; so it's what we so; so I think we are in a good position with that (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering, UoS).

This faculty produced 19 [impact case studies], which is a vast number in comparison to most Russell Group universities at least (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering and Environment, UoS).

In the UK the whole impact agenda which is the Government's drive to understand is another part of the challenge. It's something we are good at, at this university,

but so are other Russell Group universities (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

On the other hand, being strongly driven by the social responsibility agenda evident in its research, education and historical community engagement activities, the newly emerging impact driven agenda of UoM demands detailed explanation of the social implications of research, and has been evaluated as a strength of the institution, rather than a challenge. This was highly expressed by participants:

The impact agenda, if you like, the citizenship, the global citizenship, has always been part of this University's remit. So the impact agenda isn't suddenly something new, it's something that we've been pushing for a long time...as an institution, we have been kind of looking at wider impact for many, many years, not just in research, but clearly that's important (Int. 3, Senior Academic Manager, UoM).

Governmental interventions have been experienced as increasing accountability demands from universities, and restrictions in immigration policy have affected the recruitment of international students, posing a challenge to both universities:

Although the money isn't necessarily coming direct from Government, the control is still there; it's non-financial control largely now....Your flexibility as a manager to decide strategically where the business should be going and to implement that, is constantly challenged by the fact that government put in hoops to jump through that might not actually be where you want to go strategically...Government decide an awful lot of where we have to focus our efforts (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).

More of our money is not coming directly through HEFCE, but that doesn't mean that HEFCE still doesn't have a regulatory role. So I think one of the interesting things going forward is what is going to be the role as a regulator for HEFCE, if not basically in terms of finance? (Int. 3, Senior Academic Manager, UoM).

Overall, I have delineated how the distinct characterizations of UoS and UoM have resulted in the varying nature and degree of institutional pressures deriving from the encroachment of managerial ideology, which is evident in the growing reliance on other sources for revenue generation than that of Government. These have been translated into organisational practices, which is the interest of the next section. I

have provided illustrative data on the institutional complexities experienced by UoS and UoM in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 UK context: Interpretation of institutional complexities at the organisational level

Inst. comp.	Aspects of Inst. comp. Universities	University of Southampton (UoS)	University of Manchester (UoM)
The Experience of market pressures at the field and organisational level (Changes in legitimacy criteria)	<i>Increasing importance of international accreditations and rankings</i>	<p>Opportunity for status reconfiguration (to become more outward looking research oriented university)</p> <p>External environment is very challenging. But also have opportunities...Now they are starting to think about well, perhaps we should think about new courses; we should think about new initiatives we should think about how our curriculum might be modified and changed. I think it has a positive side to it, we can't stay as we are, we can't stay still, we've got to think about how we adapt ourselves to the new market (Int. p. 24, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Social and Human Sciences, UoS).</p>	<p>Opportunity for status extension</p> <p>We have had to invest a lot (and I mean a lot) of time and money in improving our NSS schools [biggest single parameters at the league tables], because we were at the bottom of the Russell group, and we didn't want to remain in that position. So we're improving; we're not at the bottom of the Russell group anymore, but we're in the bottom quarter of the Russell group on NSS (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).</p>
	<i>Changing expectations on nature of doing research and research (applied, interdisciplinary)</i>	<p>As part of culture of the UoS , due to historically imbued by applied research orientation stemming from business connectivity</p> <p>Impact isn't a problem, and we've always been having impact, we just call it something different! There's a shift to supporting staff to have impact on their research, which perhaps in earlier days wasn't so easy</p>	<p>As part of social responsibility agenda and culture of the UoM</p> <p>I think that [REF impact agenda] has actually brought to light, for example in our Faculty, it has brought to light areas of our work which were perhaps overlooked. So there were people doing research which had massive impact but was perhaps not seen as very sexy or exciting or didn't bring vast sums of</p>

<i>research and project culture)</i>	to support (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).	money to the University, but has had a really consequence (Int. 5, Middle-level Manager, Fac. of Life Science, UoM).
<i>Performance evaluation mechanisms</i>	<p>Adopted as part of becoming business-like organisation</p> <p>It's the same as if you buy a car. It's exactly the same principle of consumerism. So to me, that's just a customer satisfaction survey, it's not rocket science! (Int.1, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Responsible for human resources, UoS).</p> <p>The result of all of those changes is a more direct link between performances. We have become more business focused (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering, UoS).</p>	<p>Adopted as part of becoming business-like organisation</p> <p>Things like the NSS, league tables, all drive institutions to perhaps work in ways that aren't actually the correct way to work, so it becomes kind of a popularity contest rather than necessarily the right thing to do (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).</p> <p>Doing enhanced performance management, and what does that mean and how do you go about doing it? That's vital (Int. 2, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).</p>
<i>Changing relations with students</i>	<p>Challenge to a greater extent, due to institutional orientation and structure (internally oriented)</p> <p>Students are paying £9,000; they are now consumers, and they are demanding a much higher quality education. So they don't want to come and know that XX is part of the department; they actually want to be lectured by him. So we are having to encourage/force our star academics to teach. They do [exert pressure], because it means you have to change systems, processes, culture, the way people think. Particularly the student, the consumer demand of the student is having a massive impact on the culture of the University [Students] are real fast consumer generation (Int.1, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Responsible for human resources, UoS).</p>	<p>Challenge to a lesser extent, due to historically adopted student oriented approach</p> <p>We are not in what I term, financial difficulties from the changes... Our student numbers have largely been maintained through the change in fees. The profile of those students is changing in terms of the subject areas that they want to go into, but overall the numbers are being maintained. And even international students, although again we've seen a shift between certain markets, so we've seen quite a drop from India and China following the Tier 4 immigration changes, but actually overall, our population has largely remained the same (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).</p>

Experience of political pressures at the field and organisational level (governmental interferences)	<i>Increasing governmental control and accountability concerns</i>	<p>Government intervention as a challenge</p> <p>Government determines a lot more what research universities can do, at least in the expensive fields like science and engineering. So a lot more of it is almost directed research, which we didn't really have when I left Britain 23 odd years ago (Int.16, Middle-level Academic Manager, Life Science, UoS).</p>	<p>Government intervention as a challenge</p> <p>I would say we're not autonomous in that HEFCE still govern what we do. So we've not escaped the rules and regulations of HEFCE. So although we get less money from them, they still govern what we do. One example of that we have a restriction on the number of dental and medical undergraduate students that we can take from overseas and there's good reason for that (Int. 7, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Professional Services, UoM).</p>
	<i>Financial withdrawal of Government (financial challenges)</i>	<p>Financial challenges are alleviated due to temporality of this process, business connectivity and distinctiveness in particular disciplines</p> <p>In our areas of engineering and physical sciences, where one of the 12 strategic partners, for example, of the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council, so we have, because of the level of funding that we gained over the years because of our status and the amount of funding we take from EPSRC (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p> <p>We make an attractive investment partner for businesses from all sectors due to our emphasis on making sure that our research is applicable to the needs of the business world (retrieved from website of UoS).</p>	<p>Financial challenges are alleviated due to temporality of this process, recognition and credibility in international finance markets and student orientation</p> <p>We are fortunate that financially the university is doing well. We did a lot of work a few years ago after the merger to reduce our cost base. And I think we've derived from that, certainly on the support side, a number of efficiencies that means that our cost base is under control (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).</p>

8.3.2 Organisational-level responses to institutional complexities

This section presents my findings on how the organisational responses of the University of Southampton (UoS) and University Manchester (UoM), are shaped by their interpretations of institutional complexities, on the basis of their competencies and strategic focus.

8.3.2.1 Responses of the University of Southampton

Given its embedded practices, such as applied research orientation and business connectivity, and its desire to become more outward looking and responsive to stakeholder demands, the University of Southampton (UoS) is able to experience the practices of managerialism as 'complementary' (Smets *et al.*, 2015). As in the case of the majority of UK universities, UoS has been historically informed on some of the principles of managerialism and market logic. Accordingly, rather than simply layering or augmenting practices promoted by market logic, the university combines the organisational form of both business and academic professionalism at its core. In other words, UoS is more likely to engage in synthesising strategy (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Kent and Dacin, 2013; Tracey *et al.*, 2011; Jay, 2013) through structurally and culturally blending practices and 'reinterpreting elements of both logics to inspire the development of new practices' (Dalpiaz *et al.*, 2016). These are evaluated in this section.

Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders

Based on the changing legitimacy imperative and resource dependency ties with stakeholders, UoS has reconfigured its relationships with stakeholders, including Government, students and business stakeholders. Firstly as the policy-maker, Government is a crucial stakeholder for higher education institutions, since university strategies are embedded in policy context. Being a Russell Group university, UoS has undertaken collective lobbying initiatives to Government in order to influence governmental decisions on the re-allocation of research budgets. Although these initiatives have not resulted in success for all time, recent changes in the funding environment and net immigration policies have prompted universities to focus their attention on the importance of political connections, networking and collective lobbying in the UK context. Highlighting

the Russell Group affiliation of the university, participants from UoS stressed the role of the university in influencing political decisions:

I believe we've been successful collectively in lobbying the government to protect the science budget and not cut the science budget. And that's been successful; the science budget has remained stable, at a time when almost every other government budget has been cut by 20% or more (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

We're quite good at influencing the government when policies emerge. There's a lot of lobbying. So rather than just waiting for strategy to come down from above they're much more agile than they used to be at trying to influence it, trying to be engaged in the formulation of the policy rather than informs the strategy (Int. p. 33, Responsible for Education and Student Experience, UoS).

Changes in the funding model in the UK context have increased reliance on students as the main source of revenue generation, as outlined in the previous sections. Adopting a more student-driven approach, one of the first strategic initiatives of UoS has been to increase the number of students and to be more responsive to the growing expectations of students.

That's the key difference of an Institution like ours versus others, is we don't have the luxury of responding slowly. And small things make a big difference...500 students less than we expected makes a very big difference because we run on a very tight margin (Int.1, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Responsible for human resources, UoS).

I think the solution has to come from the teaching side, because that's where the money is. We have to somehow double the number of students, because that's the only way to pay the salaries, but we have to do it in a way that gives each student a great feeling that we are teaching right (Int. p. 36, Fac. of Engineering and the Environment, UoS).

Our need to listen to what our students are saying and respond to it, and to communicate clearly to our students how we are responding to what they are looking for, has been greater than I've ever experienced in my time in universities (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

Additionally, because of existing resource dependency ties, UoS has strengthened its relations with business stakeholders through increasing partnerships and sustaining spinout companies:

As an entrepreneurial place, very strong working with business at all levels, all sizes, including spin outs. There's symbiosis between having a strong quite proprietary relationship with the company, that also enables us to do cross cutting, more fundamental research that benefits that company but perhaps others as well, and with a much longer timeframe (Int. 5, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

Balancing and blending teaching and research orientations

In parallel with the growing importance of student fees as a major source of revenue, due to the limitations and difficulties in accessing research funds, UoS has balanced and blended its research and teaching orientations. More specifically, UoS has become more teaching-oriented, which is evident in the enactment of teaching related practices (in addition to research outputs) as promotion criteria, increasing the teaching responsibilities of existing academics, as well as recruitment of both research and teaching-oriented academics. This was highlighted by participants:

We have been trying to change in the university is to re-balance research led education. Traditionally research has been seen as a prestigious activity, and perhaps education a little less so; and in the world that we exist now, where we have to provide a compelling educational offer, we have been doing a lot in this University to make it clear that both of these things are important; and indeed, that colleagues have opportunity to contribute to both at different times in their career (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

We've had to re-orientate our activities and we now do much more teaching outside of the department so we teach other courses, as well as teaching our own; try to recruit a bit more strongly within our own courses as well. Whereas we used to be very much a research establishment that did some teaching, when now it's much more of an even balance. We have to do much more teaching than research than we used to (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering and Environment).

On the other hand, UoS has also strengthened its applied research orientation by supporting academics in the application of bigger research projects, encouraging interdisciplinary research, and focusing on particular research areas that are more likely to be funded. Participants stated that focusing more on the strengths of departments in certain research areas, sharpening the distinctiveness of the institution and developing relations with business stakeholders based on these strengths has been a strategic decision of UoS:

University's new strategy focuses on distinctiveness; it focuses on growth and it focuses on globalization amongst other things. These are all things that we do very well in the Faculty of Medicine because we are distinctive by having focused on some specific things rather than trying to do everything. We obviously work on diseases that are important, so people care about that; there is likely to be impact. We don't research all aspects of medicine in the way that say, some of the London colleges do (Int. 15, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Medicine, UoS).

Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic

Compared to other settings examined within the context of this doctoral study, UoS is one example of an institution that has been disposed to assimilate and adapt to the demands of market logic, incorporating these into its current practices and culture. Using the changes in the external funding environment as an opportunity to reposition itself as being a more outward looking world-class university, UoS has re-oriented its strategic direction, encompassing the constitutive practices of managerialism and entrepreneurialism. As noted by one of the participants: 'We are in a situation whereby we are in the middle of a strategy refresh, which means that we are looking again at our strategy with a view to trying to prioritise particular areas' (Int. 8, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, UoS). Pertinently, UoS has re-configured its institutional strategy by communicating more about the strategizing process within the university. Participants stated that during the strategy refreshment procedure, by adopting collective processes and facilitating bi-directional open communication, UoS not only consults with organisational members in order to produce shared meanings on strategy, which helps in the implementation of these strategies, but also includes stakeholders, including students and professional bodies, in this process. The following quotes describe the strategy-making process:

When we did the university strategy although there wasn't some exclusive little clique that decided on it, there was broad consultation (Int. 32, Responsible for Legal Services, UoS).

So we're building in consultation with stakeholders, including students and professional bodies as part of that [strategy formulation] process. In developing, for example, the QIA code – they will have consulted with, for

example, professional bodies in, say, developing the collaborative provision policy...Taking that into account we're taking into account the needs of stakeholders (Int. 31, Responsible for Quality Assurance framework, UoS).

More importantly, as outlined earlier, building on the distinctiveness of the university and bringing these distinct areas to the forefront has become part of the university strategy, as noted by participants. Accordingly, Russell group affiliation, applied research orientation and interdisciplinary research, which are critical for institutional reputation, have been highlighted as selling points of the university.

Responding to changing strategic and legitimacy imperatives, UoS has also assimilated new practices and enriched existing practices, adhering to market logic. Unlike the cases examined in other contexts, the assimilation of these practices suggests that UoS has become more managerial in its adoption of business-like logic. These practices include the incursion of a performance and target driven approach and managerial culture, and the recruitment of presidents and academics with an industrial background. Participants suggested that one of the most ostensible changes relates to the university having become more managerial. The need to recognize it as a business-like exponent of academic logic is highlighted:

We are having to readjust to a world where we have to effectively compete, particularly for staff, students and funding, on essentially on a day by day basis...So it's getting that balance between having a healthy, thriving academic culture and also recognising the university is essentially a £ ½ billion pound a year international business (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).

On the other hand, UoS also engages in reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism, aiming of efficiency in operations and responding demands of stakeholders. The data shows that centralization of the professional services appears as the most significant and criticized change within the university. Highlighting importance of spatial aspects of strategizing process as well as efficiency and effectiveness of daily practices, majority of participants mention how this new structuration caused misalignment of academic units and professional services:

With the restructuring, that they've lost things that they used to have before, and that might have caused them some sort of cultural problems. If people don't have a departmental office any more they feel that they've lost something (Int. 31, Responsible for Quality Assurance framework, UoS).

I would say that at various moments, that is actually quite problematic...Because decisions are taken at some distance, and that the people that are taking the decisions, whilst they might have the best will to see how things are played out, actually in reality, unless they are on the ground seeing how things are played out, I think that makes it quite difficult. (Int. 35, Responsible for Enterprise and Enterprise and Engagement, UoS)

The growing prominence of internationalization agenda is also evident in the expansion of employment and creation of new positions internationally, as well as the expansion of campuses abroad, which have been recruiting increasing numbers of students. The adoption of digital educational technologies such as MOOCs is another crucial initiative of UoS in responding to the growing expectations of students. As was evident in the Canadian context institutions, UoS has also enhanced professionalism through the provision of professional training for staff, particularly at managerial level, on leadership skills. This is pertinent to the growing role of leadership in the management of universities, which is evaluated as a million-dollar business:

The university tries, so I mean they do hold many sessions to engage with what they call "The senior leadership". And they have for the last two years or three years run a senior leadership engagement programme. So there is the attempt to engage. It forces the leaders to be more visible and be more accountable (Int.16, Middle-level Academic Manager, Life Science, UoS).

In all, UoS is more likely to integrate the prescriptions demanded by market logic through adopting a 'students-as-customers' approach, and re-engaging with its teaching orientation, pursuing pragmatism in the approach to research, and becoming more managerial in its culture and practices, as discussed throughout this section. The adoption of these practices is mainly informed by historical dispositions, such as the teaching-oriented and business connectivity roots, as well as its strategic focus. Additional illustrative data pertinent to the organisational responses of UoS are provided in Appendix 8. The next section is devoted to the organisational-level responses of the University of Manchester (UoM).

8.3.2.2 Responses of the University of Manchester

My analysis reveals that, based on the experience of encroachment of market logic as an opportunity for status reconfiguration, as stressed in the previous section, the University of Manchester (UoM) has structurally adapted to the demands of market logic, and engaged in 'acquisition strategy' (Oliver, 1991). This corresponds to the 'aggregation strategy' of Pratt and Foreman (2001), as in the case of the University of Alberta and Middle East Technical University. Although UoM has adapted to the demands of market logic (e.g. by adoption of performance evaluation, and use of the 'students-as-customers approach'), it has not altered the content of institutional demands through integrating business logic into its core practices, as in the case of UoS. Instead, UoM has preserved its core mission on social responsibility agenda, whilst assimilating new, and strengthening existing practices, adhering to market logic. These are evaluated in this section.

Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders

In responding to the changing funding and policy environment, UoM has proactively strengthened its relations with external and internal stakeholders, including Government, business stakeholders, alumni students and organisational members. Compared to the case of UoS, UoM has shown more agency in its relations with Government. Given the size, and social and economic impact of the university, as well as its increasing communication with governmental agencies, UoM aims to play an active role in influencing governmental decisions.

In terms of influencing outside strategy, there is clearly a strong ability to shape, lobby to influence external activities. Being in a big respectable university the size of [Manchester], that can be quite a potent voice externally, and having a well-connected senior membership team externally is vital to that, and [Sir] is very well connected to both Research Council type activities, as are a number of other senior members (Int. 11, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Science).

Rather than considering alumni as simply a large stakeholder group which helps in revenue generation, as in the case of the University of Alberta in the Canadian context, given its social responsibility agenda in education, UoM emphasizes the

importance of alumni donations in terms of their use for the support of disadvantaged students and impact on global challenges.

So we're now raising about £10,000,000 a year from philanthropic donations, and a significant part of that is from donors who wish that donation to be used to support students, rather than to support research or other activities. Alumni in particular, are very keen to support students so we are investing. We now have 40 people in our Alumni relations, and we are increasing that significantly (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Equity and Merit Scholarships, which assist talented but economically disadvantaged students from some of the world's poorest countries, and which are strongly supported by our wider alumni community (Strategic Plan of UoM 2020, p.16).

Other than intensifying relations with governmental representatives, lobbying the Government to save research budgets, influencing immigration policies and focusing more on alumni relations, UoM has also revisited its approach to students, who are seen as the main source of revenue generation. As in the case of the majority of British universities, UoM has also responded to financial challenges by increasing the number of undergraduates. Given its student orientation, UoM has focused more on undergraduate education for revenue generation purposes, and become more autonomous in its recruitment of international students, through generating a new recruitment system, different from the Government funding model. In this way it has aimed to restrict governmental interference with the university. Participants suggested that this is new agentic strategic decision of UoM:

We are now starting to talk about increasing student numbers (which we've never done before). It's easier for us to do that than to increase income from research funding, which is very competitive. The only profit we make is on international students! We lose money on research realistically. There's a lot of students, so we get a lot of money for those. I mean in a sense we have got massively increased applications this year, so the aculty increase is 12% up on the last year (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences, UoM).

I think in a School like ours, the main source of income is still going to be teaching, which indirectly still comes from the state through the grant system (Int. 2, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).

However, unlike other universities, and given its social responsibility concern, UoM has diversified its undergraduate student profile as an admissions policy, aiming for the support of students coming from ethnic minorities and low income families:

We have to spend that on supporting students from low income backgrounds, which we do. We are either the highest or the second highest in the Russell group in terms of supporting students from low income backgrounds. So 25% of our home undergraduate students come from families with a family income of less than £25,000 a year (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Notably, the senior management team of UoM has also become more visible, not only to external stakeholders, but also to internal stakeholders such as organisational members and students, through facilitating informal discussion platforms. For example, participants mentioned that more recently, the president and senior management team have frequently visited Schools, arranged informal meetings, lunches with staff and members of the student union, aiming to create a more inclusive and consultative environment in which staff and students feel that they are being listened to. Increasing the visibility of the senior management team, and becoming more transparent in decision-making processes through informing deans and academic staff more has been positively evaluated in the recent changes:

We hold regular briefing sessions in which the senior team brings in all of the heads of school and all of the associate deans and all of the heads of the major divisions within the support staff. We brief them about the strategy of the university and its relationship to the external environment, because we want them to know what it is that we're grappling with as a senior team (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Additionally, the university is aiming to respond to the demands of students through strategically increasing the dialogue between staff and students. The following quote highlights this:

What we did was a sort of a culture change, in a sense that we had a blitz of improving the processes through which staff engage with students. We

insisted that staff had to have certain periods of time when they were in their office and that was known to students and students could go and make appointments and see staff at certain periods of time; we insisted that lecture notes were on the website within a certain period of time. There are absolutely regular as clockwork meetings, sometimes weekly meetings, between cohorts of students and people who are responsible for the programme. Compared with the situation four to five years ago, the students now tell us that they feel they are listened to... the university is trying to do the things that it can do to improve their education (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Balancing research and teaching orientations

In parallel with the increasing number and growing expectations of students, UoM aims to balance its research and teaching orientation. More specifically, it has strengthened its teaching orientation by recruiting teaching-oriented scholars and increasing the teaching responsibilities of existing academics.

The one thing we started doing over the past two years is employing teaching focused staff, and not the sort of classical hybrid research and teaching hybrids. So last year we brought in a teaching and scholarship contract, so we could recruit people just to do teaching, because the scholarships learning/teaching practice things. So that worked really well, because that means they are only doing teaching and they don't have all these stresses (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences, UoM)

Compare to UoS, UoM is more likely to engage in research related practices, with the main consideration being to conduct highly impactful research. The recruitment of a highly respected female president with an academic background is one indicator of how academic professionalism logic is embodied within the university as an institutional strategy in keeping with its research orientation. UoM has also developed its research orientation by recruiting international research-oriented scholars, as well as facilitating interdisciplinary research.

I just hired in the best professor of Victorian English Literature in the world, and I want them to do is to publish, at some point in the next seven or eight years, the definitive academic analysis of the Victorian novel, I don't want them to be thinking about all this other crap when they're doing it... I want him to be thinking about getting grants, and so when he writes grant applications, he's got to be savvy; he's got to know what buttons to press to

get money out of EPSRC or to get money out of big companies (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative practices adhering to the market logic

UoM has reconfigured its internal mechanisms through assimilation of new, and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices, and adhering to market logic. This is mainly evident in the enactment of 'students-as-customers' approach, and appreciation of performance management tools as legitimacy imperatives. Other practices have been the centralization of professional services, attaching more emphasis to internationalization agenda, enhancing professionalism (e.g. training provision for middle management teams) and the creation of new senior-level positions. The following quotation exemplifies this:

This last summer we changed our Human Resources systems from a faculty based system to a university based system. So what they've done is they have kind of retrenched everything to a university-wide system. So the concept was to have a very efficient and effective service with everybody in the centre. So we built a new Centre where there are 50 HR people working. The ethos from the top is that in an Institute like our where you've got huge numbers of employees, the efficiency is the most important thing. And eventually these things do work and do become more efficient (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences, UoM).

Additional illustrative quotes are provided in Appendix 9. Table 8.3 provides a cross-comparative presentation of the organisational experience of, and responses to institutional complexities, with their distinctive characterizations.

Table 8.3 UK Context: Summary of institutional complexities and responses

Uni.	Distinctiveness	Organisational experience of institutional complexities	Strategies to cope with institutional complexities
University of Southampton	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Industry oriented as being driven by spin out and business connectivity Extensive applied research oriented Interdisciplinary research Institutional reputation in Oceanography, Engineering, Computer Science Desire to situate itself as leading research position Collegial and managerial culture, bureaucratic procedures in working routines 	<p>Experience of market pressures</p> <p>'Market logic' is experienced as complementary</p> <p>Institutional complexities are experienced as opportunity for status reconfiguration (become more outward looking and strategic re-positioning)</p> <p>Experience of governmental interventions</p> <p>Governmental interventions as a challenge</p>	<p><i>Organisational-level response:</i> Manipulation (Synthesis, blending), Integration Adoption of demands and attempt to alter the content of the institutional demands; 'fusing identities into a distinct new whole')</p> <p>Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders</p> <p><u>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</u></p> <p>Undertaking initiatives on collective lobbying of the Government Particular focus on increasing number of students and their expectations Strengthening relations with business stakeholders</p> <p>Increasing partnerships Sustaining spinouts and relations with companies consultancy Increasing external visibility and marketing</p> <p>Reconfiguration of practices</p> <p><u>Blending and balancing both teaching and research orientations</u></p> <p>Balancing and blending teaching and research demands</p> <p>More emphasis upon teaching Enactment of more research and teaching balanced promotion criteria Increasing teaching responsibility of existing academics Recruitment of both research and teaching oriented lecturers</p> <p><u>Strengthening (applied) research orientation</u></p> <p>More emphasis upon industry-driven research and application to bigger funds (as supporting teaching)</p>

	<p>Embodiment institutional logics</p> <p>Market logic (dominant), Academic professionalism logic is constrained</p>	<p>Increases in training for impact driven agenda</p> <p>Strengthening interdisciplinary research</p> <p>Emphasis upon and strengthening 'Russell group' attachment as an institutional identity</p> <p><u><i>Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic</i></u></p> <p>Becoming more managerial in culture and governance (adoption of business-like logic)</p> <p>Incursion of performance and target driven approach</p> <p>Incursion of managerial culture</p> <p>Recruitment of president with industry background</p> <p>Recruitment of academics with industry background</p> <p><u><i>Reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism</i></u></p> <p>Centralisation of professional services</p> <p>More emphasis upon internationalization agenda: International expansion of employment; Creation of new positions on internationalization; Expansion of campuses abroad</p> <p>Enhancing professionalism: Professional training for staff on leadership skills</p> <p>Implementation of digital learning technologies (MOOCs)</p>
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University of Manchester	<p>Extensive applied research oriented</p> <p>Establishment mission is on provision of technical education</p> <p>Both student experience and community orientated as being economic engine of the province</p> <p>Distinct social responsibility agenda in</p>	<p>Experience of market pressures</p> <p>'Market logic' is experienced as compatible</p> <p>Institutional complexities are experienced as opportunity for status reconfiguration</p>	<p>Organisational-level response: Acquiescence, Aggregation</p> <p>Adoption of demands (structurally) (assimilation of new and augmentation of existing practices)</p> <p>Compromising and lobbying in relations with Government</p> <p>Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders</p> <p><u><i>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</i></u></p> <p>Networking and lobbying Government</p> <p>Strengthening student oriented focus</p> <p>Increasing number of undergraduate students as an institutional strategy</p> <p>Diversification of student profile</p> <p>Becoming more autonomous in recruitment of international students</p>

<p>research, community engagement activities and educational programmes as institutional heritage</p> <p>Institutional reputation in Arts and Humanities; Clinical and Medical Science; Life Science</p> <p>Desire to balance research and teaching orientation and profile</p> <p>Collegial culture</p> <p>Embodiment institutional logics</p> <p>Vocational, market and academic professionalism logics are balanced</p>	<p>Experience of governmental interventions</p> <p>Governmental interventions as a challenge</p>	<p>Strengthening communication with other stakeholders</p> <p>Increasing communication with internal stakeholders (academics, student unions)</p> <p>Strengthening alumni relations</p> <p>Strengthening relations with other external stakeholders</p> <p>Increasing visibility of performance measures and marketing</p> <p><i>Balancing both teaching and research orientations</i></p> <p>Balancing and blending teaching and research demands</p> <p>Increasing teaching responsibilities of existing academics</p> <p>Recruitment of teaching oriented lecturers.</p> <p>Strengthening research orientation</p> <p>Recruitment of international research oriented scholars</p> <p>Facilitation of interdisciplinary research</p> <p><i>Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic</i></p> <p>Centralization of professional services</p> <p>More emphasis upon internationalization agenda</p> <p>Enhancing professionalism: training provision for middle management teams</p> <p>Creation of new senior-level positions</p>
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8.4 Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter concludes Part Three, which consisted of four chapters. In the first chapter, the field level dynamics of higher education institutions in the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts were explained in relation to changes in the broader social-economic context. This first chapter examined the salient characteristics of each field, with a focus on field level institutional complexities stemming from the degree of governmental intervention and encroachment of market logics. This was important in setting the socio-political background for the case accounts studied, which were presented in subsequent chapters. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 were dedicated to the evaluation of organisational level dynamics, including organisational *habitus*, experience of institutional complexities and responses of universities selected from the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, respectively. These findings chapters form the basis for the opening chapter of Part Four, in which the theoretical meaning of my analysis and theoretical model pull together my findings, leading to the conclusion of the thesis.

PART FOUR: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion

9.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter elucidates the summary of my findings and discusses my contribution to institutional theory and to the emergent literature on the dynamics of institutional complexities and organisational responses. Delineating cross-comparative societal, field and meso-level dynamics of organisational responses, the next section provides a summary of the merged findings, which were identified in the previous findings chapters. This overall account of the merged findings helps to provide an in-depth and holistic observation of the case accounts, as well as theorising from the findings.

9.2 Making sense of the prevailing findings

This doctoral study seeks for a better understanding of the organisational experience of, and subsequent responses to institutional complexities. I have examined six universities, situated in Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts, interrogating their experience of, and responses to institutional complexities in relation to changes in the broader societal context, focusing on the inter-institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics of processes and placing emphasis on the role of the distinct characteristics of organisations stemming from their historical origins (*habitus*).

My analysis revealed that organisational experience of, and responses to institutional complexities could be better understood by undertaking multi-level examination at the interface between societal systems, and field level and meso-level mediators. More specifically, organisational actions are not only shaped by macro-level dynamics, such as polities and field level arrangements, but are also driven by meso-level mediators, such as organisational *habitus* (past experiences and dispositions) and strategic focus (futuristic intention). Table 9.1

summarizes the cross-comparative interpretation of organisational-level dynamics, as detailed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

These findings led to four observations pertinent to the recursive relationships between inter-institutional, field and organisational level dynamics. Below, I elaborate on each of these findings, and integrate them into a conceptual model (see Figure 9.1) that shows the recursive relationships between these dynamics.

9.2.1 Macro inter-institutional level dynamics and institutional complexities

In this section, I discuss my observations on how inter-institutional societal level dynamics, including polities, matter in the co-existence and dominance of institutional logics, and in influencing field level settlements. Although changes in the wider socio-political and economic environment, which have been experienced with the introduction of neo-liberal politics across the globe, have exerted intense pressure over higher education institutions, through the necessity to adhere to new sets of strategic imperatives and criteria for legitimacy (e.g. accreditations and rankings, applied research orientations and performance evaluation mechanisms), the nature and degree of these pressures differ on the basis of national context and polities they are embedded in. More specifically, as discussed throughout Chapter 5 and summarized in Table 5.2, at the macro inter-institutional level, broader level polities shape the dominance of institutional logics within the field, field infrastructure and field level institutional complexities.

Scholars have shown that the specific configurations of logics in a field may result in variances in the nature and degree of institutional complexities in different national contexts (Raynard, 2016; Waldorf *et al.*, 2013, Goodrick and Reay 2011; Nicolini *et al.*, 2016; Pallas *et al.*, 2016). Waldorf *et al.* (2013) show that while market and professionalism logics complement each other and facilitate innovative practices in the healthcare field in a Canadian context, these logics were experienced as antagonistic in the Danish context. My macro-field level findings of this study complement this stream of research by showing that the nature of institutional pressures and complexities at the field level differs in Turkish, Canadian and UK higher education fields, due to the differences in polities and institutional infrastructure.

My data suggest that, although market, state and academic professionalism logics all come into play in the governance of higher education fields (e.g. Berman, 2012; Dune and Jones, 2010), dominance of these logics within the field is shaped by inter-institutional level systems, namely polities (Nicolini *et al.*, 2016). Particular combinations of logics are more contentious in some countries than in others. In statist polity, such as Turkey, the highly centralized logic of the state restricts the encroachment of market logic (Topaler *et al.*, 2015), which facilitates stability in the field and leads to less complexity stemming from market logic. As underscored by Topaler *et al.* (2013) 'there has been virtually no focused attention on the introduction of market mechanisms into fields that have traditionally been under state control'. As outlined in Table 5.2 (Chapter 5), institutional complexities in this context stem from the dominance of state logic and governmental interferences. To use Raynard's (2016) term, institutional complexities in this context may be characterized as 'restrained', whereby the prioritisation of state logic, which is incompatible with market logic within the field, leads to organisational perceptions of institutional complexities to a minimum degree (Besharov and Smith, 2014; Raynard, 2016). This observation is congruent with studies which show that dominance of any societal institutional logics leads to more stable field level arrangements (e.g. Greenwood *et al.*, 2010; Nicolini *et al.*, 2016). For example, Greenwood *et al.* (2010) show that the highly centralized logic of the state under Franco's regime in the 1980s alleviated institutional complexities stemming from market logic, and that the fall of his regime and decentralization of the state stimulated the influence of other logics - market and family - over manufacturing firms.

In liberal polity, collective agency is not organised around central institutional systems such as the state, and is more likely to reinforce free play of different institutional orders (Jepperson, 2002). Although the Canadian and UK contexts are both examples of liberal polity, there are differences in the governance of their higher education institutions, stemming from institutional infrastructure. Compared to the UK higher education field, state logic is more dominant in the Canadian context, which restricts free play of market mechanisms. This is mainly evident in federal governments' initiatives on bringing to the forefront the value of the universities for national economic development, and the redefinition of mission statements by the majority of universities towards demonstrating the importance of economic development, innovation, and

educational and regional labour force development. On the other hand, in the UK higher education field, the free play of social forces has led to the domination of market-corporate logics, to address field level complexities pertinent to the growing role of market mechanisms.

More pertinently, polity determines the nature of institutional complexities by informing about field level arrangements, such as determining the nature of institutional demands imposed on organisations, which is pertinent to the field level actors' endorsement of the demands prescribed by newly coming institutional logic (Nicolini *et al.*, 2016; Raynard, 2016). In the Turkish context, market logic is inherently anchored in state logic, and the demands of market mechanisms are controlled by state agencies. In other words, in this context, since field level actors have been dependent on the state agencies, the demands of market logic have not been supported, in the same way as the other contexts. In the UK context, important field level agencies, including government and research councils, appreciate market logic and exert pressure to adapt to the demands of this logic. This is mainly evident in the adoption of REF as a legitimacy imperative. My observations resonate with Kodeih and Royston's (2013) argument that the nature of institutional identity signalled by field level actors as either 'discrete' or 'conjoint' is a crucial driver of organisational experience of institutional complexities as either 'opportunity' or 'threat'. They explain that 'when signals are discrete, field level audiences are concerned with a particular logic, but when signals are conjoint, audiences engage in the support of both of institutional logics' (Kodeih and Royston, 2013, p. 25). Consistent with this, Raynard and Kodeih (forthcoming) also evaluate the role of field level actors' approach to newly coming logic that result in different organisational level responses, using the framework of 'nature and proximity of environmental stimuli'. In their framework, while 'nature of environmental stimuli' is related to the field level actors' signalling for the compatibility of institutional logic, the 'proximity of the environmental stimuli' is pertinent to whether complexities are sourced in distant fields or not.

9.2.2 Recursive relationship between field level dynamics, organisational *habitus* and response patterns

In this section I discuss my findings on the interrelationships between field level complexities, organisational *habitus* and response patterns. In doing so, I base

my discussions on focusing how organisations' experiences and subsequent responses to institutional complexities are shaped by macro-field level dynamics and meso level mediators, such as organisational *habitus* and strategic focus of organisations, and how response patterns influence macro-field level dynamics.

Apart from the role of state structure and field level actors' approaches to the demands of newly coming logic, which shape the organisational experience of institutional complexities, as discussed in the previous section, my data provides empirical support for the role of meso-level mediators in this process, as examined in the chapters on organisational dynamics. Perceiving newly coming logic as constituting either a 'threat' or an 'opportunity' is closely pertinent to whether the prescriptions demanded by institutional logics are 'contradictory', 'compatible' or 'complementary' to the organisational resources, competencies and strategic focus, which reflect the development of pertinent responses (Smets et al., 2015).

Comparing the six universities situated in different contexts revealed that when complexities were experienced as a challenge, they were more likely to compartmentalize their practices by separation of formal structures and external parts from the internal organisational core (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). In the cases of Istanbul University in the Turkish context, and MacEwan University in the Canadian context, they adopted decoupling by compartmentalizing their practices (Pratt and Foreman, 2000). Both of these universities assimilated some of the new, and enriched some of the existing practices aligned with market logic, while resisting particular practices that threatened their organisational identity and confronted their strategic focus. This finding is congruent with the arguments and findings of current studies arguing for the need of compartmentalization strategy (being a decoupling strategy) when new logic is incompatible (conflicting) with the existing logics in the field (e.g. Anteby, 2010; Raynard, 2016; Lander et al., 2013; Lounsbury, 2001; Jones et al., 2012). In contrast to this argument and my findings, Besharov and Smith (2014) argue that rather than adoption of structural differentiation (compartmentalization), the enactment of blended hybrids could be a reasonable strategy for the alleviation of institutional complexities stemming from 'contradictory institutional logics'. They offer a suggestion for dealing with institutional complexities by reducing logic incompatibility and centrality (dominance of particular logic) within an organisation, arguing that logic incompatibility could

be reduced by recruiting personnel without prior institutional affiliations, aiming towards a blended hybrid. Logic centrality could be diminished by reducing resource dependency, which might be achieved through shifting strategic focus. However, as noted by Martin *et al.* (2016, p. 19), this might not be a reasonable response strategy particularly for public organisations, which is also shown in my cases.

The cases of Middle East Technical University (METU) in the Turkish context, University of Alberta (UoA) in the Canadian context and Manchester University (UoM) in the UK context show examples of how complexities caused by the demands of market logic may be perceived as 'compatible' with their own organisational resources, dispositions and strategic focus, identifying the demands of newly coming institutional logics as an opportunity for status extension by distinguishing themselves from their rivals. These universities assimilated new, and augmented existing practices aligned with the demands of market logic, or enacted with 'acquisition' strategy in Oliver's (1991) terms, which corresponds to aggregation strategy (Pratt and Foreman, 2000). This strategy also resembles the notion of 'selective coupling', which refers to purposefully selected and incorporated practices from newly coming logic (Pache and Santos, 2012).

Importantly, since field level constituencies of market logic in the Canadian and UK contexts were constructive (as discussed in the macro-field level dynamics chapter), it is not surprising to expect that universities in these contexts perceived institutional complexities as opportunities to reinforce their practices. However, where universities were embedded in highly centralized, state-dominated institutional fields, organisational agency signals for the role of meso-level mediators were observed, which is the core argument of this doctoral study. This is evaluated in detail in the next section.

Moreover, unlike the other cases, the University of Southampton (UoS) experienced the demands of market logic as 'complementary', identifying institutional complexities as an opportunity for 'status reconfiguration' (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013), and has developed synthesizing strategy by 'combining and layering practices taken from market logic' with its core identity and practices (Greenwood *et al.*, 2011, p. 352). Synthesis strategy has been shown

in number of studies (Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Dalpiaz *et al.*, 2016; Kent and Dacin, 2013; Tracey *et al.*, 2011; Jay, 2013).

Importantly, my findings provide insights into the reciprocal relationship between organisational *habitus* and responses. While organisations' responses to external environments are shaped on the basis of their previous knowledge and competencies, these responses also feed the development of organisational *habitus* over time. For example, because of their traditionality in some substances, stemming from their historical origins and desire to preserve their core identity and focus of attention, IU and UoME perceived the encroachment of market logic as a challenge. For example, I observed that academics from the Faculty of Law in Istanbul University, which is the most rooted department (as being first Law Faculty) in the Turkish context, were more likely to be keen on preserving the traditionality of the university through maintaining traditional practices, such as continuation of the chair tradition, and traditional apprenticeship relations, which are key to for the continuation of the science tradition (production of scientific knowledge). The incursion of market logics, and in particular, the infusion of project culture, has shifted the focus of academics towards industry (provision of consultancy), and the prevalence of outcome-oriented performance measures were evaluated as a threat to the traditional character of the university. These signs of the organisational *habitus*, which informs about the dispositions and competencies of organisations stemming from their historical origins, and constitutes distinct characterizations, provide the basis for the repertoire of institutionalized templates, and, in Czarniawska's (2009) terms, function as a carrier of institutional logics.

Table 9.1 Cross-comparative interpretation of organisational-level experience of and responses to institutional complexities

	Istanbul University	Middle East Technical University	University of Alberta	MacEwan University	University of Southampton	University of Manchester
Organisational-level experience of encroachment of market logic	'Market logic' is experienced as contradictory Institutional complexities are experienced as a challenge to the traditionality of IU	'Market logic' is experienced as compatible Institutional complexities are experienced as opportunity for status extension (distinguishing itself from others and influencing governmental decisions)	'Market logic' is experienced as compatible Institutional complexities are experienced as opportunity for status extension (become more global player)	'Market logic' is experienced as contradictory Institutional complexities are experienced as a challenge to core identity (teaching orientation)	'Market logic' is experienced as complementary Institutional complexities are experienced as opportunity for status reconfiguration (become more outward looking and strategic re-positioning)	'Market logic' is experienced as compatible Institutional complexities are experienced as opportunity for status extension
Embodiment of institutional logics	Vocational logic and academic professionalism logic is dominant Constraining effect of market logics	Academic professionalism logic is dominant Market logics as clinching logics	Academic professionalism logic is dominant Market logics as leveraging logics	Vocational logic dominates academic professionalism logic Constraining effect of market logics	Market logic is dominant Academic professionalism logic is constrained	Vocational, market and academic professionalism logics are balanced
Organisational I-level responses	Compartmentalisation Partial adoption of demands (assimilation of some of the new	Acquiescence, Aggregation Adoption of demands (structurally) (assimilation of new	Acquiescence, Aggregation Adoption of demands (structurally) (assimilation of new	Compartmentalisation Partial adoption of demands (assimilation of some of the new and enrichment of some of the existing practices,	Synthesis, blending, Integration Adoption of demands and attempt to alter the content of the institutional demands;	Acquiescence, Aggregation Adoption of demands (structurally) (assimilation of new

	<p>and enrichment of some of the existing practices, while resisting some of them)</p> <p>Conforming strategy in relations with Government</p>	<p>and augmentation of existing practices)</p> <p>Compromising strategy in relations with Government</p>	<p>and augmentation of existing practices)</p> <p>Compromising and pro-active advocacy strategy in relations with Government</p>	<p>while resisting some of them)</p>	<p>'fusing identities into a distinct new whole')</p>	<p>and augmentation of existing practices)</p> <p>Compromising and lobbying in relations with Government</p>
Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders	<p>Sustaining existing relations with Government</p> <p><i>.Complying with governmental demands</i></p>	<p>Sustaining and negotiating existing relations with Government</p> <p><i>.Compromising with governmental demands</i></p>	<p>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</p> <p><i>.Advocacy to Government</i></p> <p>Increasing communication with Government representatives</p> <p>Increasing transparency in strategic plans</p> <p>Third party advocates in relations with Government</p> <p><i>Strengthening communication with other external and internal stakeholders</i></p>	<p>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</p> <p><i>.Enhancing relations with Government</i></p> <p>Increasing communication with Government representatives</p> <p>Creation of new positions to deal with governmental demands</p> <p><i>.Increasing visibility to external and internal referents</i></p> <p>Enhancing branding of the institution (creation of marketing position)</p>	<p>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</p> <p><i>.Undertaking initiatives on collective lobbying of the Government</i></p> <p><i>.Particular focus on increasing number of students and their expectations</i></p> <p><i>.Strengthening relations with business stakeholders</i></p> <p>Increasing partnerships</p> <p>Sustaining spinouts and relations with company consultancies</p>	<p>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</p> <p><i>.Networking and lobbying Government</i></p> <p><i>.Strengthening student oriented focus</i></p> <p>Increasing number of undergraduate students as an institutional strategy</p> <p>Diversification of student profile</p> <p>Becoming more autonomous in recruitment of international students</p>

			<p>Strengthening alumni relations</p> <p>Diversifying of donors and strengthening relations with existing donors</p> <p>Strengthening communication and transparency with internal stakeholders</p>	<p>Increasing communication within the institution</p>	<p>Increasing external visibility and marketing</p>	<p><u><i>Strengthening communication with other stakeholders</i></u></p> <p>Increasing communication with internal stakeholders (academics, student unions and students)</p> <p>Strengthening alumni relations</p> <p>Strengthening relations with other external stakeholders</p> <p>Increasing visibility of performance measures and marketing</p>
Reconfiguration of institutionalized practices	<p>Maintenance and reproduction of particular practices and culture (traditional logics)</p> <p>.Preserving practices adhering to traditional characteristics of the IU</p> <p>Preserving apprenticeship</p>	<p>Sustaining and extending research orientation</p> <p>.More emphasis upon publishing in highly ranked journals</p> <p>. Recruitment of international research oriented scholars</p>	<p>Sustaining and extending research orientation</p> <p>Recruitment of international research oriented scholars</p> <p>Recruitment of president with academic background</p> <p>Strengthening graduate studies and professional research programmes</p>	<p>Maintenance and reproduction of particular practices and culture (teaching and student orientation)</p> <p><u><i>Preserving practices adhering to core identity (teaching orientation) of the IU</i></u></p> <p>Preserving standard teaching course loads (with slight changes)</p> <p>Signalling of senior-level academic</p>	<p>Blending and balancing both teaching and research orientations</p> <p><u><i>Balancing and blending teaching and research demands</i></u></p> <p>More emphasis upon teaching</p> <p>Enactment of more research and teaching balanced promotion criteria</p>	<p>Balancing both teaching and research orientations</p> <p><u><i>Balancing and blending teaching and research demands</i></u></p> <p>Increasing teaching responsibilities of existing academics</p> <p>Recruitment of teaching oriented lecturers</p> <p><u><i>Strengthening research orientation</i></u></p>

<p>relations and chair tradition</p> <p>Conservativeness in recruitments</p> <p>Continuation of theory teaching orientation</p> <p>Resistance to particular demands of market logic</p> <p>Protesting against private employee laws which threaten chair tradition</p> <p>Assimilation of new practices adhering to the market logic (layering, dissipation)</p> <p>Unbending initial conservativeness in recruiting its own students and franco-phone rooted professors</p>	<p>More emphasis upon industry-driven research</p> <p>More emphasis upon international research partnerships</p> <p>Facilitating interdisciplinary research (creation of interdisciplinary research centres)</p> <p>Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic</p> <p><u>Adoption of new revenue generating practices</u></p> <p>Revenue generation through administrative and academic units' sale of services</p> <p>Revenue generation through ancillary services</p> <p>Elimination of particular non rev. gen. programs</p>	<p>managers' teaching responsibilities</p> <p>Performance evaluations of student satisfaction and teaching excellence</p> <p>Assimilation of new practices in alignment with enhancement of research orientation (Enrichment)</p> <p>Enhancing research related capabilities of existing faculty members through mentoring</p> <p>Recruitment of PhD holding (full-time) academics for degree programmes</p> <p>Initiating professional development in research</p> <p>Assimilation of new administrative practices adhering to the market logic</p> <p><u>Adoption of new revenue generation practices</u></p>	<p>Increasing teaching responsibility of existing academics</p> <p>Recruitment of both research and teaching oriented lecturers</p> <p>. <u>Strengthening (applied) research orientation</u></p> <p>More emphasis upon industry-driven research and application to bigger funds (as supporting teaching)</p> <p>Increases in training for impact driven agenda</p> <p>Strengthening interdisciplinary research</p> <p>Emphasis upon and strengthening of 'Russell group' attachment as an institutional identity</p> <p>Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices</p>	<p>Recruitment of international research oriented scholars</p> <p>Facilitation of interdisciplinary research</p> <p>Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic</p> <p>Centralization of professional services</p> <p>More emphasis upon internationalization agenda</p> <p>Enhancing professionalism: Provision of training of middle management team</p> <p>Creation of new senior-level positions</p>
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<p>Arrangement of certificate programs and online education</p>	<p>Reductions in administrative staff and non-tenured academic staff (assistant professors)</p> <p>Reductions in disc. Accounts</p> <p>Adoption of zero budget planning approach in operations</p> <p><u><i>Reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism</i></u></p> <p>Provision of Educational programs offered by Faculty of Extension</p> <p>Implementation of digital learning technologies (MOOCs)</p> <p>More emphasize upon internationalisation agenda: increasing recruitment of international students and staff</p> <p>More emphasize upon diversity agenda</p>	<p>Adoption of particular rev. gen. educational programs</p> <p>Re-arrangement and centralisation of capital replacement fund</p> <p>Revenue generation through ancillary services</p> <p>Changing fee application payments for rev. gen.</p> <p><u><i>Reconfiguration of positions/responsibilities, programs and professionalism</i></u></p> <p>Elimination of uncritical or expensive positions and re-allocation of responsibilities</p> <p>‘Hiring freeze’ for non-critical vacant positions</p> <p>Re-structuring from program structure to departmentalisation</p> <p>Provision of both diploma and degree programs to deal with demands of particular professions</p>	<p>adhering to the market logic</p> <p><u><i>Becoming more managerial in culture and governance (adoption of business-like logic)</i></u></p> <p>Incursion of performance and target driven approach</p> <p>Incursion of managerial culture</p> <p>Recruitment of industry backgrounded president</p> <p>Recruitment of industry backgrounded academics</p> <p><u><i>Reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism</i></u></p> <p>Centralisation of professional services</p> <p>More emphasize upon internationalisation agenda: International expansion of employment; Creation of new positions on internationalisation;</p>	
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		<p>More emphasize upon spinoffs</p> <p>Enhancing Professional training for executive leaders</p> <p>Professional training for administrative staff</p> <p>Centralisation of administrative services</p> <p>Creation of new senior-level positions</p> <p>Expansion of categories of positions</p>	<p>Initiating professional training in HR and education</p>	<p>Expansion of campuses abroad</p> <p>Enhancing professionalism: Professional training for staff on leadership skills</p> <p>Implementation of digital learning technologies (MOOCs)</p>	
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Notably, my findings provide insights about the recursive relationship between organisational responses and *habitus* by claiming that organisational *habitus* might be shaped by organisational responses over time. As particular response patterns are augmented, these strengthened practices might turn out to be habitual. The desire to strengthen research orientation through investing more in graduate studies programmes, international research partnerships and recruitment of international research-oriented scholars, facilitates collective understanding and inclination towards this orientation, and may address shifts in organisational distinctiveness. For example, while IU maintains particular practices and culture adhering to traditionality, these practices reinforce its organisational *habitus*. Participants from the University of Manchester (UoM) also highlighted this: 'adopting more flexible institutional structure after merger process, habitual practices of UoM changed and released from previous organisational *habitus* that restrict the university to be more flexible'. The next section is dedicated to the discussion of recursiveness between meso level mediators of organisational response dynamics.

9.2.3 Recursive relationship among organisational *habitus*, strategic focus and embodiment within the organisation

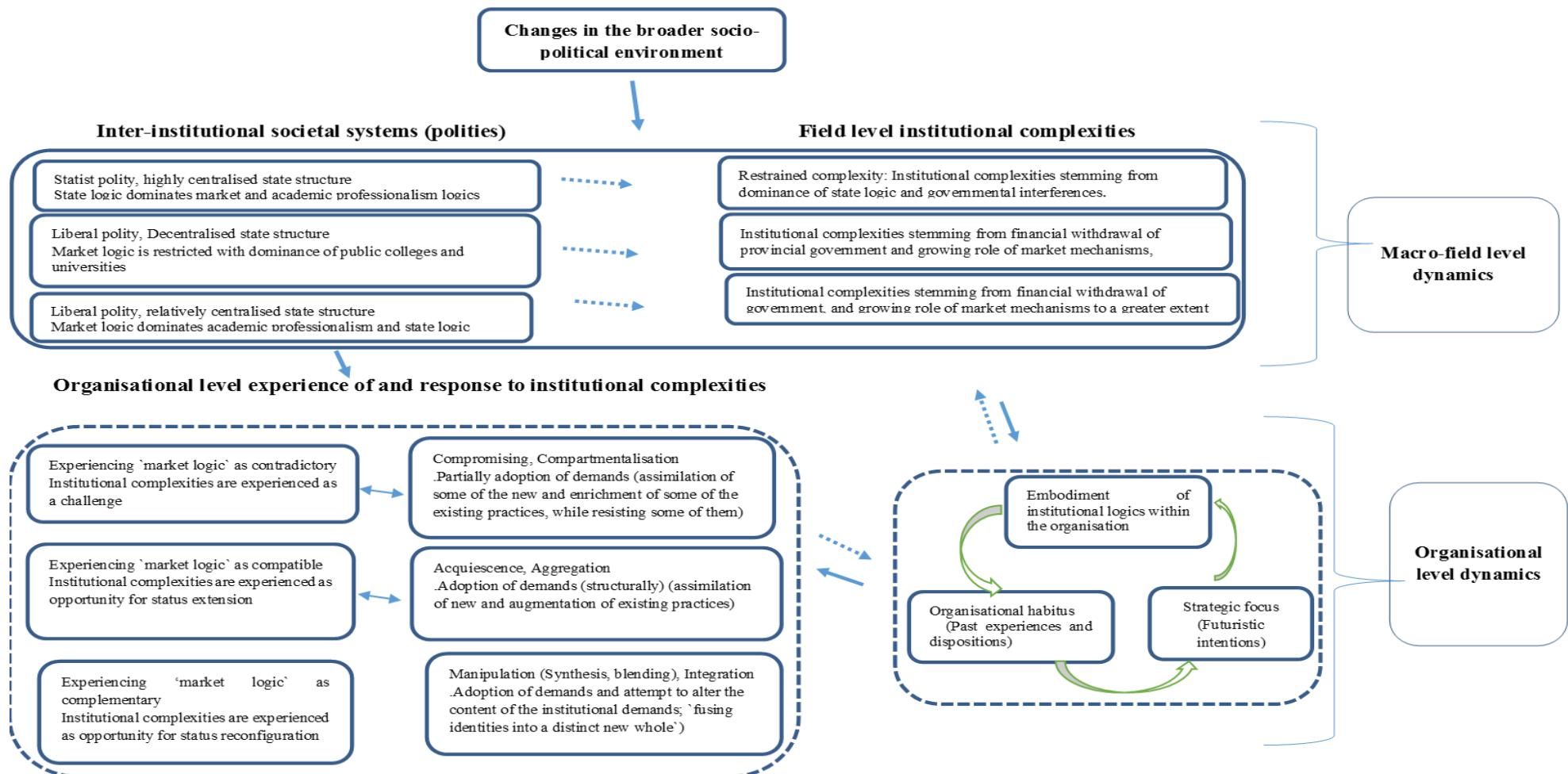
My findings suggest that both the organisational *habitus* and strategic focus of organisations inform about the incorporation and embodiment of newly coming institutional logics within an organisation, affecting the experience of and response to institutional complexities.

My observations resonate with research showing the role of status, identity and identity aspirations (i.e. what it wishes to become) (Kodeih and Greenwood *et al.*, 2013) in the organisational experience of and responses to complexities. Moreover, my theoretical insights also give further understanding of the role of meso-level mediators in understanding this phenomena, by focusing on the recursive relationship between organisational distinct characteristics stemming from historical origins (*habitus*), futuristic intentions (strategic focus and identity aspirations in Kodeih and Royston's terms) and the incorporation of newly coming coexisting institutional logics within the organisations. For example, UoS had been inward-looking in responding to the demands of stakeholders (in particular students), because of its desire to situate itself as one of the best international research-oriented universities (this was highlighted by

senior level managers), but the encroachment of market logic had been experienced as an opportunity to become more outward-looking and responsive to stakeholder demands. Combined with past experiences and competencies, evaluation of UoS culturally and structurally blends the prescriptions demanded by market logic with its current structures and 'interpretive schema' - in Perkman and Schildt's (2014) terms.

My findings at an organisational level provide insights on how meso level mediators, in particular organisational distinct characterizations stemming from historical origins (*habitus*), influence the futuristic intentions of organisations (strategic focus), which drive for the embodiment of institutional logics matter in experiencing institutional complexities and developing subsequent responses. Importantly, my data suggest that recursive interaction between these dynamics can shape the organisational level experience of complexities, and might be seen as an 'opportunity' or a 'threat', as explained in the previous section. For example, stemming from their teaching-oriented establishment mission and passion to preserve their orientation and traditionality, the incursion of market logic is constrained in both of these universities.

Figure 9.1 Multi-level understanding of organisational responses and institutional complexities



9.3 Revisiting the research questions in the light of research findings

The research questions and objectives were refined in the course of this doctoral study. The overall aim of this study was to gain insight into the role of organisational *habitus* in organisational responses to institutional complexities from a process relational perspective. In order to address this overall aim, two research objectives and related questions were formulated. More specifically, the research objectives were set out as:

- to gain insights into the contextualized understanding of organisational responses to institutional complexities, in relation to the societal inter-institutional systems and field level dynamics

-to explore the role of organisational *habitus* in framing the organisational experience of institutional pressures and subsequent organisational responses.

The associated research questions were formulated as below:

-how are organisational responses to institutional complexities situated in macro-level field dynamics?

-how does organisational *habitus* influence the experience of, and responses to institutional complexities?

More specifically, my findings pertinent to the first research objective and question were presented in Chapter 5, where I explored the interrelationships between co-existing institutional logics in the field of higher education in different contexts. This allowed me to observe varying configurations and degrees of institutional complexities. The second research objective and question, concerning organisational level dynamics, are presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, and discussed in sub-sections 9.2.2. and 9.2.3. In these sections, I provided findings insights on the role of organisational distinct characteristics which drive the manifestation of institutional complexities within organisations. I provided an account of how organisational *habitus* might influence the organisational response to institutional complexities. My aim in this article has been to demonstrate that organisations' experience of complexities show

variations based on their distinctiveness, which also determine translation of these experiences into practices. Accordingly, they develop different strategies to cope with institutional complexities. Universities' experience of institutional pressure relevant to the enactment of managerial logic might differ, based on their inherent characteristics and relative salience in, for example, resourcefulness, distinctiveness in particular areas, institutional heritage, orientation and culture. Overall, my focus has therefore been on the examination of the reflexive accounts of both macro-field level and meso-organisational level dynamics.

9.4 Original contribution of the thesis and implications

In this section, I have summarized the theoretical contribution and implications of this doctoral study to the field of management and organisational studies in general, and to institutional theory scholarship, in particular. I now provide the policy and practice implications of the thesis findings.

9.4.1 Theoretical contribution and implications

In this doctoral study, I have sought to gain deeper insights in understanding organisational responses to institutional complexities in a more systematic way by undertaking multi-layered examination of the dynamics of organisational responses. My study has advanced the research on institutional complexity by linking inter-institutional societal, field level and organisational level dynamics, highlighting the recursive relationship between these dynamics, as called for by institutional scholars (Nicolini *et al.*, 2016; Raynard, 2016; Vasudeva *et al.*, 2013). Additionally, linking inter-organisational and macro level analysis through unpacking the mechanisms by which managerial interpretations of institutional complexity are influenced by wider social beliefs could contribute to institutional logics and behavioural theory of the firm literature (Thornton *et al.*, 2012). This study is the first empirical multilevel account of the reciprocal relationships among these dynamics and have advanced our understanding of organisational responses to institutional complexity in the following ways:

First, by drawing attention to different inter-institutional systems such as polities and field level settlements, this study informs about how particular combinations of logics vary across different national settings. I show how

interaction of the state, market and professional logics result in variances in the nature and degree of institutional complexities in Turkish, Canadian and UK settings. Employing cross-comparative research design gave me the opportunity to observe the role of polities in the experience of complexities. The majority of past studies are based on liberal polities reflecting characteristics of the Western world (e.g. Tempel and Walgenbach, 2007; Nicolini et al., 2016). In this doctoral study, I have compared statist polity and liberal polity, enhancing our understanding about the drivers of variation in institutional complexity at the broader polity (Besharov and Smith, 2014). While specific configurations of these logics formed 'aligned complexity', in which encroachment of newly coming logic is more likely to facilitate opportunities for organisations, in Canadian and UK settings, suppression of the state logic meant 'restricted complexity' in the Turkish setting. Showing the variations in field level institutional complexities in the same fields, but situated in different national contexts, and the organisational level implications, this study complements recent works (e.g. Goodrick and Reay, 2011; Pallas et al., 2016; Waldorf et al., 2016 Besharov and Smith, 2014; Jay, 2013; Meyer and Hollerer, 2010) which suggest the co-existence of institutional logics can produce both competitive and cooperative tensions. This also resonates with the assumption that the multiplicity of institutional logics and institutional complexities does not always pose a challenge to organisations, but might provide opportunities and a basis for organisational agency (Dalpiaz et al., 2016). Second, I highlight how internal dynamics of organisations collectively lead adoption of particular response patterns. showing the role of organisational *habitus*, strategic focus of organisations and embodiment of particular institutional logics within the organisations, More specifically, demonstrating recursive relationships among these meso-level dynamics, I put in that organisational *habitus* functions not only as carrier of historical practices, but also shapes the strategic focus of organisation and embodiment of particular institutional logics within the organisations through informing about historical origins of organisations and providing broader available repertoire of practices, In doing so, this study provides in-depth insights on internal dynamics of organisations in organisational experience of complexities as 'opportunity' or threat', and responds to call for further attention on '*getting inside organisations and understanding how social interactions within firms shape understanding of*

complexity' (Thornton *et al.*, 2012, p. 186). This study extends the works claiming the role of internal representation of institutional logics (Pache and Santos, 2010), organizational identity (Kodeih and Greenwood, 2013) and culture (Burnett and Huisman, 2010) in organisational experience and responses to institutional pressures. The cognitive aspects of institutional complexity, which imply the importance of managerial interpretations in organisational responses to conflicting institutional demands (Thornton *et al.*, 2012) can be detailed holistically through the concept of *habitus*. As DiMaggio and Powell (1991) note, '*habitus* can join with neo-institutional analysis to form a theory of practical action, filling the micro sociology of the new institutionalism'.

Third, showing multi-dimensional explanations of organisational response dynamics and linking macro to meso foundations of organisations as a reflexive process through the concept of organisational *habitus*, this study aims to contribute the process relational and multi-layered framework of organisational responses. I demonstrate that this concept is not only crucial in getting inside the organisations, but also to capture the reflexive relationship between meso and macro level analysis reciprocally. This is fundamental in providing holistic insights into the organisational responses to institutional complexities (e.g. Smets *et al.*, 2012; Thornton *et al.*, 2012; Pache and Santos, 2010).

This also generate insights into various conditions that influence effectiveness of hybrid structures and particular responses, as called for warrant attention (Raynard, 2016). In my cases, I show that organisations, which were powerful in terms of community orientation, political relations, or in relations with business stakeholders, and embedded in a field whereby field level constituencies of market logic were constructive, were more likely to internalise complexities and 'absorb' complexity by blending demanded structures and culture of the market logic into its core functioning. On the other hand, regardless of field-level institutional settlements, organisations, which embodied traditional logic that conflict with prescriptions demanded by market logic, were more likely to externalise and 'reduce' complexity by avoiding or denying some of the external demands placed upon the organisation. Importantly, examining field level and organisational level antecedents of organisational response dynamics, informs us about the reflexive and dynamics relationship between agency and structure. Understanding organisational agency is crucial in resolving the 'paradox of embedded agency' which is defined as 'how can actors change institutions if

their actions, intentions, and rationality are all conditioned by the very institution they wish to change?' (Holm, 1995).

Fourth, this study contributes to the Bourdieu's social theory of practice in general and his core concept of habitus by showing how habitus could be operationalised at meso level, which has been generally employed without being defined and operationalised at all (Sweetman, 2009). Based on the existing studies (e.g. Karatas-Ozkan, 2011) and the data evidence of this study, I show that habitus could be operationalised as a combination of several elements rooted in historical context, which are: general resourcefulness, institutional heritage deriving from establishment roots, distinctiveness in particular departments, institutional orientation and organisational culture.

9.4.2 Implications for policy and practice

The landscape of higher education across the globe has changed significantly over the past few decades. The higher education fields in all three countries included in the study have been subject to major transformations in terms of funding policies, management approaches and performance measurement. My study provides an in-depth examination of the underlying processes and organisational responses and strategies in response to changes in the field. The implications for practice are twofold: a) leadership; b) strategy process.

First, leadership in universities should take into account the changing dynamics and institutional shifts in decision-making. University leaders should be more cognisant of the increasing demands on academics, as well as the professional service providers in universities, and protect the academic autonomy and core missions of academic professionalism, which are research and teaching. This entails responsible leadership. The central principles of this can be summarized as value-driven, authentic, inclusive (sensitive to and respectful for diversity), and visionary for the collective good.

Second, there are implications for strategy processes. My study has revealed that universities experience institutional changes in a way that forces them to develop diverse response strategies, such as compromising, acquiescence and

aggregation (as illustrated in Figure 9.1). Regardless of the variety of these strategies, the processes underpinning strategy formation should have certain qualities in place. Alignment with the core values and vision of the organisation is one key dimension. Consultative and collaborative approach is another key quality. University management and leadership should engage academics, professional service providers, students and the wider community in the strategy process. Inclusive strategy-making processes are important for the sustainable future of universities.

Implications for higher education policy makers include the following recommendations: policy makers should pay attention to the institutional complexities and cultural dynamics of universities, and they should not impose regulatory or other changes on universities for the sake of efficiency and effectiveness. Their policies should be attuned to the principles of university autonomy, importance of science (research), raising talent (education) and engagement with community (knowledge exchange). State-dominant models of higher education are not compatible in this regard. Another important implication for policy making in higher education is that engagement with society and a range of economic, political and civil institutions should be encouraged not only for economic development, but also for social change, which encapsulates tackling inequalities in society by facilitating the inclusion of all communities and beneficiaries in the policy making process.

9.5 Limitations and suggestions for future research

This study is not without limitations, and future research will need to further explore the drivers of organisational experience of institutional complexities and responses.

As the characteristics of universities are highly fragmented and diverse, different *sub-habitus* may be observed in the enactment of different institutional logics (Reale and Seeber, 2011). Some prescriptions are more likely to apply to one group of actors, and others to another, on the basis of different professions and disciplines in the field of higher education. These observations are congruent with the concept of ‘segmented’ institutional complexities (e.g. Binder, 2007; Pache and Santos, 2010). For example, the increasing prominence of applied

research in the agenda of funding bodies (new impact agenda), which is one of the premises of market logic, exerts greater challenges on particular disciplines, such as social sciences, which is more likely to be aligned with blue-sky research, and might be perceived as constituting opportunities for engineering faculties. Within the scope of this doctoral study, I have focused on the distinct dispositions (characterizations) of organisations, stemming from historical origins that characterize the organisation as a whole from the perspective of stakeholders (field level actors and internal stakeholders), rather than analysing the characteristics of particular disciplines and focusing on sub-*habitus*.

Additionally, adopting multiple case study approach, I interviewed academics, middle level and senior level administrative and academic managers, as well as examining the strategic plans of six universities situated in the Turkish, Canadian and UK contexts. Although I did my best to collect data and interview people holding similar positions in each university, this could not be achieved in all universities, due to time and budget limitations. While I was able to conduct interviews with enough participants holding senior level managerial roles in the Canadian and British universities, I only had the chance to interview a limited number of participants holding senior-level managerial positions in the Turkish universities. This was because of the highly bureaucratic culture embedded in the Turkish context, which hampers access to people in top managerial positions. Overall, one could argue that variations in the positions of participants from different institutions might result in differences in the framing and embodiment of institutional complexities, organisational *habitus* and responses, since positioning is one of the important elements shaping the experiences of these phenomena. Hence the majority of the interview data relied on views of participants in middle and senior level managerial positions, which helped me to gain in-depth insights into the 'framing of organisational *habitus*'. Future research could explore the embodiment of organisational *habitus* by presenting differences in the framing of this phenomenon and its embodiment within organisational members, which could generate insights into the conceptualization of *habitus*.

Moreover, some universities published their strategic plans and annual reports, so that I could track their yearly strategic plans concerning external and internal stakeholders in detail (e.g. number of professors recruited, budget allocations

for graduate studies, etc.) on their websites (e.g. UoA). However, I was unable to access in-depth information about the strategic initiatives of some universities, which did not make this information available online. In this case, my analysis was restricted in the discourse on the strategic initiatives of these universities. Availability of online strategic documents not only depends on the national context, but on the institutional orientation and current strategy of the universities. In particular, UoA publishes all of its strategic documents on its website, with the aim of responding to the demands of external funders with transparency and visibility, including community members as well as internal stakeholders in the face of financial crises.

In this doctoral study, my focus at a macro level was on the nature of institutional complexities deriving from newly emerging institutional logics in different national contexts. In so doing, I interrogated sources of institutional complexities, rather than the changing nature of institutional complexities that unfold over time. When the degree of particular institutional complexities experienced within an organisation increases, which might occur due to for example, dominance of newly adopted conflicting institutional logic in a given field, one might ask if organisational *habitus* could change over time, in relation to the exposure to particular institutional complexities. Processual longitudinal studies might help to observe patterns of organisational *habitus* over time.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Primary data collection procedure with time periods

Countries	Universities	Data inventory for the primary sources	Time period
Turkey	Istanbul University	26 interviews 1 focus group with 5 academics	March, 2014
	Middle Technical University East	8 interviews	May, 2016
		1 interview (skype meeting)	August, 2016
Canada	University Alberta of	20 interviews Meeting observations (roundtable discussions of President pertinent to reflections on budget cuts from provincial government)	November-December, 2013
		12 interviews Meeting observation	May, 2015
	MacEwan University	12 interviews	May, 2015
UK	University of Southampton	4 interviews	December 2013
		18 interviews	April 2014
	Manchester University	12 interviews (one of them is conducted over phone)	February, 2014
Total number of primary data		113 interviews, 2 meeting observations, 1 focus group	

Appendix 2 Initial interview schedule/guide

Section 1: Interpretation of the nature of institutional pressures:

1-**context** – (uncertainty and interconnectedness): How do you view the current changes in the field of higher education and its implications to the university? (which changes have you observed more recently?)

2-**content**-(consistency and constraint): Which challenges-pressures have university staff exposed to during this process?

---Probing question : -main reason of budget reductions

-funding for research – performance evaluation tools

-teaching and research responsibilities

-curriculum changes

-changes in the employment status (full time – part time)

3- **constituent**-(multiplicity and dependence) How do you view the main source of these changes/pressures?

----Probing question: are they stemming from government or other stakeholders such as businesses, NGOs. Could you please explain your relationship with these actors/institutions?

4- **cause** (legitimacy-efficiency) Why do feel these pressure? (because of legitimacy or efficiency concerns?)

----Probing question: how these pressures effect your daily routines? (For example, you have to publish more; you have found new ways of funding, etc.)

5-**institutional control** (voluntarily diffusion or regulative obligations): Should the university need to conform to these changes? Or, does the university are likely to employ any different option against these pressures?

Section 2: Organisational responses:

6-How to align with changing market/stakeholder needs and associated complexity to competing demands?

7-How do you view the reaction of the academic and non-academic staff (or university) towards these changes?

-----Probing question: Is there any active opposition against these changes?

-----Probing question: How do university reacts in showing opposition to these changes (e.g. creating platforms in order to discuss changes such as conferences, lobbying and demonstrations against these changes or using the social media)

Section 3: Organisational habitus: (Organisational culture, history, group dynamics)

8-How do you view about the distinctive characteristics of this university in responding changes?

9- How would you define organisational culture in this university?

-----Probing question: flexible working, colleagues listen and respect each other, are there opportunities to develop new skills,

-----Probing question: internally or externally oriented?

10-Could you please tell me some about your relationships with your colleagues and groups?

-----Probing question: formal and informal networks (do you find it difficult to communicate and work with colleagues?)

Appendix 3 Sample of the interview

INT Could we start with your role at this institution and your responsibilities?

RES Senior-level academic manager...

INT Can you tell me how do you view the current changes in the field and its implications to the university?

RES ... because you are changing the source of the capital, you are reducing the proportion of GDP which is public expenditure. I'm not saying that was the only driver; I mean of course there were other drivers so when one looks at -. And everything that I've just said for example also applies to prisons; it applies to probation services. So both on the revenue side and on the capital side, outsourcing either of a service or of the source of capital for a capital investment, has been a large part of all of this hasn't it?

INT Yes.

RES And then, I suppose then the part of the picture, which is more relevant to universities, is that part of the picture which is simply about what you might call 'performance management' both at the organisational level and at the individual level; so setting key performance indicators of one sort or another for an organisation.

And again, in the university sector, if you think of the performance indicators that have been applied by Government through higher education policy, many of them are actually very specific to the policy issues that surround higher education per se, rather than strictly focusing on efficiency in the narrow sense. So for example, amongst the biggest parameters that have been important policy agendas for Government in relation to higher education, have been the participation rates. So the Labour Government is saying "we want 40% or more; 50% of young people to be in university", well how does that relate to the new culture of public sector management? I mean tell me if you think it does, I'm just trying to be provocative in suggesting it doesn't. I suppose I'm doing that as an ex-researcher myself, and although my first degree was in physics, I spent all my 25 of my academic career in a business school, doing business school research, interviewing companies. And I suppose what I'm doing is just doing what interviewees always do, which is challenging the fundamental hypothesis on which your research is based.

Now you may well be able to defend that. But you started off by saying that you were looking at the effects of the new approaches to public sector management on universities and I'm saying "Well, was there one? Is that a valid question?" If you're starting point is to understand change, strategy and leadership in universities, right, then...

INT What would be the key question to ask to start?

RES Well I don't think that there would be one key question, because I think what you'd be saying is, what are the range of factors? What are the range of exogenous factors to do with the environment? And what are the range of endogenous factors to do with the internal evolution of the culture of universities and how do those two things interpenetrate, to produce specific changes. And are those changes patterned, and can you see similar changes in different organisations. And then, do those patterns differ within the obvious segmentations that exist within higher education as between the research intensives; the less research intensives but still pre 1992's and then the post 1992's, because those are the three most obvious segments in higher education in the UK. I am assuming this is all UK based or did you have an international comparison?

INT Yes, I conduct cross comparative study, comparing the recent changes within UK, Canadian and Turkish higher education fields.

RES I do think it's a slight distortion of the real situation to focus on that as a starting point.

INT Ok.

RES So you want to take as your starting point in time the 1990's, is that right, the early 1990's?

INT Yes.

RES Is that where you want to go to?

INT Yes please.

RES So why don't I just say what I think have been the big things that have mattered to universities since 1990? And without doubt the biggest thing that started to have an effect on the way you run universities from the 1990's onwards, was the research assessment exercise.

My first RAE that I remember being involved in, was the 1992 research assessment exercise. So we've been doing it for 22 years now; obviously REF is just a an evolutionary change from RAE, and I actually was the coordinator of the RAE of the 1996 RAE submission for the School of Management in UMIST, when I was in [UMIST]so I had direct experience.

So if you think back to what that meant; up until that point -. And I should preface this by saying I have been in [Manchester] nearly 40 years, I came here as a Master student in 1974 at the [Victoria] University, as it was then, of the University of [Manchester] premerger. I was a doctoral student until '77; I was a Post-Doc from '77 until '79 here; then in '79 I was appointed as a lecturer in [UMIST]in the School of Management and I was there for 25 years; became a professor in 1993. So gee wiz, I've been a professor for over 20 years now!

So the purpose of that, is to point out that when I was appointed in 1979, it was still the case that many people who were appointed to their first tenured permanent post in universities, certainly in some disciplines, might not have had yet any refereed publications at all. Certainly in the social sciences and particularly management which was expanding fast at that time, lots of people were getting jobs almost immediately after their PhD's; sometimes before they finished their PhD's and they might not yet have any publications. So you were bringing people into tenure track positions, and you were really taking a risk on whether they would genuinely develop capabilities as a researcher which would be consistant with the self-image of research intensive universities.

In the science disciplines it would have been a bit different. In the research intensive universities at that time it would already have been the norm, especially in the ones with the higher reputation, it would already have been the norm that you wouldn't appoint people directly to a lecturer post immediately following their PhD. They would have to do a couple of years post doc either in that institution or somewhere else, and so you would not be appointing people to lecturing posts, unless they had some time as a research associate or a research fellow and been involved getting grants and publishing before they came in. But even there it would be uneven across the disciplines; it would depend on the discipline a little bit.

Now clearly everything I'm saying there is only true for the research intensive in the post-world. I'm talking about 1979, so I'm talking before the post '92's became post '92's; they weren't even universities then. So universities like the University of West of England didn't exist. What is now [Manchester] Metropolitan University next door to us, would have been [Manchester] Polytechnic and people would not have been doing noticeably very much research at all. But now that is a university, but in 1979 it wasn't, nor was it in 1980, nor was it in 1990; it was only a university in 1992. But I'm sure you know all these things.

INT Yeah.

RES But the point is that prior to the RAE, of course lots of universities in the UK were world class, and had extremely good researchers. And if we apply the metrics that we are now familiar with, like publications in Nature or Science or publications in *Anthis Rev, or J Mole Biol or any other big science publication you could think of, of course

there were lots of researchers, whether they held a post as lecturer or a senior lecturer or a professor, who were producing serious research output.

The point I'm making is that was not something which universities could easily enforce and manage internally through internal line management structures. And if you like, try to achieve consistency of performance of that type across the entire academic workforce. So it was perfectly possible for people to really have rather mediocre or even zero research output, and apart from the fact that they wouldn't get promoted, and so they would spend their entire life as a lecturer in the lecturer grade, there were very few sanctions that universities had to make those people improve their performance. So you did have quite a few passengers on the ship. Now what did you do? And remember I'm talking about a time now in the 1980's when I myself was a lecturer. I think I was promoted to senior lecturer in about 1987, so I did have lots of research grants by that time and lots of publications, so I personally wasn't in that position of not doing very much. But there were colleagues around me, who didn't have a single publication, who were lecturers, who were clearly going to remain lecturers for the rest of their lives; or had some publications in third or fourth rate journals, and who were clearly never going to get promoted to professor. And so maybe the head of the school would try and give them a higher teaching load (or maybe they wouldn't). Maybe they would have discussions with them from time to time saying "Don't you think you ought to do a bit more you idle bastard?" But would it make any difference? Probably not.

I don't think that would have happened in quite the same way in Cambridge or in Oxford or in Imperial College, but it did happen a little bit there. I spent some of my career in Oxford before I came to [Manchester] and there were some very good people there, and there were some people who were not doing very much.

What did the RAE do? What the RAE did is it put the managers of the universities in a position where all of a sudden they realised that a proportion of the annual grant from - it wasn't called the Higher Education Funding Council then, it was called something else, it was still called the Universities Grant Committee in the 1970's but anyway, let's called it HFCE for the sake of argument. You suddenly realised that a proportion of your income from HFCE was now not just going to come to you based on how many staff you had, but it was going to be adjusted to reflect the measured research performance of those staff. So all of a sudden there was a serious financial penalty for the institution if its research performance was mediocre. So what that means that if you're the vice chancellor. (Obviously I wasn't the vice chancellor, I wasn't even a pro vice chancellor; I was a professor I suppose in the first year that RAE happened). So what I remember is the head of the school in that situation was under a clear instruction from the head of the institution to start maximising the way that the research portfolio of the staff in that school could be presented. So for the first time you had a situation where at least some people in the school, (not all of them) but many academic staff in the school would know which people had been returned in the RAE, and which people had not been returned at all, because they didn't have any publications. And then -whether you're aware of this I don't know - but in the first RAE and I think in the second as well, the focus was not simply on the outputs and the publications but on the individual. So actually it wasn't just the publications which were rated 4 star, 3 star, 2 star or 1 star, it was the people themselves, the individual academics. So after the 1992 RAE, you as a member of staff knew whether you were a 4 star or a 3 star or a 2 star person, and you knew therefore how much money the university got as a consequence of you being a - and how much money came down to the school.

Now I'm not saying that immediately fed through into a calculation by individuals of how much money they earned and whether they covered their salary or not, it wasn't quite that transparent, but at least people could think those ideas. So that's a very long way round of saying that I think that from the 1990's onwards, the first really big influence on behaviours was the RAE, and the fact that the research assessment exercise -

And then of course what the research assessment exercise did as well, apart from actually changing -. You know how it works? You know about HFCE funding being divided into HFCE T and HFCE QR and so what we're talking about is HFCE QR money.

But also of course, what it did, it led to the creation of a new kind of league table for universities. So league tables could be constructed on the basis of performance in the RAE; and those league tables were constructed essentially by journalists, if you go back to the Times Higher and so on. So you have tables by institution; you also have tables by subject, and of course those two things are loosely correlated but not perfectly correlated. And so what does that do? Well, it has a consequence for the academic staff labour market, because people who want to get jobs are thinking about the status of not just the institution but of the department that they apply to, and the institutions and departments are thinking about their own brand publically in a different way than they ever have before, because there is some new data out there.

So the effect of the RAE was a financial effect in terms of the amount of money you got, and a branding effect, a reputational effect, because you had some new data in the public domain. And of course the execution of the RAE depended in large part on academic staff themselves, because the panels. So people served on panels, read each other's work so that, if you like, intensified the connections. And of course all of those same people who were involved in the RAE, they're still doing what they always did anyway, which is they are also sitting on Research Council panels looking at grant applications, and they're receiving journal papers from journal editors and referring those papers. So all of those things are now interpenetrating with each other.

And then you had the 1996 RAE and then the 2001 RAE and the 2008 RAE and now we have the 2014 REF. And lots and lots of academics of my generation have actually participated in all of that, either as having their work submitted or being on panels...

INT Part of the management process.

RES ... part of the whole process or part of the management process. As I say, you know, I managed for one department the 1996 REF submission. The 2001 submission, I didn't directly run it, but I was certainly part of it, and then obviously by the time we got to the 2008 submission, I was a Vice President here in this University. I was appointed a Pro Vice Chancellor of [UMIST] in 2002; I was then part of the merger team which planned and executed the merger of the [Victoria] University and [UMIST] which culminated in 2004 in the creation of the enlarged University of [Manchester] and then was a Vice President from then on and then I was made Deputy Vice Chancellor in 2010. So I've been involved as an institutional manager for nearly 12 years now. So over that last 12 year period my involvement in the RAE has been simply as one of the senior management team of the institution.

So to complete the story, I think the research evaluation -. And as you will know, many, not all, but many of the higher education systems around the world, have actually gone down the same track. They have copied the RAE system. In fact there's been quite an industry of British academics going out and being members of panels. My wife has been on the equivalent of the RAE system for New Zealand for the last 10 years, going backwards and forwards helping them run the New Zealand system. So maybe I should pause there and see if there is anything you want to ask further about terms of research issues before we go on to other issues?

INT Can I intercept? The research is really for the broader part the agenda, which is great, but we're trying to move to understanding institutional cultures or the culture implications of all of this. But maybe before moving on to that level of organisational institutional changes, I would like to hear from you more about [Manchester] and how [Manchester] has taken this forward. As you said this research relation is part of it, but there are also changes in the funding regimes in terms of teaching; how we design those sorts of things etc. Would you like to cover those external changes as well?

RES Yes, well obviously - and you will know about this I am sure from just being academics in your own institution - but first of all we had the £1,000 fee, then we had the £3,000 fee and now we have the £9,000 fee. I think the introduction of the £1,000 fee didn't really make very much difference. The £3,000 fee started to make a difference. The £9,000 fee makes a very big difference, because all of a sudden, because

it coincides with the withdrawal of HFCE T funding from everything really except the clinical subjects and the more expensive laboratory subjects, means that when you are running an institution -. I mean our turnover is £830,000,000; our tuition fee income is getting on for half of that, it's about £354, 000,00. So whereas in the past, before the fee regime, fluctuations in student intake simply affected at the margin, the HFCE T grant. So if you remember how the system used to work, was that you had an allocated quota of students, (I'm talking about the under graduate market now, and the home undergraduate market), you had a planning number that you agreed with HFCE, and you only had a 5% margin either way. And if you went outside that 5% either up or down, you would be fined by HFCE, and you would have some money taken off you. And so then if you got within your tolerance bands of your planning number, then you would receive the income that you expected to receive from HFCE. And so for every non-laboratory student you got some many thousand pounds; and for every laboratory based student you got more money; for every clinical student you got more money. But as long as you hit those planning numbers, you knew roughly what your income was going to be, and that was pretty certain. And if you had not quite enough students in one subject, you could take in a few more students in another subject, so as long as you got the right number of students at the institutional level, then you were not going to pay a financial penalty.

And then your overseas students were on top of that and that was unregulated. Now because there's almost not quite nothing, but a very much smaller component is coming from HFCE, and because there isn't a single cap for the total number any more, as you know what we have now is completely unregulated. Last year it was unregulated AAB, now it's unregulated ABB market, and you have an SNC number for your kind of baseline, and the SNC will disappear altogether from next year, from 2015, so then it will have essentially an unregulated market.

And the vast majority of the income is directly coming from the student's fees which are for UK students, mostly paid by the Student Loan Company. So what that means is that there are much more real market volatilities affecting total institutional income from the student market. And in this University, we have the largest absolute number of overseas students in the country.

INT Oh I didn't know that.

RES We have nearly 10,000 overseas students. It's not the largest by proportion; it's about 25% as a proportion. There are some institutions which have a higher proportion, like for example, the LSE just to take on example, but that's a smaller institution in terms of income and absolute numbers, it's smaller. But just to put that in context therefore, out of the 38,500 students on the campus, about 25% of them are from outside the UK. But that represents much more than 25% of the tuition fee income, because obviously overseas students pay a higher fee. So our overseas income this year I think is about £140, 000,000 which is a lot, and we have trebled that since 2004. So that's been a major change in the business model for [Manchester].

Are you familiar with TRACK and the way that universities calculate the costs and income from different activities? You know that probably as an academic, you have to fill in from time to time a sheet which says how you divide your time between different activities?

INT I don't know the mechanics of the overall system.

RES Well you need to understand that, because if you look at the way a British university runs, you have income from various sources. And then the Government requires us to calculate how much time academic members of staff spend on teaching and on research and on administration. And so we do that by doing a sample survey of staff on a regular basis, in which they say how many hours a week they spend doing these things. And that then tells us how to divide the cost of academic staff time between teaching and research, which means that we can then work out what the costs are for the University of carrying out research in different disciplines, and what the costs are of doing teaching.

And then, through HFCE -. This is an absolutely major exercise because it is crucial, because it determines what universities can charge the Research Councils when they submit their grant applications.

INT All right.

RES Because it determines what the cost of a physic's academic is. So if you look at the aggregate data from all of that - and this is true broadly speaking across the whole sector but it is true to different extents in individual institutions. What you find is that what's called 'publically funded teaching', that is teaching of home and EU undergraduates, just about breaks even, doesn't make any money. So if you look at the income that we get from the student tuition fees, and the income that we get from HFCE, and then you subtract from that the cost of all of the buildings, and the electricity, and that part of the academic salary bill which you attribute to teaching, (which is a slightly false accounting concept but we have no option but to do that because that's what we are required to do), you've then got an income and you've got a cost. So it's bit like a line of business. It's a bit like a business division; you could regard it as a product line. So we're engaged in a kind of crude form of product costing here, or product profitability analysis.

What you find is that publically funded teaching as a business does not make a profit. Some years it makes a small loss, some years it makes a small profit. In some institutions it makes a slightly larger loss, in other institutions it makes a slightly smaller loss. That data is not all public, it was never completely public anyway, but now it would be illegal for it to be public, because the Office of Fair Trading would say that that would be anti-competitive behaviour to share that data. And then when you look at research, publically funded research, ie research funded by the research councils, as I'm sure you know, (because I'm sure you got a grant to do this research so you probably had to apply for it), you know that there's this thing called 'full economic costing'?

The basis for 'full economic costing' is precisely this TRACK exercise that I'm talking about, that's where that data comes from.

INT I get you.

RES But research councils only give you 80% of the full economic costing. So you are only allowed -. So you have this crazy situation where -. Where did this 'full economic costing' come from? Do you know the history of 'full economic costing'? The history of 'full economic costing', it's very interesting. It goes back to the 1990's when for years and years and years Governments had been cutting the funding to universities. They'd been expanding universities, but reducing the amount of money per student, if you like, and the way that you applied for research grants, there were no real rules. There were some rules about overheads, but they were kind of finger in the air rules, you added 40% and that's what you did for overheads. (I'm talking about the 1990's) and there'd been very very severe cuts in the 1980's and so university funding had declined dramatically.

And so then what happened was, the big private sector companies, particularly pharmaceutical companies in the UK, encouraged by the universities, went to Government and said "Look, you're destroying universities; the universities are not capable of doing world class research, which is useful to us as pharmaceutical companies, so we're going to leave, unless you do something about it; we're going to leave the UK". And this was - the names of the companies have now changed but these were the forerunners of AZ and GSK and Pfizer - but it wasn't just them, it was Rolls Royce, it was GEC, it was Siemens and they were all saying to Government "Look, you've cut the funding to universities so much, that they're not doing good research and in particular, they've no longer got adequate research equipment, so they cannot do the research we want them to do because they haven't got the equipment. So you're going to have to give them more money so they can buy up to date equipment, otherwise we're out of here." So Government became really scared by this. So there were several different consequences of that, and some new money came through HFCE for capital funding. But one of the things that came out of it, was that there was an examination of the way that research councils funded research grants, and as part of that, there was

a recognition that research had to be conducted on a sustainable basis. So if you were going to do research, then you had to recover the full economic costs of doing that research. Prior to that, what universities were doing essentially when they put in research applications was they were only putting the marginal cost not the full cost.

So if you're familiar with the concept of 'over trading' in economics; if you only charge the marginal cost of a product, then actually the more you sell, the more likely you are to become bankrupt, because you're only charging marginal costs and you're not recovering any of your fixed costs; and so what's happening is that you're essentially trading yourself into the grave. That's what was happening.

So in terms of the research economy of British universities in the 1990's, we were in danger of destroying ourselves by carrying out research at very much less than full economic costing, and yet we were all falling over ourselves to get research. Why? Because of the RAE! So we put in place a system which incentivised research performance, which meant that academics were going out and looking for more research income. Actually the research councils did have rather more money; the funding was beginning to increase in research councils. But the way the research grants themselves were allocated, were still closer to marginal costs than full costs. Ok?

INT Ok.

RES So TRACK came into existence, and so we had a way for institutions to calculate an overhead rate that they could charge that Government would accept was a rational based overhead rates. So overheads increased from 40% to 50%. And so if you calculated what the real cost of research is, if you start with your variable costs, you know the cost of your research assistant and the cost of your consumables and the cost of the bit of travel; previously we have only been adding 40% of that for overheads; actually you need to add 100%; that's nearer to what full economic costing would be.

What the Government said was "Ok, well we sort of believe you, but we don't completely believe you, so we will give you 80%." So publically funded research, you get 80% but then when you look at the rest of research, charities don't get any overheads at all because they say "Well, it's charitable money, we want you to do the research but we think that the Government should meet the underlying fixed costs." So when we do research for Cancer Research UK, we only get variable costs, we don't get the overheads.

Now the Government again started to recognise that; so the Government said "Ok, if you get a lot of charity funded research, you could put that into a special formula and we'll increase your QR".

INT All right, ok.

RES So there's a charitable component that goes back into QR. I'm telling you all of this because these have been the realities of institutional management for the last 15/20 years, and they're all complicated rules which are set by Government through HEFCE very much influenced by Treasury. Nothing that happens in this space happens just as a result of HEFCE making its policy judgements. In the British Government setting, Treasury is kind of one level above every other ministry, and you can't do anything unless Treasury agrees. So Treasury is crucial is all of this.

So to go back to the way the system works then, if you look at publically funded research, we actually make a loss; so we still make a loss, even 80% FEC. Now in theory, we ought to make a profit on privately funded research, research funded by business and sometimes we do but sometimes we don't!

INT It also depends on the discipline doesn't it?

RES It depends on the discipline, but it depends on the rigour which you cost the project. It depends on the negotiating skills of the university versus the negotiating skills of the private businesses. And it depends on the fact that actually the universities feel that unless they price competitively, companies will go elsewhere, so actually we make a loss on privately funded research at the moment; at least many institutions do.

So that means that if you didn't have any overseas students, you would be instantly bankrupt. So we have a situation where we have a higher education sector in the UK, which has 2 core businesses: teaching home and EU students and doing publicly funded research and the regulator, i.e the Government, the regulator and the funder, rig the market in such a way that we necessarily lose money on those 2 core businesses. So if we did not have overseas students, then the business model would not be sustainable for a research intensive university.

Now having said that, of course we break even on publicly funded teaching; we lose on research; but we make about a 55% margin on overseas students; so that is a pretty important stabilising factor in the business model. Meanwhile of course the Government, what it understands – well some parts of Government understand and support this, we have at the moment in the current political environment and the problem that we've had for the last 2 or 3 years and the biggest difficulty that universities have with Government, is that the current British Government has decided that it wants to reduce net immigration, and overseas students are counted (in my view wrongly) as part of net immigration. So it has done a number of things to the visa policy of the Country which make it now more difficult for us to get overseas students to come from some countries.

INT Exactly.

RES So as you probably know, if you get a visa to come as a student, it used to be the case that you could remain in the UK and work for two years on that visa, but you can't do that anymore. You can remain in the UK and work, if you get a job. Your employer then gets a visa for you as your employer. But if you're sitting as an 18 year old in India and your parents can afford to send you to university to do a degree outside India (which they would certainly want to do because there aren't any decent Indian universities really to speak of) and the average vacancy rate for faculty positions in Indian universities is 30%. So 30% of all teaching posts in all Indian universities are empty, so why would you go to an Indian university if you could afford to go university at all?

If you're sitting in India and you want to go, why would you go to Britain if you could go to Australia or Canada and actually have a much more reasonable chance of staying there afterwards? And that's hurting us tremendously in terms of the market. So I've long ago realised that you should not expect consistency or rationality from Governments in terms of the policies that come from different departments and the way they impose on universities.

So anyway, we've talked about the funding regime and I've said that essentially we're in a position where market volatility is now much more closely connected. And by market volatility I mean the total market and the competitive relationships between different institutions. So for example at the moment, Birmingham University is saying to its applicants "If you firmly accept our application, we will just drop our grade offer to a minimum of 3 E's". In other words, they are wanting to grab and lock up a chunk of their intake. Now actually the people who teach in the schools are really furious about that, because they think that sixth formers are going to reduce their work effort in the final year of the sixth form and maybe get lower grades. And of course the schools as a result of the new public sector management policies, are measured by what? By the proportion of students who get high grade at A levels!

INT Yeah.

RES Now we're not going to do that. We don't think that's right. So if you want to do physics in [Manchester], you have to get 2 A* and an A. It's harder to do physics here than it is in Cambridge; that's because of the [Brian Cox] effect and the [Andrea Guy] *45.04 effect. We could take twice the number of physics students that we currently take, and they would all have A* and an A; we don't take them because we don't have enough room. We're not going to say to them "We'll drop your grades if you firmly accept us" because we don't need to! And we won't let them in unless they get 2 A* and an A. So that's the competitive position we can happily exploit.

But we have to think like that now. And what I've just said for physics might not be true in the same way for another subject.

And then the final bit of that jigsaw apart from funding regime, what am I doing next, is the NSS. From now on, not just the NSS but the KIS, the Key Information Set Data. So NSS scores, you are familiar with those, you will have been told about them in your own department I am sure by [Jeremy] and they're are important. And they don't just drive some aspects of decision making by applications, they drive league tables.

So if you look at British league tables in the newspapers - the Guardian, the Times and so on - the algorithm that drives those league tables, the biggest single parameter is the NSS School. So we have had to invest a lot (and I mean a lot) of time and money in improving our NSS schools, because we were at the bottom of the Russell group, and we didn't want to remain in that position. So we're improving; we're not at the bottom of the Russell group anymore, but we're in the bottom quarter of the Russell group on NSS.

Having said that our brand is still very strong and we still have more applications to the University of [Manchester] than to any other university in the country - more than 50,000 applicants a year to University - and that is because our brand is very strong in research terms, although students don't fully understand it, they are somehow aware of brand as a relatively autonomous parameter from NSS school. And there is also other factors such as the fact that [Manchester] as a city for students to come to, is a very attractive to come to as a student. Just to make the point in a way that you will perfectly understand, [Southampton] is not so as attractive as a city to go to.

INT No I agree; we were discussing this yesterday, yeah.

RES But we still have to pay attention to the NSS. And then the Key Information Set which is on the UCAS website this year for the first time; so now someone applying to come to university now through UCAS, when they go on the UCAS webpage, they actually see for university X, they don't just all the standard curriculum information, they see other stuff which is about contact hours, and tutorials and all that stuff as well.

So what you've got is a situation where decision making by students about which universities to go to, has started to resemble more consumer choice context with lots and lots of different product parameters which are out there in public view. And in institutions there is also a price calculation. For Russell group institutions there isn't a price calculation, because everybody's at the *49.28.

But of course the Government fully expected that there would be much more price differentiation. They completely miscalculated on that, because all universities just went straight to 9k apart from 1 or 2; there were 1 or 2 - Salford for example charges 8.5k.

INT Ok.

RES And then there are some other price calculations; there is the bursary position; and there are the offer agreements. We haven't spoken about that, but you are familiar with the offer agreements, that we are required to a certain proportion of the extra income, (which is a joke,) from the £9,000 fee; we have to spend that on, on supporting students from low income backgrounds, which we do. In this University I think we are either the highest or the second highest in the Russell group in terms of supporting students from low income backgrounds. So 25% of our home undergraduate students come from families with a family income of less than £25,000 a year. So just think about that for a moment, less than £25,000 household income; 25% of our students come from those backgrounds. So they all receive some degree of financial help from the University, through our bursary scheme, and increasingly actually through income we get from philanthropy. So we're now raising about £10,000,000 a year from philanthropic donations, and a significant part of that is from donors who wish that donation to be used to support students, rather than to support research or other activities. Alumni in particular, are very keen to support students so we are investing. We now have 40 people in our Alumni relations, and we are increasing that significantly. Some universities in the UK have many more than that.

But in the US typically, the Department of Advancement as they would call it there would deal with external engagement, Alumni for a university of this size, your Department of Advancement might have 300 staff just focused entirely on external engagement and income raising, philanthropic income raising.

And that's increasingly important in the US because for the state universities in the US as opposed to the private universities, you're seeing the same thing. The amount of money for example California, gives to the California State Universities has dropped by almost a factor of 3 in the last decade. California now spends more money on prisons than it does on universities! I don't know what that says about America.

Of course in that context, you've got the private institutions which are extremely wealthy. You know Stanford has endowments of what is it? You know, 15 billion or something, and it's a tiny institution. CALTECH similarly. But you know, if you're in UCLA or UCSD, your state income is falling dramatically, so now it's much more expensive to go to university in the States than it used to be in the States.

The way it works in the US, I don't know if you know this, but if you want to go to a university in California but you live in Arizona, you pay an out of state fee, which is much higher than the fee that is paid by a student in California, but in a sense they've got 'foreign' students inside America.

INT I'd just like to go back to one particular comment, in terms of all these changes in the external environment that you are operating in. Just that you've got to think like that; you've explained the business model to us and it's very crucial. We are researchers and do we all think like that?

RES No.

INT How is the cultures or the behaviour of the academics...?

RES My view varies. I don't want all of my academic staff to spend all their time thinking about these things, because although I, and the senior team, and also heads of departments, and some of their senior teams, do have to think like this (or at least they have to think some of these things) because we have to be business like; we are not a business, we are still a university. And so we're not making a profit; we don't have shareholders; we do have to make a surplus; because one of the things you may or may not be aware of, is that when the new funding regime came in for students, they didn't just change the HEFCE money for students, they changed the capital allocation process. They're actually going to reintroduce some of that next year, they've just announced that.

We used to get - a university this size used to get £30/40,000,000 a year automatically for capital, and you would spend that on refurbishing buildings, maintaining buildings, putting up new buildings. We've got 300 buildings in this university, we have to manage that estate and the insurance value of those buildings is £2 billion. So you've got a large property estate, which you have to continually invest in. So just to keep it up to scratch, you're talking about £30 or £40,000,000 a year just to maintain the estate. That was taken away when the new funding regime was put in place. So the Government said "We're cutting the teaching funding, but you're getting all that through the student fees, through the Student Loan Company". Well it wasn't quite like that because they took away the capital, so straight away we had to revise what we'd set as a surplus target for the university institutionally, because we now have to find capital from revenue. So unless we have about a 7% or 8% surplus each year between income and expenditure, we can't maintain a proper capital programme.

So what that means is that we have to be business like; we have to think in that way. If you go back 30 years, universities used to just get given a chunk of money; somebody would come with a big lorry once a year, tip up the back and all this money would come out of it, and you would sit there and you would say "Well we can afford to do this, this and this" and there were only about 3 people who had to worry about that. I'm joking a bit but that was what it was like in the '60's and '70's; the universities although they

were autonomous, in terms of the funding process, they were essentially extensions of the state.

Of course in many countries, especially in Europe, that is still the case and universities are literally extensions of the Department of Education. I think that's absolutely abominable, I think universities should be independent, and actually what you find is to the extent that universities are an extension of the state, it usually correlates rather well with the absence of democracy in that state, and Turkey would be a case in point. And the reform of the Turkish educational system reflects exactly that kind of debate at the present time; and I've had leaders of Turkish universities coming over here talking to me about it.

But you would see the same to a lesser extent. The quality of a higher educational system is inversely proportional to the degree of control of the state, and British universities have always been extremely fortunate to be completely autonomous, in terms of their internal governance. The Government cannot tell the university how to organise its affairs; the only way it can control it, is by setting these other system properties in the regulatory environment, and changing some of the characteristics of the markets we operate in, but it doesn't directly tell us how to operate. We have a Royal Charter given to us by the Queen; I was there when she gave it to me and it's a different kind of model.

INT Could we argue just that, with all these changes in the understanding, thinking towards business like thinking etc and of course there's the senior management, leaders of the universities your colleagues have to kind of like put in some frameworks, some measures in order to run these places. But does it not have a detrimental impact on the way in which academics do research and teach?

RES Well that's what I was going to come on to. So I said earlier that my view of how you run a university is that for as much as possible you try to insulate a large part of your academic work for having to worry about those things.

INT Ok.

RES If I just hired in the best professor of Victorian English Literature in the world, and stolen them from Harvard to come to work in [Manchester]. And what I want them to do is to publish, at some point in the next 7 or 8 years, the definitive academic analysis of the Victorian novel, I don't want them to be thinking about all this other crap when they're doing it.

If I've just hired in the person who we stole from Edinburgh, who is probably the best person in the world at developing what I call molecular motors (this guy's a chemist and he can create molecules which function like motors inside nano scale systems). When we hired him, he brought, I think, 8 people with him and his lab cost us £7,000,000 to fit out. I don't want him to be thinking about the difficulties of how you manage the University. I want him to be thinking about chemistry and nothing else. I want him to be thinking about getting grants, and so when he writes grant applications, he's got to be savvy; he's got to know what buttons to press to get money out of EPSRC or to get money out of big companies; and of course that means that he's got to have a narrative around his research which connects it with real world problems and grand challenges and impact and stuff like that. But if he's good, (which he is) and if he's telling the right narrative to the right industrial partners, then actually they will not be pushing him and he won't be being pushed down excessively short term or applied directions in terms of how he does his research.

When we work with Rolls Royce or with GSK, they're not asking us to do applied research, they're asking us to do basic fundamental research. Why? Because they don't want to pay for that themselves. They know there's a division of labour in society between universities and companies which exists. They understand that sometimes better than Government do, the argument about market failure in relation to basic science. You are familiar with that argument? The whole part about having research funded through the public purse, is that you are familiar with this argument, you know, science cannot be

patented; technology can, but science cannot be patented, therefore you can't easily capture private returns to investment in science.

So because it's not easy to capture private returns to science, then there is what economists call 'market failure' in relation to science. So the argument for state funding of science is precisely a market failure argument. So the reason we have universities at all, is not just to teach undergraduates, it's to do basic research which otherwise would not get done at all, because there would not be a private incentive in the market to do it.

Now actually that's a simplification of the argument, and throughout most of the 20th century, many large private companies actually, although they understood the market failure argument, they still invested in basic science themselves to a degree. Bell Labs being the classic example in the whole history of science; after all it was in Bell Labs not in a university that the transistor was discovered, 1947...in Bell Labs. But they did that because they knew, that in order to suck basic research out of universities, they needed themselves to be competent researchers to understand what was interesting and what was not interesting. So if you're running Rolls Royce or if you're running BAE Systems or if you're running Samsung, of course 90% or 95% of your research and development dollars are being spent on technologies which are going to lead directly to products or processes and lead directly to commercial returns. But 5% or 10% of your R & D you'll spend on basic science, and the people doing that science will be precisely the people who'll come and talk to [Andrea Guy] or here in our physics department to try and understand graphene and to work with him on graphene, because they know if they simply wait for somebody else to sort all that out, then they won't be able to understand enough about graphene to turn it into applied applications. So at the margin, there is not complete market failure in relation to science, but there is substantial market failure.

So how does that relate to the question of an academic culture? It relates to the question of an academic culture, because universities would cease to have utility to society if we did not do basic research, and sooner or later the penny would drop. So leaving aside the moral argument, which I would want to subscribe to, because it's a hallmark of – its the defining feature of modernism as a phase in the history of the human species, that we conduct research, and we carry out research, on the basis of just simply curiosity driven research, and that we do that without any connection at all to ideology, tribalism or religion; that's the essence of modernism. If you take away that, you take away civilisation. That's why universities absolutely have to be secular institutions, with no religious affiliation. That's an argument that we fought long and hard for, in the places where universities were created, in Western Europe and in the US. It's the biggest single point of conflict we have with some university systems in some other parts of the world, where there is still an interconnection between ideology and religion on the one hand, and university education on the other. To me these things cannot be mixed, because the essence of understanding the world is the scientific method, and the scientific method has no place in it for anything which is a cultural artefact, which is what I consider religion to be.

So I would morally defend the rights of universities to carry out basic science. But fortunately, that is not the only argument that we need to mobilise, because there is essentially a utilitarian and an economic argument which says there is market failure in relation to science, and so therefore we need universities to do science and to do basic research. And by science I mean everything including the humanities. So basically I mean anything that creates knowledge, because that knowledge will not be created in sufficient volumes if we only rely on the commercial imperative.

And fortunately, the world of commerce understands that, and the world of commerce understands that it is perfectly sensible, and it is positive for the conduct of business, for taxes to be taken from both businesses and private individuals and recycled through into universities, in order that the universities create knowledge that otherwise would never be created. And then that knowledge then becomes part of the broad common property; it becomes the intellectual commerce, if you like, which has got multiple spill over benefits, (again to use another economic concept).

So that is the essence of what a university is; it exists to create knowledge. If we do things to the way we manage universities, which will damage the way universities create knowledge, then we are making a very, very bad mistake. So that's why I say that I want to run the university like a business in the sense that I want it to be business-like, but it's not a business in the sense that I expect every member of staff to completely internalise and only observe some sort of commercial objective. If we were Tesco's, then everybody in every part of Tesco would completely understand that everything they do ultimately only has benefit if it drives Tesco's bottom line, and feeds through to shareholders, because that is the *raison d'être* of Tesco.

INT Yeah.

RES But you cannot transplant that into a university. However it is still the case that the University of [Manchester] has to make a surplus just like Tesco's does; it is still the case that it makes absolutely no sense to have for example, inefficient energy systems, or inefficient IT systems, and it makes no sense at all to have people who teach badly, and it makes no sense at all to have people who are paid to do research but who don't do research. So that takes us back to the RAE and so it makes absolute sense to have a performance management culture and not to have people who simply take the salary and don't contribute.

Therefore to go back to where we started with the RAE, what I think we have seen is the biggest single change in the culture of universities over the past 20 years, is that until let's say, the 1970's, the market failure in science argument was understood; it was understood that we needed to teach undergraduates in order to produce a skilled workforce. So money was taken from state and given from taxes from the state and given to universities, but there was no real attempt to monitor the level of performance that universities generated, either in teaching or in research. And so therefore there was only a very loose coupling between the money that went in, and the outputs that came out. So if anyone asks you a question about productivity or quality or value for money from universities, it would have been very, very hard to give a sensible answer to that question that would have been...

You could argue. If you took a really purist academic argument, you could say "Well yes we should have just left it like that, and we should have just tolerated the fact that some people did a very good job and some people did a very bad job, and we could have taken the view that that is the price you pay for having universities. If you want universities and you want academic freedom, and you tolerate the unpredictability of what people will or will not produce, then you accept a low level of efficiency in return for a high quality of output, but higher predictability of output." And that's an argument that some people would still make about why it was better to have universities like they were in the '60's or '70's.

But unfortunately, if you're a taxpayer or a parent, or somebody in Government who thinks that yeah it would actually be quite good if we had better hydrologists so we didn't have flooding in Somerset, the actually -. And if you're paying the tax dollars into the system in a democratic society, I think you've got a reasonable case for saying "We think universities ought to be able to demonstrate their efficiency." I don't see any problem with that; and I think universities were getting a free ride in the '60's and '70's, and there were lots of staff who weren't doing enough work, and there were lots of students who were rather badly taught, and so universities were not being held to account; not simply by Government, but by the public.

When I went to university as an undergraduate in 1969, only about 8% or 9% of 18 year olds were going to university. And so the whole thing was a much lower cost in society; there were far fewer universities; it was a much smaller proportion of state expenditure; it was the elite that went to university; staff/student ratios were much more favourable; it wasn't a mass system; and although there were lots of things wrong with the way that we were educated, we did get a pretty good education.

Then what happened was, right through the '70's and the '80's and the '90's we expanded it, so that now nearly half the population. So first of all you've got a much more expensive system, and you're allocating a much larger amount of money to the university sector. But the amount of money that was allocated did not increase as fast as the number of people went to university, so the quality fell, so people started to complain (quite rightly) about class sizes and about teaching. So then you had the... who story that I told you before about research assessment exercise, the NSS.

From 1995/6 onwards, funding for universities started to increase again, particularly during the 10 years of the Labour Government, it increased dramatically. But along with that, came a culture of increased accountability. Now you could see that as something to do with the tightening of accountability in society as a whole, and pressure on public expenditure, but there is an alternative way of thinking about it historically, which is that the university sector grew, and the public as a whole became much more aware of the fact that they had a good argument in the context of a modern western democracy to demand a higher level of transparency and accountability about how universities operate. And that's not to do with any kind of specific 1990's economic fads.

Those are not mutually exclusive arguments are they? You could maintain both of those; you could say both of those...and that's the nature of history. History is always multifactorial, and so you're always talking around lots of different things reinforcing each other, or pulling in different directions...I would expect the Director of Research, the Director of Undergraduate Programmes and each Programme Manager to have a kind of mind-set which was nearer to the kind of mind-set that I've been describing about the way I'm involved in running the university. Because they are actually middle managers with budget responsibilities, with product quality responsibilities, with long term strategy responsibilities about the future product mix of their School; they've got to monitor markets, understand market forces in relation to their discipline; they've got to hire people; they've got to understand trends in research funding environments; they've got to mentor staff and tell staff how to manage their own personal careers in ways that contribute to not to just their personal success, but to the School. But if you were a lecturer, then I wouldn't be wanting to burden you with that stuff. Or if you were a rank and file professor, and 40% of our academic staff are now professors I think, (something like that). So there are lots of rank and file professors who don't have any management responsibilities, except if they're in the sciences, they'll have a group. If they're a PI for a lab with 5 or 6 other permanent staff of 10 post docs and 15 PhD students, then you know they're running a small business. But it's their personal research business in a way.

INT That's right.

RES So that's the management responsibility they've got there, but they're not thinking about the strategy for the School of Chemistry or the strategy for the School of Physics. So I want them to think about what they're doing in their own area. But there is a middle layer.

So I guess in a university with 10,000 staff, which is what we've got, of whom about 5,000 are academic or research staff, there's probably only 200 or 300 people who you would be expecting to walk around on a daily basis with these kinds of financial and strategic concerns in their head.

INT This is leadership challenges though doesn't it, you've already touched on some of them?

RES Yeah.

INT But for you it's the current leaders, but also developing future of leaders...

RES ... Absolutely.

INT .. who are coming from all of these ranks that you're mentioning.

RES I mean obviously I've been through that process myself. You know, I became a professor; then I became the head of a large research centre; and I had a 10 year ERSC

research centre grant to run; and then I got management responsibilities. I was never actually a head of department, I went straight to being a pro vice chancellor. And I think it will always be the case that it's only a subset of academics who develop an appetite for and an interest in going beyond the management of their own endeavour, or the management of a particular teaching activity, and go beyond that to genuine institutional management.

It used to be the case for example -. I think there has been the beginnings of a professionalising of that activity. So for example, if you go back to the 1970's or the '80s, even the 1990's, and you look at the process by which people became head of department, we used to call it - there's a phrase in English, I don't know whether you're familiar with it, called 'buggins turn'... So what it basically means if you've got a medium size department - ...So if you think of an academic unit like that, and you go back to the 1970's or '80's, a department like that, the question would come up about every 3 years "Well who is going to be head of department?" And the professors would go into a huddle, and there might be a bit of a discussion in the academic board, and somebody would say "Well, I did it 3 years ago, I'm not going to do it again." And somebody else says "Well, I'm too new as a professor, I'm not going to do it." So that would whittle it down to about 6 possible candidates. And then people would start to say "Well, we don't want it to be him or her" so a whispering campaign would start about some people, and you would get down to about 3 candidates, and then the vice chancellor would call them in one by one and decide which one he liked.

INT it's just so spot on.

RES And so then eventually somebody would be appointed. And then once they've done it, they've done their turn, so then it's somebody else's turn. And so you go through, and people do it for 3 years and then they step down. And they don't do anything really radical, because they know in three years' time they're not going to be the head of department any more, they're going to be back as a professor, and if they've done something really radical and upset people, the next head of department's going to do it to them! Ok?

INT Ok.

RES So really the head of department; yes of course they've got a serious job to do, of course they're responsible for the budget; they chair the leadership team; they talk to the vice chancellor or the dean or whatever; but unless they happen to be the kind of people who genuinely are enthused by thinking about strategy and change, they'll be a bit cautious about doing too much.

Whereas if you appoint the head of school for 5 years and maybe make it even longer...And we don't let people be heads of school in this University now unless they've done a training programme called Head Start, which involves them actually spending a whole year going on a regular basis going to structured sessions in which they learn from other people who have been heads of school. We have external people coming in, and we give them extra pay for being head of school.

And within the 4 faculties we have lots of associate deans who support the dean. So there's a kind of a structure; so if you become a head of school, it doesn't mean you're necessarily going down a management track forever, but it certainly is an option then, that one of things that you might be doing is saying "Well actually I'm 48" (or whatever it is), "I'm going to be head of school until I'm 53 and then I might be associate dean, and then I might be able to apply for a dean's job somewhere else, or I might become a pro vice chancellor, and then I might become a vice chancellor." You have to think.

So there's a professionalization process beginning to be instituted. Because of all these other things we have spoken about and the way universities have changed, there is I suppose, a slightly more carefully structured and serious layer of academic middle management in universities now, than there was 20 or 25 years ago, because there is more management work to be done. So that means that it's possible for people to actually set, if they choose, a career trajectory for themselves, which is a management career trajectory. And not many people would do that, I mean [XX] has done it. And if I

think of my colleagues around me in the senior management team, one of our associate deans for teaching and learning just announced yesterday that he's going to the University of Kent as a pro vice chancellor.... So I think that, to go back to the reason for discussing this, we were discussing it on the basis that the academic workforce is predominantly people who you are hoping will -. That the only bits of the kind of accountability framework that you really want them to worry about, are the quality of their research and the quality of their teaching. You don't want them to worry about the fine detail of the budget or things like that, but you do want your heads of school and your director of research and your director of undergraduate programmes at school level and those sorts of people, you do want those.

So we hold regular briefing sessions in which the senior team brings in all of the heads of school and all of the associate deans and all of the heads of the major divisions within the support staff - the head of the research office, the head of the teaching and learning support structures and so on, the head of comms and the head of Alumni - and brief them; and what do we brief them about? Precisely about all of these issues that are going on to do with the strategy of the university and its relationship to the external environment, because we want them to know what it is that we're grappling with as a senior team. We want them to know why we are making decisions that we are making, like for example, closing a particular school and integrating it with another school or we're the only university apart from Cambridge to do this; we've just been into the public bond market and raised a £300,000,000 bond; a 40 year bond with a coupon of 4.25% which means we've got £300,000,000 in the bank, as part of the platform on which to funds the next phase of the estates master plan for the campus.

Now you know that's serious business, you can't do that -. I mean issuing a bond -. I don't know whether you know whether you're a finance person? Issuing bonds and that's what companies usually do; it's a regulated process, you have to go to Moody's and get a credit rating, we have to disclose not just in just the UK but in the US on the financial markets, all circumstances might materially affect our ability to repay our creditors in the bond, and it's a tradable instrument. But it's all gone very well, but our finance director is someone who has worked in a FTSE 100 company, and he's a proper finance director. Our general council was previously the general council for AstraZeneca; so we have the internal financial and legal expertise to do something like that.

Now you know 20 years ago you would never have found that. 20 years ago you didn't have a finance director, you had a bursar, and a bursar was just an administrator who made sure the numbers added up. Whereas when you're doing what we're doing; we're the biggest business in [Manchester]. We're bigger than [Manchester] Airport, [Manchester] United and [Manchester] City added together and we have a £2.5 billion impact on the city. So in terms of the GBA, the economic consequences of the organisation so we can't be anything other than business like but we're still a university.

INT Do you get resistance from your people and how do you manage the tension?

RES You do. But I'd have to say that I think it's -. If you were to ask most people in the university what irritates them, what do they wish the management would do differently? It wouldn't be about any of these things that we've just been discussing; it wouldn't be about the fact that we're on their back all the time about NSS or on their back all the time about research, because they kind of get that. They might moan about it, but they don't think it's wrong. How could you be an academic and not think that you should teach properly? How could you be an academic and not think you should generate knowledge? It's kind of shaming not to agree with that. So if you were to ask people in the university what do they get irritated by, actually strangely enough, it would be about business processes not working smoothly enough. So they would complain that when they do get a research grant, it gets too long to work through finance and HR to get their post doc appointed, or they would say "Well I want to update my personal web pages on the school website so that I can have a better public profile, and the website doesn't work or we don't have enough people to help me do it". Or they would complain that the timetabling system doesn't work properly, or something like that. In

other words, what they'd be complaining about would be precisely those aspects of the university which are just like a business.

INT Okay for example students becoming demanding and changing direction between syllabuses and lectures?

RES It's difficult to disentangle cause and effect there. I understand exactly where you're coming from with that question because clearly there's a big narrative out there in society at large, about our students becoming more like consumers, because they perceive themselves as paying £9,000.

Of course for the most part they are not paying £9,000, they're not paying anything. What they are doing is they are paying back when they earn more than £21,000, when they are in employment, and most of them are savvy enough to understand that actually.

But I think in this institution, because we some years ago we had a low NSS, we made a big - well I suppose you could -. I don't like the term, I think it's a very over used term, but we did make a bit of a culture change. I mean to me, culture change is sloppy thinking, and I speak as a social scientist, because actually there is no such thing as a culture without processes. And actually you can nearly always reduce culture to processes.

In the 1970's lots of people said that the Japanese motor car companies would never be able to make their management tools work in Europe because it all depended on Japanese culture. Well that's just been proven to be wrong, because what's happened is that the procedures for running Japanese car factories have just been broken down into exactly that, procedures. And you can teach procedures to anybody whatever their bloody culture is. And so if you go to a Nissan factory in the North East of England, it's actually one of the most productive ones and it uses Japanese techniques, but they're not Japanese workers.

So I think culture change is a bad term, because I think actually it is about processes. But what we did was a sort of a culture change, in a sense that we had a blitz of improving the processes through which staff engage with students. So we insisted that pieces of work had to be marked within a certain period of time; we insisted that staff had to have certain periods of time when they were in their office and that was known to students and students could go and make appointments and see staff at certain periods of time; we insisted that lecture notes were on the website within a certain period of time. So basically you take all those things, which are important to students, which they perceive as being central to the quality of their education, and you turn those things into processes, and you make staff compliant with those processes.

Now one of the things that we then did as part of that, was that we insisted that there be a much more intense dialogue between staff and students. And so in most schools now, there are absolutely regular as clockwork meetings, sometimes weekly meetings, between cohorts of students and people who are responsible for the programme, in which the students raise whatever issues they want to raise and then the staff undertake to go away and try and solve those issues.

Now they don't agree with all of them, and some things they can't solve, and they explain why. And sometimes they explain why it's the wrong thing for the students to be asking that, and why they should think differently about it. But the point is, the dialogue takes place. And then also, the staff feedback what they are able to change, and what they're not able to change and why. And [XX] the president and I, we go round schools on a regular basis, and we meet students in confidence without staff present. I've done it this week in dentistry and in mathematics just this week. And we sit there and the students come in; we had 40 students from dentistry in a room where there's just me and [XX]. And we said "Look, we're not going to take any of your names, you can say what you want" and [XX] says "I'm the president of the university, I can't guarantee to change everything, but I want to know what it is like being a dental student at the University of [Manchester], tell me". And then they tell us. And one of the questions we always ask is "Do you feel that you are being listened to by the staff? And when you

raise things, do the staff act upon it?" And we get honest answers from the students, the students tell us. And what I have to tell you now, is that now, when we go round schools, compared with the situation 4/5 years ago, the students now tell us that they feel they are listened to; that they feel that when they raise problems with the staff in their schools, in their programme, that they are listened to, and that the university is trying to do the things that it can do to improve their education.

So as far as I'm concerned, that's not to do with the £9,000. The £9,000 very rarely crops up. It's not to do with indebtedness or anything like that, it's to do with the fact that we decided as an institution that our NSS was too low and that was a) morally wrong and b) it was damaging our brand. And so we just decided to fix it.

Now the truth of the matter is that it's not something where you reach the end of the road, and then you can breathe a sigh of relief and then stop. Actually, it's like most things in life, you have to keep doing it; it's like disciplining your children!

INT Alright, thanks ever so much.

RES I hope that was helpful, I'm conscious that I've just been talking, but hopefully you stopped me if I was talking about something that you didn't want.

INT It was so insightful, it was so useful as a researcher, but also for me developing my career as an academic!

Appendix 4 Activities undertaken during the doctoral study process

Main activities	Details
Visits to University of Alberta Courses attended at University of Alberta	Visit scholarship by WUN International Funding Scheme for the first visit First visit: September – December, 2013 (3,5 months) Second visit: January- June, 2015 (5,5 months) -Organisational theory, Fall term/2013, Instructor: Prof. Michael Lounsbury -How to be an excellent academic, Fall term/2013, Instructor: Prof. Royston Greenwood -How to be an excellent academic II, Spring term/2015, Instructor: Prof. Royston Greenwood -Qualitative research methods, Spring term/2015, Instructor: Prof. Trish Reay -Quantitative research methods, Spring term/2015, Instructor: Prof. Devereaux Jennings
Publication: Book Chapters	Tunalioglu, R., Karatas-Ozkan, M., Yavuz, C., Bektas, T., Cobanoglu, F., Howells, J. and Karaman, A. D. (2016). Sustainable innovation and entrepreneurship in agriculture: Empirical insights into the SME ecosystem. In K. Nicolopoulou, Karatas-Ozkan, M., Janssen, F. and Jermier, J. (Eds.) Sustainable Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation , Routledge, UK. Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M., and Howells, J. (2014). Social responsibility and agency of social entrepreneurs in driving institutional change. In M. Karatas-Ozkan, Nicolopoulou, K. and Ozbilgin, M. (Eds.) Corporate Social Responsibility and Human Resource Management (HRM) , Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham. http://www.elgaronline.com/view/9781848447936.00021.xml Karatas-Ozkan, M. Yavuz, C., and Howells, J. (2014). Theorising entrepreneurship: Institutional theory perspective. In E. Chell and M. Karatas-Ozkan, (Eds.). Handbook of Entrepreneurship and Small Business Research , Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham. http://www.elgaronline.com/view/9781849809238.00012.xml
Publication: Journal (Peer Reviewed)	Howells, J., Karatas-Ozkan, M., Yavuz, C., Atiq, M. (2014). University leadership and organizational change in crisis: An institutional perspective, Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy & Society 7 (2): 251-270. (SSCI, ABS: 3) http://cjres.oxfordjournals.org/content/7/2/251.abstract

Research papers in progress	<p>[Title withheld], with M. Karatas-Ozkan, V. Grinevich and F. Huber, Special Issue of Small Business Economics: An Entrepreneurship Journal (SSCI, ABS 3) (revised and resubmitted)</p> <p>Socio-materiality and strategy practice in higher education, with M. Karatas-Ozkan, J. Howells and M. Atiq, in preparation for Organisation Studies</p> <p>The role of organizational <i>habitus</i> in organizational responses to institutional complexities, (will be extracted from my PhD thesis) in preparation for Organisation Studies</p> <p>Drivers for entrepreneurial universities and role of technology transfer offices in emerging economies, with Serdal Temel, Mine Karatas-Ozkan, Vadim Grinevich, Jeremy Howells, in preparation for Research Policy</p>
Conference Presentations	<p>Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M., and Howells, J. (July, 2016). The role of organizational <i>habitus</i> in organizational responses to institutional complexities. 32nd EGOS Colloquium, Naples, Italy.</p> <p>Karatas-Ozkan, M., Howells, J., Yavuz, C., and Atiq, M. (September, 2015). Socio-materiality and strategy practice in higher education: Bridging multiple layers through a Bourdieuan lens. 29th British Academy of Management Conference, Portsmouth, UK, (Best Full Paper Award from Strategy-as-Practice track).</p> <p>Karatas-Ozkan, M., Howells, J., Yavuz, C., and Atiq, M. (June, 2015). Socio-materiality and strategy practice in higher education: Bridging multiple layers through a Bourdieuan lens. 14th EURAM Conference, Warsaw, Poland.</p> <p>Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M., and Ometto, M. P. (July, 2014). Institutional voids in emerging markets: A case of animal trafficking. 30th EGOS Colloquium, Rotterdam, Netherlands.</p> <p>Tunalioglu R., Cobanoglu F., Cankurt M., Cinar G., Ozkan M.K., Bektas T., Howell J., and Yavuz C. (September, 2014). Aydin İlinde Tarıma Dayalı Gıda Sektöründeki İşletmelerde Yöneticilerin Girişimcilik Eğilimleri Arasındaki Farklılıkların Belirlenmesine Yönelik Bir Araştırma (A research investigating differences of managers' entrepreneurial orientations in agricultural sector in Aydin) XI. Ulusal Tarım Ekonomisi Kongresi (National Agricultural Economics Congress), 497-506, 3, Samsun, Turkey.</p> <p>Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M., and Howells, J. (July, 2013). Multi-layered understanding of institutional entrepreneurship in emerging markets: A Bourdieuan framework. 29th EGOS Colloquium, Paper Development Workshop, Montreal, Canada.</p> <p>Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M., and Howells, J. (June, 2013). Institutional entrepreneurship from relational and diversity perspectives. 13th EURAM Conference, Istanbul, Turkey.</p> <p>Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M. (March, 2013). Understanding Embedded Agency in Institutional Entrepreneurship: Emerging Market Perspective. 9th New Institutionalism Workshop, Warsaw, Poland.</p>

	Yavuz, C., Karatas-Ozkan, M. (October, 2012). Mapping the Institutional Entrepreneurs' Activities from a Social Perspective. 2nd Interreg Conference , Southampton, UK.
Conference Participation (only attendance)	Alberta Institutions Conference , 11-14 th June, 2015, Bannf, Alberta, Canada
Research project experience	<p>2015-2017 Research assistant Project title: Drivers for entrepreneurial universities and role of technology transfer offices in emerging economies Funding organisation: British Academy, UK Newton Advanced Fellowship Scheme</p> <p>2012-2014 Research Assistant Project title: Improving management capacity and environmental sustainability strategies of Turkish SMEs in agriculture through strategic partnerships with HEIs in Turkey and the UK Funding organisation: British Council</p>

Appendix 5: Changing characteristics of universities on the basis of socio-political conjunctures in Turkey

Societal level	Ataturk university reform 1933	Multi-party system 1946	Military coup overthrowing the democrat party 27 May 1960	Military intervention 12 March 1971	Military coup 12 Sept 1980
Guidelines or laws related university governance	Istanbul University guidelines	Law no: 4936, 1946	Law no. 115 and Law no. 4936, (Universities special laws and status)	Law no.1750, 1973	Law no.2547
Autonomy and incorporation of universities and faculties	Universities are not autonomous and not incorporated bodies	Universities scientifically and administratively autonomous and incorporated bodies (Article 1) Autonomy period	Universities scientifically administratively autonomous and incorporated bodies Highest degree of autonomy	Universities scientifically administratively autonomous and incorporated bodies, faculties are not autonomous, but incorporated bodies (Law no. 1750) Restriction of autonomy	Universities are scientifically autonomous but not administratively/Universities are incorporated bodies but not faculties Over restriction of autonomy with YOK
Missions of universities according Laws to	Scientific research oriented (but not achieved)	Main emphasis is on training nationalist citizens adhering to revolutionary ideas	Main emphasis is on training nationalist citizens adhering to revolutionary ideas Conducting scientific research oriented (it is achieved)	Main emphasis is on training nationalist citizens adhering to nation, traditions and customs, rather than revolutionary ideas	Main emphasis is on training nationalist citizens adhering to nation, traditions and customs, rather than revolutionary ideas

Main characterisation	3 universities Elite in character	Elite in character Franca-phone and german culture dominant	Start of influence of American model of education - establishment of 4 universities with adoption of American model Democratic and participative culture	Massive in character	Massive in character
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Appendix 6: First order codes, aggregated constructs and representative data for organisational responses of the UoA

CATEGORIES	FIRST ORDER CODES AND REPRESENTATIVE DATA
	Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders
	Strengthening relational configuration with external and internal stakeholders
Advocacy to government	<p><u><i>Increasing communication with government representatives</i></u></p> <p>In the last six months alone, we had more than 250 meetings with members of Government. And those meetings were by the President, the Provost or the Vice Presidents, the Board Chair and Deans; more than 250 meetings with the Provincial Government. Probably almost 100 meetings with the Federal Government, and then probably another 50 or so with the Municipal Government. So all in, that's you know, well over 300 meetings with Government at all levels. Over 300 meetings with Government at all levels (Int. 23, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p>Communication with government is key, key, key. Government is really, really important to us I think. They are our major funder, and the number of people in this office building that have really good relationships with the Government; like really good relationships. So I work very closely with the Deputy Minister and the ADM, email for sure at least once a week, no question on that (Int. 22, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><u><i>Increasing transparency in strategic plans</i></u></p> <p>So the Board said, about 6 years ago said that you need to show us how you are progressing. We need some measures. If we are going to go talk to anybody by 2020, how are we going to know it if we don't have some things that we check into every year? So this is precisely in response to this kind of trend...So a number of measures were created, that we would trade, year by year by year, and we explained (Int. 14, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><u><i>Third party advocates in relation with government</i></u></p> <p>The whole Unit works very hard to be sure that the media knows what's going on at the University and has the information to write about it... you need to think of is the media, because the representatives of Government are reading the newspaper every morning, and they see what's in there. And so what the media provide (so this is Third Party Advocates), what the media provides is what I call "Third party validation." So if the media is writing about the work that you are doing, and showing what a great impact it has, then -. And they're doing that independently of the University, right, then they too are having an influence on Governmental opinion of you (Int. 23, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
Strengthening	<u><i>Strengthening Alumni relations</i></u>

	<p>This past year also saw significant growth in alumni engagement, volunteerism, and awareness. More than 1,000 volunteers were involved in the past year supporting Alumni Relations programs, helping in the community, assisting with recruitment, and providing career advice and support to students (Annual Report of UoA, 2014-2015, p. 27).</p> <p>Alumni relations is very important work here at the University of Alberta. And we do a very good job of it; we've got an excellent Alumni relations programme. We've got our Alumni Council, which is all volunteers; you know, Alumni who get together and work to advance the University and so forth, this is very important work that they do (Int. 23, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><i>Diversifying of and strengthening relations with donors</i></p> <p>Actually we are partnering not only with other universities and fostering and facilitating that, we are also working with other research institutions, plus national labs in other countries, that's a different kind of partnership we are fostering there; <u>not so much competing in the area of finding students, or getting the best students for that, but having the research and the focus of our activities</u> (Int. 12, Middle-level Administrative Manager, Responsibility in Research partnerships, UoA).</p> <p>We are working with other universities and colleges across the Province so that all of us are trying to be as efficient as we can. We are really trying to show them that [value of the University] as well, and that we are trying to find other sources of revenue, so that we're not sort of dependent on the Government and tuition only for our money, our revenues (Int. 25, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><i>Strengthening communication and transparency with internal stakeholders</i></p> <p>We've now created called Change at U [Alberta]. And basically what that website does is provide on a regular basis, news about significant things that are happening in the University, but also gives people an opportunity to respond through a blog attached to it. In the long term was probably considered it to be a better way of communicating, a more orderly way, a more structured way of communicating than just holding town halls. It's important for people to see the face of the President and the senior administration, have the sense of them being engaged and caring about things and so on. (Int. 21, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p>There was a gap in our communications I think, and that weekly bulletin (along with many other things that we're doing) has helped to fill that gap. It's very much geared toward our internal community (Int. 23, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
<p>Reconfiguration of institutionalized practices</p>	
<p>Sustaining and extend</p>	<p><i>Recruitment of internationally research oriented scholars</i></p> <p>On one hand you have the environment that is shifting, and then you have the School over time, I think, has become more and more aligned to that....</p>

	<p>my sense of that the <u>School over time got so much better and better and they hired professors that were able to publish</u>, and then came from that, you know, from other schools, that was the system. Over time, so the School got better and better and better and now right before <u>we were out of the league, now we are in the league, but we start at the bottom</u> (Int. 9, Early Career-Academic, Business School, UoA).</p>
	<p><u>Strengthening graduate studies and research professional programs</u></p> <p>We see that the research has become much more complicated and very specialised, which means our buildings have to respond that. As an institution, we are putting more emphasis on graduate students and research; that changes the facility requirements (Int. 10. Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p>We returned money back [from government, because supporting graduate students was a preference (still is), was a priority of the University. So it gives you an indication of the priority that we give to graduate students. What we would consider to be a more acceptable situation in terms of numbers of graduate students, quality of graduate students that we can attract to the U of A, and the level of funding that they received... even though we were still being heavily cut back, we were able to redirect some of that funding back to graduate students (Int. 21, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><u>More emphasize upon industry-driven research</u></p> <p>Inserted into the manuscripts</p>
	<p><u>More emphasize upon international research partnerships</u></p> <p>International research partnership, and how important it is for universities like ours, (like research intensive universities), that want to compete in an upper echelon of universities. So <u>we've really advanced the internationalisation of the University, our international research partnerships, and growing our international student body in all sorts of things. So that has been a big huge change, and she's really</u> -. We've done a lot under her presidency on that score (Int. 14, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p> <p>There are lots of examples of university initiating things that leads to stronger connections with a part of the world. So the China relationship with Alberta has been driven largely through our deep connections with China (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><u>Facilitating interdisciplinary research (Creation of inter-disciplinary research centre</u></p> <p>A Faculty of Engineering-led interdisciplinary research team's fuel cell project was one of 24 entrants moving on to the next round of a \$35-million Alberta-based Grand Challenge Competition designed to uncover innovative uses for carbon. The team is trying to produce a fuel cell that consumes rather than produces carbon dioxide to create energy (Annual Plan 2014-2015, p. 21).</p>
<p>Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic:</p>	<p>↳ Revenue generation through administrative and academic units' sale of services</p>

	<p>NAIT asked the U of A to take over management of its security division because of the high level of professionalism and customer service provided by U of A Protective Services. Facilities and Operations has identified substantial opportunities to provide post-secondary partners with support services that leverage the skills and experience of our staff. The Planning and Project Management unit is providing project management and administrative support on a fee-for-service basis (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2014-2015: 9)</p> <p>The university also reached a financial services agreement with Olds College, enabling its program to be managed at the U of A... With the Faculty of Rehabilitation Medicine's Continuing Professional Education program, the U of A is the first university in Canada to offer complete online credit programs in professional development for rehab and health-care professionals. In 2013-2014, the program's sophomore year, registration increased 93 per cent (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 35).</p>
	<p><i><u>Revenue generation through ancillary services</u></i></p> <p>Ancillary services generated sales of \$93.6 million. Ancillary services include the university bookstore, parking services, utilities and student residences. Ancillary services are \$11.7 million less than budget mainly due to the Bookstore closure of the Microstore and lower text book sales, resulting in lower cost of goods sold (Annual Report, 2014-2015, p. 42).</p>
	<p><i><u>Elimination of particular non rev. gen. programs</u></i></p> <p>There were some smaller programmes that were in fact closed; what they referred to as lower enrolment programmes. So several of the Faculties made the decisions to, if they had programmes where there were only say five students enrolled in them, or 10 or something like that, you know, they have closed those programmes... I've probably cut 15 or 20 positions in the last couple of years, because I'm not going to ever have that funding again (Int. 23, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><i><u>Reductions in administrative staff and non-tenured academic staff (assistant professors)</u></i></p> <p>If you are looking at actual number of head count, is the number of bodies, there was 990 in 2012 and in 2014 - 915. So that's just in the contract academic staff. In Faculty, you'll see 2012 there is 680 and in 2014 - 621. The only way to have an impact on that, was to change how many -. Well first of all you can lay people off. So there were layoffs, but of course Faculty numbers are tenured, so though they have been administrative and support staff (Int. 25, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p> <p>It's for non-tenured staff members. So we have cut our non-academic staff positions, and our academic and professional officers' positions, which are non-tenured more than we have cut the other tenured positions (Int. 24, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p>The number of assistant professors dropped nearly 40% since 2009-2010, largely due to budget cuts impairing hiring (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2016, p. 65).</p>
	<p><i><u>Reductions in discretionary accounts</u></i></p> <p>Main reductions have occurred in people's discretionary accounts. So you have accounts where you can spend money on things like paper, copying,</p>

	<p>lunches, entertainment, those kinds of things. So discretionary account spending has been reduced (Int. 24, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p><u><i>Adoption of zero budget planning approach in operations</i></u></p> <p>We started zero based budgeting for the operations of those buildings, which left us in pretty good stead in the last couple of years when we've had the pretty significant cuts. We told our staff when I got here 11 years ago, I said "Your job is to be as efficient, effective and economical as you can be in your operations, because" I said, "Everything that we do in our portfolio, there is a private company out there that says they can do it better." I came from the private sector, so the private sector believes the public sector wastes money (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><u><i>Provision of Educational programs offered by Faculty of Extension</i></u></p> <p>Inserted into the manuscript</p> <p><u><i>Implementation of digital learning technologies (MOOCs)</i></u></p> <p>Assessing the possibilities and viability of new digital learning technologies has been a major focus of the institution throughout 2013-2014. A research and development committee led the successful creation, launch, and implementation of the U of A's first MOOC (Dino 101) and a series of core blended courses in the Faculty of Education. Outcomes indicate that Dino 101 and its associated on-campus courses, Paleo 200 and 201, have performed very well, with excellent participation and completion rates (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 4-19)</p>
Reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism	<p><u><i>More emphasize upon internationalisation agenda: increasing recruitment of international students and staff</i></u></p> <p>In 2005, the university set an institution-wide international undergraduate enrolment target of 15 per cent, and an international graduate student enrolment target of 30 per cent. The graduate target has now been exceeded and the University of Alberta is approaching the undergraduate target (Annual Plan, 2014-2015, p. 13).</p> <p>We have had a strong international student strategy for probably the last seven or eight years, and that continues to be important. The way we do that in [Alberta] is that international students are no cost to the taxpayer. When you work it out, the revenue from the tuition of international students, which is higher, upsets the difference between what the tuition pays for and what the Government pays for per student (domestic student). (Int. 21, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p>International students comprise 12.6 per cent of the total undergraduate population at the U of A in 2013-2014, which marks an increase of eight per cent since 2005-2006 (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 13)</p> <p><u><i>More emphasize upon diversity agenda</i></u></p> <p>The University of Alberta has set in motion strategies to pursue selected long-term enrolment objectives. These include <u>representative proportions of undergraduates from rural and Aboriginal communities of Alberta</u>, as well as higher proportions of international undergraduate and graduate enrolments... More than \$525,000 was raised for the Carl Amrhein Aboriginal Student Fund, which will promote greater student</p>

	<p>participation in programs that offer Aboriginal teaching and learning experiences (Annual plan of UoA, 2014-2015, p. 13)</p> <p>The U of A hosts the only Faculty of Native Studies in Canada, established in 2006. In 2008, the U of A set an institutional objective to be Canada's leading institution for Aboriginal post-secondary engagement, education, and research. <u>To reach this goal, the university invests in initiatives that advance both Aboriginal recruitment and the distinct elements that define social well-being within Aboriginal communities and regions.</u> (Comprehensive Institutional Plan, 2015, p. 36)</p> <p>The U of A has launched a new post-doctoral fellowship to examine the role of sexual minorities in sports. The post-doc is a result of a partnership struck between the U of A's Institute for Sexual Minority Studies and Services and the You Can Play Project, a North Americawide campaign aimed at eradicating homophobia from professional sports (Annual Report, 2014-2015).</p> <p>The University of Alberta is committed to supporting and enriching our northern, francophone, multicultural and Aboriginal communities. Throughout 2013-2014, the Faculty of Native Studies hosted a number of events in support of this vision, including organizing a successful conference to enrich Canadians' understanding of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, entitled Understanding the TRC: Exploring Reconciliation, Intergenerational Trauma and Indigenous Resistance (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 37).</p>
	<p><u><i>More emphasize upon spinoffs</i></u></p> <p>The U of A ranks fifth among our North American peers in terms of creating long-term, sustainable, successful companies... In 2013-2014, TEC Edmonton executed 12 licences, created five spinoffs, and filed 61 patent applications. Twentyone U.S. patents were issued to U of A inventors. Overall, more than 100 TEC Edmonton clients grew revenue by 25 per cent compared with 10 per cent for companies in the broader economy (Dare to Discover, 2013-2014, p. 25).</p> <p>In 2013-14, five new U of A spinoffs were created. That year, all operating spinoffs attracted almost \$14 million in external research revenue. In 2014-15 an additional six spinoffs were created." (Annual Plan, 2014-2015, p. 25).</p>
	<p><u><i>Enhancing Professional training for executive leaders</i></u></p> <p>It wasn't traditionally what we do, professional development, we do academic research. I've seen a lot more of the focus on professionalising our executive leadership teams, and I've also seen a lot more programming put into place about professionalising and training vice presidents and presidents, so a long more frankly, business schools, because they are leaders in that field have been doing and putting on a lot of this training (Int. 13, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><u><i>Professional training for administrative staff</i></u></p> <p>We provide a lot of training, we provide a lot of development for them. And that's why I think you see the difference. You see that they are proud of being part of the University; they care about it, they have a lot of contact with the students, with the faculty, and they are key to keeping this place running (Int. 16, Academic, Fac. of Health Science, Members of Renaissance Committee, UoA).</p>

	<p><u><i>Centralisation of administrative services</i></u></p> <p>Many Faculties who formerly did their own information technology, have transferred those responsibilities to this Central Information Technology area. It's definitely good things about centralization. You can hire stronger people; you can have backups that you can't have if you have one IT person who sits in a small Faculty, and that person gets sick, you don't have a backup. If you've got people in the centre, you've got a backup. We digitized more things than we have had in the past (Int. 24, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoA).</p> <p>To ensure that U of A students, faculty, and staff have the physical and financial resources they need to continue pursuing excellence in teaching, learning, and research, the university has also undertaken several administrative reforms over 2014-2015. These include the establishment of a U of A Land Trust and the centralization of financial services, data warehousing, information technology, and human resources (Annual Plan, 2014-2015, p. 5).</p>
	<p><u><i>Creation of new senior-level positions</i></u></p> <p>In university relations, again, when I started in 1998, or 1996, there was not a separate portfolio. It was, interestingly enough, a vice president research and external affairs, and again over time it was "You know what, portfolio too big", had to divide it, so the VP Research was a stand-alone portfolio and they created an external relations portfolio, which has subsequently divided into advancement and university relations. And again, we used didn't used to have 2 separate vice presidents for facilities, and for finance, and that's all changed since 1996 too (Int. 13, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p>
	<p><u><i>Expansion of categories of positions</i></u></p> <p>We are just looking at our own rules, and in the last decade, there has been a lot of changes to the HR policy. So I think there used to be traditional academics, managers, support staff, librarians. Well now I think there's 7 or 8 different categories of staff. You've got your contract academic staff, your sessional staff, your part time staff, and your clinical staff. We are a community that's different now (Int. 13, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoA).</p>

Appendix 7: First order codes, aggregated constructs and representative data for organisational responses of the UoME

CATEGORY IES	FIRST ORDER CODES AND REPRESENTATIVE DATA
Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders	
Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders	
Enhancing relations with government	<p><i>Increasing communication with government representatives</i></p> <p>Our Chair will have a conversation with Ministers and the Mayor; and the President. And our Vice Presidents will meet with Bureaucrats. It's more information, like if we tell people what we do, and they're convinced that what we do is really good, then they'll support us. We are more relationship building, and more information sharing (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><i>Creation of new positions to deal with governmental demands</i></p> <p>We are in an environment that requires us to be more diligent about these [accountability] kinds of things. So we need to hire a Vice President to the General Council. Well we need to hire a Risk Manager; we need to hire an Internal Auditor. , new positions, new areas of expertise inside a University that we are not typical in any University in the past, not just us. When you are trying to respond to the Government, you have some information that you already have on hand to be able to put in front of them in response to when they ask questions., like with our Auditor General on our finances, or any other things like that (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
Increasing visibility to external and internal referents	<p><i>Enhancing branding of the institution (creation of marketing position)</i></p> <p>Like a couple of years ago we did our Marketing Communications Department, so we did a full review of how we do marketing and communications for the Institution, then started to do some re-organization. Student recruitment is the biggest piece of that. And then to brand the Institution. So you'll see on everything, we've got new colours, new tag lines, those kinds of things. So then how do you brand the Institution now within the community itself for students but also for the community to understand who the Institution is now. So that's a big change that this Department took on in the last three years as well (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p> <p><i>Increasing communication within the institution</i></p> <p>Even internally with our Staff Association and our Faculty Association, we keep very open channels of communication. We have very positive working relationships with them, and that's actually helped us to make these other transitions. It's easier to have the conversations about the changes coming, and we work more with them than simply informing them. So we do try to maintain those positive relationships which then help us when we're having to go through some difficult changes (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>

	<p>The President doesn't do a weekly information thing. Every week we get an email telling us about different things that are going on through the Institution. And he does that about every two months; he does a very full letter with what's been going on. He has a more considerate approach, where he looks at something and he gives a more fulsome overview of it, as opposed to just a quick little response to something. We have a lot of meetings that go on, and I think that there's a lot of other communications that happens, that seems to work reasonably well, that there's not as much a pressure to do that type of thing (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
Reconfiguration of institutionalized practices	
Maintenance and reproduction of particular practices and culture (teaching and student orientation)	
Preserving practices adhering to core identity (teaching orientation) of the UoME	<p><i>Preserving standard teaching course loads (with slight changes)</i></p> <p>Our standard course load is three and three, but even though that was our standard, there was a lot of Faculty that weren't teaching three and three, so we had to tighten up on that to make sure, on average they were. Some might get released to do other things, but for the most part, most Faculty teach three and three. We can't afford to have too many Faculty that are not teaching at that level (Int.2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p> <p>We like the balance; we understand we teach six courses a year and we understand that limits how much research we do. They can do as much research as they want. But if they are asking for a reduction in their teaching to two courses a year, or four courses a year, our answer is "No" (Int.8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><i>Signalling for senior-level academic managers' teaching responsibilities</i></p> <p>He [president] actually teaches one course a year, and so does our Provost, and I teach one or two a year, because it's important for us to remember we are at a teaching and learning University. It's important to remember what our business is, which is teaching and learning. And it's very easy to forget (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><i>Performance evaluations on student satisfaction and teaching excellence</i></p> <p>Once we became a University where we did start to show up as the Globe and Mail did their rankings around student satisfaction, and right out front we rated extremely high on those things (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p>Assimilation of new practices in alignment with enhancement of research orientation (Enrichment)</p>
Enhancement of research orientation	<p><i>Enhancing research related capabilities of existing faculty members through mentoring</i></p> <p>Inserted into the manuscript</p>
	<p><i>Recruitment PhD holding (full time) academics for degree programs</i></p> <p>Inserted into the manuscript</p>

	<p><i>Initiating professional development in research</i></p> <p>We've brought scholars from some of the various universities in North America and Europe to come and spend time on campus to help mentor our junior Faculty and provide workshops for them. So one of the things we do in business of course is writing cases, teaching cases, you know, Ivy and Harvard cases. And so we are sponsoring this Fall a session on writing cases for Faculty around Alberta actually (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
<p>Assimilation of new administrative practices adhering to the market logic</p>	
<p><i>Adoption of new revenue generation practices for saving revenue</i></p>	<p><i>Adoption of particular rev. gen. educational programs</i></p> <p>We've just classified it as Open Studies where you have to apply to it. Four years ago. That's another revenue generator. I mean I guess ESL (English as a Second Language) and College Prep is also a – University Prep – is also a revenue generator, and should be a revenue generator. Our new School of Continuing, which we started a year ago, should be a revenue generator; it isn't right now, but it should be (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><i>Re-arrangement and centralisation of capital replacement fund</i></p> <p>At the meeting, they [academics] said "We need a computer for this person, and we've been waiting two years"....We have a Standards Board and that's <u>another one of the examples when I talk about conservative prudent budgeting, those are other examples of how it makes a big difference</u>. It's like bulk buying, or bulk sales; you make more money on that type of thing, or save more money on that type of an approach than you do than when everybody does it independently (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><i>Increasing parking fees</i></p> <p>So both things will hit us in the pocket book, for the Faculty members that park here... Parking fees! We're trying to take all of our services that are being offered here, and That's our retail campus, planning, parking, our retail services that we offer (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p> <p>What the Institution did is they looked at the parking rates in the area, what are the rates, and our rates were significantly below market. Now they'll be about 80% of market that does increase revenue, but it increases the revenue directly associated with maintaining the parking services and stuff as well. That was definitely a change (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><i>Changing fee application payments for rev. gen.</i></p> <p>What we've done now is, instead of having to pay for two separate fees for two programs, you pay one fee and you can apply to two. So instead of paying \$80 you are paying \$110 and you get to apply to two. But by doing that, we actually increase our revenue (Int. 10, Senior-level Administrative Manager, UoME).</p>

	<p><u><i>Elimination of uncritical or expensive positions and re-allocation of responsibilities</i></u></p> <p>But we've had to deal with that by again sort of providing greater autonomy and greater decision making authority at lower levels of the organization... We've reduced a lot of the sort of non-critical functions, if you will, so it's getting more and more difficult to do that. If more cuts come we are going to have a much harder time. " (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p> <p>The functions have not changed, we've just eliminated the position. <u><i>We've eliminated a very expensive position; we have a less expensive position</i></u>. We also deleted the position of Vice President Student Affairs. We now have in the Institution the position of Executive Director, Student Affairs. And that person is responsible exclusively for the Student portfolio (Int. 6, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><u><i>'Hiring freeze' for non-critical vacant positions</i></u></p> <p>When the Government is going to do something like a cut. And so we would put a hiring freeze in place, so positions cannot be filled without special approval by the Executive. (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p> <p>When it comes to balancing the budget, we have eliminated 89 vacant positions over the course of the last two or three years. Many of them are support/administrative type positions. It wasn't as if people were actually losing their job, just the position ceased to exist. But then what that required was some internal restructuring (Int. 6, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><u><i>Re-structuration from program structure to departmentalisation</i></u></p> <p>Now we are moving to a traditional university model, where Faculty are configured into Departments based on discipline. So if you have a two year Diploma, you have a Faculty who teach that, and you have your Degree and people who teach those (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><u><i>Provision of both diploma and degree programs to deal with demands of particular professions</i></u></p> <p>When we became a University, we made a couple of decisions. Now we are kind of turning that on its head, so that eventually what we want is that every student that comes into MacEwan, registers in a Degree programme, but if they choose to leave after two or three years, they can get a Diploma. It does provide flexibility (Int. 6, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoME).</p>
	<p><u><i>Initiating professional training in HR and education</i></u></p> <p>There is an organization called CABO (Canadian Association of University Business Officers) and they provide significant professional development and conferences. And so we send a lot of our people to that. Our HR Department, some is very functional, like there's a new computer system or a new approval system, and so there's workshops and training. But beyond that, there is a significant amount of training available as well. In our business continuing education, we have a significant executive training, like supervision skills for junior</p>

	managers and leadership development (Int. 5, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoME).
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Appendix 8: First order codes, aggregated constructs and representative data for organisational responses of the UoS

CATEGORIES	FIRST ORDER CODES AND REPRESENTATIVE DATA
	Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders
	Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders
Becoming more pro-active	<p><u><i>Undertaking initiatives on collective lobbying to the government</i></u></p> <p>Influencing people politically; making connections with Government departments is becoming very much part of the role.... People are networking more and are very aware of making those political connections (Int. 18, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Healthcare, UoS).</p> <p>We have some influence, but as an individual University, not a whole amount. We have more by working as part of mission groups, so particularly the Russell Group of sort of similar research intensive universities...We play a role within the UK, but there are 160 members, so the influence of a single university is limited in that (Int. 5, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>
	<p><u><i>Financially becoming more student driven (rather than research): Particular focus on increasing number of students and their expectations</i></u></p> <p>I don't know how many students we had in '95, but it could have been about half as many as we have today; it will be that sort of scale; so <u><i>we have probably doubled in size in the last 20 years</i></u> (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS)</p> <p>It's hard to keep track of who our stakeholders are, and even in certain markets it varies doesn't it, because it depends on students where they are funded from, because they may have a big stakeholder behind them that's funding them, so <u><i>we have to maintain that relationship as well as obviously with our students</i></u> (Int. p.38, Responsible for corporate communications, UoS).</p>
Strengthening relations with business stakeholders	<p><u><i>Increasing partnerships</i></u></p> <p>We've invested heavily in executive education to build partnerships with local businesses, or no, national businesses. And that's beginning to work...I had an instance where we had a very high profile event, and we got some huge names from international companies there... building relationships with external (and he's a very senior person), building relationships with external partners, is important (Int. 3, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoS).</p>
	<u><i>Sustaining spinouts and relations with companies</i></u>

	<p>The relationship [with funders] has probably not changed significantly. Maintaining links with the research funders is very important, and particularly for research intensive universities like this. They have maintained the important points of the relationships; they are incredibly important relationships (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p> <p><i><u>Increasing external visibility and marketing</u></i></p> <p>We had a low profile, and that led to a dramatic change in communications and marketing and new web pages...We are doing a lot of work to work on our web pages and our communications and marketing. Visibility, that transparency, understanding your position, being able to talk about your distinctiveness, continually talking about it in a very open communications mode. Very important (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>
Reconfiguration of institutionalized practices	
	<p><i><u>More emphasize upon teaching</u></i></p> <p><u>We are re-examining the way we teach students because our classes are growing in size, it's becoming very difficult to timetable our assignments. We are thinking about how we are going to change teaching: in 10 years' time will we really going to be turning up and teaching these big classes, doing tutorials? That's all the changes really... certainly in the current environment, we would become much more teaching oriented.</u> Coming from a department with research in its name, I fear that research would suffer considerably that we have (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering and Environment, UoS).</p>
	<p><i><u>Enactment of more research and teaching balanced promotion criteria</u></i></p> <p><u>The other big shift that we have seen is the promotion pathways and the way of getting promoted, the way of getting recognised was very much associated with your research output quality etc. In future to be promoted up to a Professor, you have to teach as well.</u> And if you are teaching, to be promoted up to a Professor you have to research. So it's much more balanced. And the reason it's much more balanced, or becoming much more balanced, is because of an external environmental change, because the students are paying £9,000 (Int.1, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Responsible for human resources, UoS).</p>
<p>Balancing and blending teaching and research orientations</p>	
	<p><i><u>Increasing teaching responsibility of existing academics</u></i></p> <p>We have to improve the lecturing of everyone, we have to make the academics see themselves not as researchers who do a bit of teaching, but as people whose salary is paid for by the teaching, and the research they do must also be world class. ...That's what we've got to see; we've got to change that mind-set. They see themselves whose job is researchers who did teaching, they've got to change (Int. p. 36, Fac. of Engineering and the Environment, UoS).</p>

	<p>We reviewed the School of Art (this was about 10 years ago) and re-positioned it academically, and gave it a much greater educational and teaching focus with a strong international dimension (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>
	<p><i>Recruitment of both research and teaching oriented lecturers</i></p> <p>Publications is a typical one. People get very, very exercised about the detail and the publication. You actually just want to say "That is really not going to affect my student numbers, whether that says "and" or "but" (Int. 38, Responsible for Corporate Communications, UoS).</p>
<p>Strengthening (applied) research orientation and sharpening distinctiveness</p>	<p><i>More emphasize upon industry-driven research and application to bigger funds (as supporting teaching)</i></p> <p>Our ability to take cutting edge research to teach it and to translate that into businesses, is really a big shift happening... There's a swing to more integration and more meaning from the research (Int.1, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Responsible for human resources, UoS).</p> <p>I'm trying to look at research income, enhancing that. I've not been quite successful in the last year. So I've been very successful when it comes to sending out this email and telling staff <u>"Look apply for this, here's the support"</u>, <u>we've more than doubled the applications, but the wins are going down, because there is less money out there to win</u>. They are writing much better papers, and they've more than doubled the amount of money they are applying for... (Int. p. 36, Fac. of Engineering and the Environment, UoS).</p> <p>One of the great things that Southampton does, it's very good at doing really punchy big scientific research for instance, <u>which absolutely impacts on the world and everyday life, and it's very applied. We have to be responsive, we have to build on those things which are our strengths</u>. There is competition there, and we have to respond to that (Int. 34, Responsible for Student and Academic Administration, UoS).</p>
	<p><i>Increases in training for impact driven agenda</i></p> <p>Keeping a good diversified portfolio of research is the key to having good quality research...Certainly support the researchers, training for researchers to understand how to do</p>

	<p>that. That has increased, yes, no doubt about that (Int. 17, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>
	<p><u><i>Strengthening interdisciplinary research</i></u></p> <p><u>People</u> are very happy to talk across Faculties. So I think from that point of view, the culture in the University is good. Interdisciplinary studies are very much encouraged, and I think we do that very well in the way that some other universities don't. It is really one of our strengths I think (Int. 15, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Medicine, UoS).</p> <p>One of the things that we did was create the concept of the university strategic research groups, where we initially started out with 10 USRGs...then we chose some where we, as a university, had strengths, like the marine and maritime area, but [these] were areas where we knew we had a quite diverse strength capability...this has clearly enabled us to develop a much more broad multidisciplinary-type of an attitude within the university itself, and position us in a much better position to go after these larger multidisciplinary-type research. That's an area where we took a very strategic position (Int. p. 29, Responsible for Research and Innovation services, UoS)</p>
	<p><u><i>Emphasizing upon and strengthening 'Russel group' attachment as an institutional identity</i></u></p> <p>The Russell Group is something that if it sticks together and gets a bit of a brand, it's probably worth doing. Because it's the sort of thing if we tried to go it alone, we would get slaughtered, so that's one of the things where you've got to do strength in numbers (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Engineering, UoS).</p> <p>Potentially we can have a huge impact. Universities as a whole, I think – well an Institution like this one (Russell Group) – probably has an impact in terms of education policy and certainly science and technology policy (Int. 9, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Business and Law, UoS).</p>

Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic

Becoming more managerial in culture and governance (adoption of business-like logic)	<p><i>Incursion of performance and target driven approach</i></p> <p>This University is responding by imposing targets. So individual targets, departmental targets, faculty targets that have to be met, and they have to be met on the teaching side and on the research side. It's very much target driven; it's becoming more like private enterprise, except in the private sector, individuals tend to have a little bit more control over what targets are set, and how they respond to those targets. It is actually becoming a management tool in terms of performance, and pay. So it's not so much now about personal development, it's more about performance; and how far you perform depends on whether you get an increment or whether your performance might end up being managed in certain ways (Int. 9, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Business and Law, UoS).</p> <p>We are trying to develop a very clear set of key performance indicators, and I want to produce a balance scorecard for professional services, and obviously that's something we need to look at more widely in the University (Int. 26, Responsible for whole range of Professional services, UoS).</p> <p>It needs to become much more business-like and learn from business. don't think you have a choice in being more business-like. You have to be more business-like. So actually the people in charge of them need business acumen; they may need to understand how to increase the profitability of the unit; how to take people with them; how to get people to align to a common goal so they can grow their business (Int.1, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Responsible for human resources, UoS).</p>
	<p><i>Incursion of managerial culture</i></p> <p>There's a sense of the University that it's less democratic than it was...we've lost a bit of that, and we had to lose a bit of it because of the challenges that we faced; we needed to be more effective and more efficient in how the University operated. So there's certainly a legacy of a culture of empowerment and devolution and enterprise (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p> <p>Management wants conformity, efficiency, effectiveness, and that just doesn't suit people who want to be different, because each of the places around the university. That's madness...We are also the great survivors, you know, because we learned about agility, you have got to move fast. When the world crashes around you, and burns, as it does, the ORC survived three major crashes in our entire funding environment (Int. 1p, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, UoS).</p>

Recruitment of industry backgrounded president

There is and continues to be a quite radical change in the role of a university leader. And an example of this is in recruiting me to this University, the University's Governing Council. They

	<p>very overtly looked for somebody who had some political experience, so I don't have a conventional academic history; I have been – I've worked in universities for 20 years of my working experience, but I've also worked at a very senior level in government, and I've also worked for a couple of international organisations (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>
	<p><i>Recruitment of industry backgrounded academics</i></p> <p>We've gone through quite a period of recruitment over the sort of the last two years. We test people quite rigorously before we take them on. we are trying to address is this notion of different forms of capital that people bring into the organisation. Social capital for example, the kind of networks, connections, contacts that they bring to the workplace, cultural capital, our knowledge, expertise, education, training in the areas that we are operating. It could be a could be a funding etc. we look more for the kind of already that people are networked, so in the media team, people have to have already worked in the media, have already been very well networked, and demonstrate that, and it works with journalists as well as their peers, and other allied organisations. And that's how we've been able to grow that very quickly. And obviously they need to build networks internally with academics that they know that are happy to speak to the media and what their research interests are (Int. 38, Responsible for Corporate Communications, UoS).</p>
Reconfiguration and enrichment of entrepreneurial practices and professionalism	<p><i>Centralisation of professional services</i></p> <p>It [professional services] all became centralised, they managed through different lines, and it's dysfunctional the relationship now. The relationships between different groups are largely dysfunctional, and in some cases very combative. And that has shifted; it used to be more collegiate (Int. 3, Middle-level Academic Manager, Business School, UoS).</p> <p>We've got now a more centralised structure right, where most of those centralised people are put within one building; building 37 where I am...The theory is that those people will integrate amongst themselves; it's not where you want them to integrate, you want them to integrate across the university you see (Int. p.39, Responsible for strategy and planning, UoS).</p> <p><i>More emphasize upon internationalisation agenda in all activities :</i></p> <p>If you are working in an international market, you must have an international profile, you must have an international presence...You've got to have an international profile, and you've got to have an international reputation (Int. p. 37, Responsible for management of strategic projects, UoS).</p> <p>There's links with non-UK bodies like the EU, the University is very interested in developing EU funding...<u>there's an awful lot of collaborative work that just is either individual or group based that crosses national and international boundaries</u>. Are we an international university? What does that mean? Does it mean at the crudest possible level? because that's very important (Int. 40, Responsible for Library Services, UoS).</p>

	<p>The funding environment has changed, internationalization is a big agenda now, it needs real sense...aspirational element of what we do and reflecting the fact that what does internationalization mean? What does it mean if we are a global university? It's actually much more than often people think that we have this many international students (Int. 38, Responsible for Corporate Communications, UoS).</p>
	<p><u>International expansion of employment</u></p> <p>The explicit changes are we are needing to create much more flexible work conditions and practices for international expansion employment. So that is one big change. So we don't even have a department that does that; in fact this morning I finally got permission to employ an expert in that area. So that is a big shift (Int.1, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Responsible for human resources, UoS).</p>
	<p><u>Creation of new positions on internationalisation</u></p> <p>Lots of things were happening, we've also worked with things like international office and the Pro Vice Chancellor for Internationalization as well (Int. 14, Academic Manager, Fac. of Humanities, UoS).</p>
	<p><u>More emphasize upon internationalisation agenda in all activities : Expansion of campuses abroad</u></p> <p>We have a small campus in Malaysia and we have a campus at Darien in China as well. So the complexity of what we are doing is increasing at a time when the competitive pressures are becoming greater and the government funding, which provide a degree of stability until quite recently, has been diminished (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>
	<p><u>Enhancing professionalism: Professional training for staff on leadership skills</u></p> <p>The other thing I think that would be important internally is developing our people. So we've done quite a lot of work, developing leadership skills and competencies in the University (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p>
	<p><u>Implementation of digital learning technologies (MOOCs)</u></p> <p>We are running MOOCs. That is a great example of us being quite entrepreneurial, it's in between MOOCs and our core provision, we need to be a bit more creative and imaginative, I think, in how we deliver courses, the programmes that we offer, and how they relate to market demand (Int. 2, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p> <p>We are an early leader in setting up MOOCs...I strongly believe I have spoken publicly and written about this, that MOOCs are not a threat to world class universities; they may be, may be a threat to lower quality institutions. I'm enthusiastic about it because I see MOOCs as offering us a way to accelerate thinking about the</p>

	<p>use of IT in education...I see the evolution of MOOCs as a stimulus in education more generally to better us IT to enhance and extend campus based education, and certainly that's the approach that we've adopted (Int. 10, Senior-level Academic Manager, Rectorate, UoS).</p> <p>MOOCs I think are a stepping stone; they are an opportunity to try out quite a lot of interesting approaches to on line learning for a mass audience. The things we are learning from MOOCs is being applied into other courses; they won't be MOOCs but they will be an element of blended learning, or whatever it might be. It brings in more people. So there's more awareness of [Southampton] because we've been involved in the future learning web science and the exploring our oceans and the other MOOCs (Int. 8, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, UoS).</p>
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Appendix 9: First order codes, aggregated constructs and representative data for organisational responses of the UoM

CATEGORIES	FIRST ORDER CODES AND REPRESENTATIVE DATA
	<p>Reconfiguration of relations with stakeholders</p>
	<p>Strengthening relations with external and internal stakeholders</p>
Networking and lobbying government	<p>Through constant networking dialogue. It's important for us to keep a presence within the local government, so within [Manchester], but also with [London] links. But the Russell Group obviously is a powerful lobby group. the Russell Group is one of the key groups that do lobbying. But we ourselves have been quite aware of the need to maintain links and connections with government in London in effect...It's very important that we've got a very well-known and highly visible President in [Dame Nancy Rothwell] and by having somebody who in a sense, frequently meets with ministers, I think that's one of the key areas and ways in which we can influence policy and make sure that we have a voice (Int. 3, Senior Academic Manager, UoM).</p> <p>We have gone to HEFCE and the DOH and we have said we understand why the number of overseas students is restricted. <u>So which we're trying to do. So we will get together with other medical schools and dental schools and hope to influence the DOH and HEFCE about those decisions</u>, but at the moment they are not allowing us to do us to do that... They're not changing their rules to allow us in a way to be more competitive and raise more international student fee income within medicine and dentistry. .. We will be using those networks (Int. 7, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Professional Services, UoM).</p>
Strengthening student oriented focus	<p><i><u>Increasing number of undergraduate students as an institutional strategy</u></i></p> <p>Whereas parts of the other faculties are dependent post graduate taught. <u>We tend to grow undergraduate numbers rather than postgraduate</u> (Int. 8, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Science, UoM)</p> <p><i><u>Diversification of student profile</u></i></p> <p>Our admissions policy is around widening participation, and we're now one of the most diverse medical schools in terms of the social and economic background of our students and our ethnic diversity (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).</p> <p><i><u>Becoming more autonomous in recruitment of international students</u></i></p> <p>Certainly this University has I feel decided that it needs to be more forceful about its independence and autonomy. So for instance, at the level that affects me, we have made a decision that we will educate more overseas students outside the Government funding model. So these will be students who would pay us to do their education without any input from the Government. We've just had to say "well, we think it is" and therefore we need to be more autonomous. And I think that</p>

	<p>autonomy is seen in lots of other ways in this University... You could see levels of autonomy that we just didn't ever have until maybe the last few years (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).</p>
Strengthening communication with other stakeholders	<p><u><i>Increasing communication with internal stakeholders (academics, student unions and students)</i></u></p> <p>Tuesday night this week there was a dinner hosted, where she had both academic and PSS staff who have been identified across the <u>University as having a special interest in teaching students, and it also included members of the Students Union</u>. And we spent the dinner discussing a whole variety - <u>The kind of things actually you are raising now! And that was just an informal process</u>, [which] are really important...the President goes to every single School every year and visits them, and it's an open house; anybody can come; anybody can ask her anything (students and staff) and that gives all colleagues an opportunity to feel they can meet the President (students as well) and if they've got any concerns, they can express them to her directly. They get that chance to have that engagement...when we started in 2004, [Alan Gilbert] the then Vice President introduced that approach. (Int. 3, Senior Academic Manager, UoM).</p> <p>One of the better things that we do in the sense that we all now understand the problems and how we have to interact with other people in our universities and our external face towards the National Health Service (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).</p> <p>We certainly try and work in a very transparent way. I would say certainly, I work very closely obviously with the Dean and the Heads of School and then with my Heads of School Administration. And we work very much as a partnership. We work on the basis of having trust in the relationships we have (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).</p>
	<p><u><i>Strengthening alumni relations</i></u></p> <p>Inserted into the manuscript</p>
	<p><u><i>Strengthening relations with other external stakeholders</i></u></p> <p>The senior management of the University changed a few years ago, and then we have seen I think many more sort of positive advances in the way in which we interact as an organisation with our City, with - well, my perspective, with the NHS around us, with our students and also with research funders. So you can take a defensive position; we have chosen to go out and start to talk to people, and I think that's a very positive move that we've seen (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).</p>
	<p><u><i>Increasing visibility of performance measures and marketing</i></u></p> <p>We still have to pay attention to the NSS. And <u>then the Key Information Set which is on the UCAS website this year for the first time</u>...So what you've got is a situation where decision making by students about which universities to go to, has started to resemble more consumer choice context with lots and lots of different product parameters which are out there in public view (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM)</p>

Reconfiguration of institutionalized practices	
Balancing both teaching and research orientations	
Balancing and blending teaching and research demands	<p><u>Increasing teaching responsibilities of existing academics</u> Inserted into the manuscript</p> <p><u>Recruitment of teaching oriented lecturers</u> Inserted into the manuscript</p>
Strengthening research orientation	<p><u>Recruitment of internationally research oriented scholars</u> We've got increasing research income, and we are looking to continue to recruit academic staff in particular to improve research (Int. 1, Senior-level Non-Academic Manager, UoM).</p> <p><u>Facilitation of interdisciplinary research</u> Inserted into manuscript</p>
Assimilation of new and enrichment of existing administrative and educational practices adhering to the market logic	
	<p><u>Centralisation of professional services</u> Inserted into manuscript</p> <p><u>More emphasize upon internationalisation agenda</u> In all aspects of what we do, we are being much more aggressive in marketing and branding; much more aggressive in getting out and about and building links and ties and collaborations and internationalization. We have been doing a lot over 5 years, so we have a lot of joint PhD programmes with institutions in Nepal and China (two in China), Eastern Europe and America. And we are just doing this all the time, just to build bridges; it works very well (Int. 12, Middle-level Academic Manager, Fac. of Life Sciences)</p> <p><u>Enhancing professionalism Provision of training of middle management team</u> We don't let people be heads of school in this University now unless they've done a training programme called Head Start, which involves them actually spending a whole year going on a regular basis going to structured sessions in which they learn from other people who have been heads of school. We have external people coming in, and we give them extra pay for being head of school... There's a professionalization process beginning to be instituted (Int. 4, Senior-level Academic Manager, UoM)</p> <p><u>Enhancing professionalism</u></p>

I suppose the key feature I would say is about doing enhanced performance management, and what does that mean and how do you go about doing it? That's vital...The fact that there are definite expectations, that students are more demanding, that only really quality research will be counted as deserving funding. How the staff see that. How do they see themselves fitting into that new horizon (Int. 2, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).

There have been some universities which have said "We recognise that there are poorly performing staff, and we therefore owe it to the taxpayer to remove those staff". Whereas this University has said "No we must work together to try and improve the performance of poorly performing staff." So you can see a level of risk aversion there where this University is much more risk averse (Int. 6, Middle-level Academic Manager, UoM).

Creation of new senior-level positions

Faculty quite significantly to make ourselves more competitive. We feel that we've fallen behind, when judged against the places we would see as our competitors such as UCL. So we've got a new strategy, part of which involves recruitment of more senior academic staff. They themselves need to support themselves when they come here, but I think we've also recognised that we need to get a lot better (Int. 7, Middle-level Non-Academic Manager, Professional Services, UoM).

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