

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND HIGHER EDUCATION: THE CASE OF MULKIYE COLLEGE IN TURKEY¹

AHMET AYPAY

Abstract – *This article describes the special relationship between the state and higher education in Turkey in the context of a case study of Mulkiye College, currently the College of Political Sciences at Ankara University. By focusing on the social and organizational context within which institutionalization takes place, it shows how conflict and functional factors each play a role in the process of institutionalization. The article demonstrates how attention to an organization and its field yields critical information about the macro processes that govern micro individual habits as well as taken-for-granted outcomes that contribute to our understanding of societal order. It is suggested that Mulkiye College presents a unique case study that contributes towards an understanding of the relationship between higher education organizations and the state in Turkey.*

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze two unique aspects of the Turkish higher education system. It will first focus on Mulkiye College and its social, political, and organizational context. Secondly, it depicts the relationship between this higher education institution and the state, arguing that that these two actors are intertwined to such an extent that it is impossible to appreciate one without also understanding the other. By focusing on political and organizational context at the national level, the study compares and contrasts classical (conflict) and revisionist (functional) approaches with a new theoretical perspective on institutions. Such a comparative exercise is directed at a variety of themes, including change, legitimacy, environment, formal structures, and persistence in the market.

The point is made that in their concern with causes, proponents of conflict/critical and functionalist perspectives have neglected what has been going on in a different type of interaction, between educational organizations and their environment. Specifically in relation to the higher education field, proponents of the two perspectives have been debating since the 1960's whether class or functional factors have the most explanatory power when considering the process of change in educational organizations. Although functionalists do not deny that

control in educational organizations is related to hierarchical structures, they assume that change occurs because of informal structures and conflict of interest. Those who support the 'conflict' perspective, on the other hand, see the relationship between stability and change as indicative of socially legitimate means of excluding people by social class, ethnicity, and gender.

Conceptual framework

Clark's work remains seminal in the consideration of these issues. Clark (1983) presented a conceptual framework regarding how national systems of higher education are integrated within state structures and interact with the academic profession, economy, and the state. Clark's framework includes three ideal types: the State System, the Professional System, and the Market System. When combined, these systems provide a powerful tool to illustrate a three-dimensional triangular space for comparative analysis of higher education systems and how higher education systems fit conceptually into the larger world.

Clark (1983) places the state in the center for its role in shaping the markets of higher education. In the State-Market interaction, some interest groups formed to limit the influence of state structures. Thus, state structures and higher education systems may be closely related and it may be difficult to distinguish the two. Institutions are divided into four groups based on their relationship to authority and exchange. The first group of institutions is integrated within state structures. The second group is united regarding control, with some sectoral independence granted. The third group is loosely situated between government control and sectoral interests. Finally, the fourth group has a market-based exchange relationship. Countries are located within this triangle based on the nature of their higher education systems.

Comparatively, state and market interaction in industrialized countries such as Russia, Sweden, Britain, Canada, US, France, and Germany may be explained by Clark's (1983) *triangle heuristic*. The Russian higher education system is characterized by extensive state control while Sweden has both tight control and highly inclusive coordination mechanisms within a relatively small system, capable of effective planning. In Britain, the system of state structures, federal control, and market mechanism coalesced, while that of Canada may be characterized as an amalgamation of provincial and national control. The Japanese higher education system is open to market interaction and has greater state involvement than the US system. Although somewhat tightened regarding control since the 1960s, the US system is the best illustration of market exchange within the industrialized world (Clark, 1970).

In comparing the systems in selected countries, relationships between the state and the academic profession can be illustrated as follows: Italy has the strongest professional academic body that exerts a strong coordination authority. The French and German systems of higher education include academic units that include professors. Britain remains relatively close to professional academic rule. The majority of national systems of higher education are characterized as a battleground between state bureaucrats and professors (Clark, 1983).

In an extensive review of the literature, Rhoades (1992) found that in higher education journals, in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, and in classics of higher education treatment of 'the state' is different from what is common in sociology journals. Treatment of the state usually lacks a firm theoretical grounding or empirical investigation. Although the state has a formal authority, it is bureaucratic, politicized, and inefficient – it is considered as a separate entity. Rhoades (1992, p.137) concludes that 'we need to move beyond formal government to consider the broad range of apparatuses, status groups, and classes that are involved in governance. We need to look within the state at the inter-organizational relations among various state sectors, branches, and agencies. We need to explore dimensions and parts of the state and of ourselves that we have ignored.'

Review of the literature

In this section, the organizational literature is reviewed in the following order: First, the literature on new institutional theory is considered, followed by conceptualizations of organizational culture. From an institutionalist perspective, environments and organizations are mutually constitutive. Both environments and organizations can give form, legitimize, and constrain. Moreover, the boundaries between environments and organizations are blurred. Organizations may act like the agents of nation-states: they 'infuse' value, spreading the values and norms of modernity as in education, health, and reproduction of bureaucracies (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Weber, 1947). The present study links a macro sociological phenomenon and a micro case study: How a change in the normative structure of a nation through a higher education institution constrains and changes the actions (perceptions) of individuals in a society. This is important because institutions 'regulate' the environment. In order to interpret these issues, one may look at the structural, political, symbolic, and systemic 'orders' of an institution (Birnbaum, 1988; Bergquist, 1992; Bolman & Deal, 1995) and the societal context (Callahan, 1962; Clark, 1970; Crozier, 1964).

A growing body of the 'new' institutional research demonstrates a variety of perspectives in sociology, economics, political science, and education. Therefore,

this theory is still developing. More empirical work is needed. There are studies that fail to find empirical support for this theory in some environments (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). The research has overwhelmingly focused on institutions in a society (for example, in the US), or secondary schooling at the international level (Crowson, Boyd & Mawhinney, 1995; March & Olsen, 1984; Meyer & Hannan, 1979; Frank, Meyer, & Miyahara, 1995; Meyer, 1977; Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992; Meyer & Zucker, 1989; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Rowan & Miskel, 1999; Scott, 1995). Also, a vast body of literature focuses on the organizational culture within organizations (Bolman & Deal 1997; Bush, 1995; Schein, 1985; Sergiovanni, 1987; Weick, 1995) and specifically higher education organizations (Bergquist, 1992; Birnbaum, 1988; Cameron, 1985; Maxwell, 1987; Tierney, 1990). However, there is little research that shows the connections at national level between the state apparatus, bureaucracy, and the few higher education institutions that shape the World System at international level.

There are common aspects between institutional theories and world system perspectives and they may be helpful in understanding the relationship between state and higher education at the international level. Perhaps one of the most studied of these outcomes is the birth of modern nation-states and their economic-political implications from a World System perspective (Kasaba & Bozdogan, 1997; Kasaba, 1988; Skocpol, 1997; Wallerstein, 1984). Much of the World System literature emphasizes conflict and functional theories. Three major comprehensive models of the World System Theory emerged from the various theoretical perspectives on this phenomenon: Liberal (individual), Institutional (corporatists), and Ecological (etatists). Wallerstein's (1984) Marxian World System Model is similar to the Fernand Braudel's Life-world model except the Wallerstein model places greater emphasis on economic structure than does Fernand Braudel's model which emphasizes the practice of everyday life (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991). Meyer (1980, p.117) states that 'explanations of the world-wide state system that stress cultural factors are on the right track.' Moreover, while a liberal perspective assumes that when an individual is subjected to schooling, she/he is influenced, an institutionalist approach assumes that when a person is educated, especially in higher education, she/he has a potential to influence many persons. In the Mulkiye, this is more relevant since the study is concerned with the normative structure of a nation. Thus, the new institutionalist approach goes beyond these 'modernist', functional and conflict explanations.

While a similarity exists regarding the theories of state among the liberal, institutional, and ecological approaches, especially given the difficulty of isolation in the world (or the commonality of isomorphic structures), there is a variation in organizational structure. This variation provides two types of differentiation. Specifically, they are (1) differentiating authority over persons,

and, (2) differentiation and coordination of activities both horizontally and vertically (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991). These two types of differentiation separate the new institutionalism from both classical (conflict) and revisionist (functional) theories.

The grounds for differences

The argument here is that the case of Mulkiye College reveals a number of limitations in Clark's approach, specifically in relation to his conceptualization of the 'heuristic triangle'. The history of Mulkiye College provides a unique opportunity for a case study. The reasons for uniqueness are presented in the following paragraphs. The historical process of the development of philosophy of higher education, its structures, challenges, and the development of its character, follows a different path from Clark's (1983) framework as described above. Clark's conceptualizations are all based on American and European cases and therefore are limited when other systems of higher education are considered.

The first characteristic that gives the Mulkiye College case its special character is that it has developed a special relationship with the state. Musselin (1999, p.24) argues that 'state/university interactions have national bases that must not be seen in terms of culture, but rather societal (in the sense of Maurice *et al.* 1982) constructions of relationships.' If one accepts Musselin's argument, one cannot ignore the societal context. No other similar college sees itself as the sole defender of modernity in Turkey. Revealing the details of this special relationship will help in understanding the higher education system not only in Turkey but also in the Middle East. In addition, Rhoades (1992) found that there is a lack of research that focuses on the relationship between the state and higher education institutions, both in higher education and in sociology journals.

The second characteristic is that Mulkiye College is a public institution. Private higher education institutions have been very important in the development of higher education systems in the US and Canada (Jones, 1996). Clark's study and a majority of the literature do not distinguish public institutions and usually include all private institutions. This case focuses on a public institution rather than a private one.

The third characteristic is that the Mulkiye College is a secular institution. This is important considering the construction of the relationship between colleges and the state in Turkey. Colleges and universities in Turkey and the Middle East have to be seen in terms of their foundation and development because higher education institutions were the agents of a modernization project. Thus, they are considered as a part of the rationalization (secularization) of the world. For a long time,

religious higher education was suspended in the aftermath of the Turkish Revolution in Turkey in 1920s. While many institutions started with a religious orientation, the majority of them broke their ties later with their religious authorities in the West. The secular character of Mulkiye College is an important distinction while constructing its relationship with the environment.

The fourth important characteristic that deserves to be highlighted is that, for a long time, the college has practically been the only route for bureaucrats to gain entry into the state apparatus (Roos, 1978; Syzclikowicz, 1970). The students of Mulkiye College consider key bureaucratic positions as the natural extension of their schooling, as if their schooling continues beyond graduation. Moreover, students begin networking with alumni early in their schooling.

The fifth characteristic is that Turkish universities had never been entirely colonized (Landau, 1997). This is another distinction, because universities in the United States, Canada, and many other countries were either created by Europeans or by others. This can be seen as an external influence and it makes higher education systems more open to market interactions.

The sixth characteristic is that changes followed a revolutionary path rather than an evolutionary process. Radical changes took place because of close supervision by the state. Changes were introduced from the top down rather than bottom up. This is another important dissimilarity of Mulkiye College from the majority of higher education institutions in the world, since it has no foundational structure that has evolved over a long period.

Considering Mulkiye in a historical context

The historical development of Turkish universities may shed some light on the state of higher education today, not only in Turkey but also in the Middle East, since Ottomans controlled this region before World War I. ‘Mulkiye’ was the traditional name for ‘the civil service’ (Findley, 1989). Unable to prevent the decline and disintegration of the empire, Ottoman intellectuals realized that a European-type higher education might save it. In order to succeed, they saw modernization as an end in itself (Landau, 1997).

The ideal of the modernist project has always been to make Turkey ‘a member of contemporary civilization.’ ‘Contemporary civilization’ meant being at the same level as Europe as regards culture, economy, and technology (Mardin, 1992). Colleges became a crucial part of this broader agenda. In pursuit of this end, Ottoman rulers turned to European institutions for a solution to their problems and imported some of their institutions. Mulkiye is one of the first of these institutions and perhaps one of the most important, since the mission of the college was to train

bureaucrats to carry out the modernization project. The college was expected to be the equivalent of the French *École Libre des Sciences Politiques* (Suleiman, 1978) in the Ottoman Empire.

A set of institutions was adopted from Europe, such as an efficient war college, and scientific, medical, and other technical schools. 'Perhaps the most important of these was the Mulkiye, established in Istanbul in 1859 to train civil servants' (Landau, 1997, p.3). The Sultan who was also the Caliph of the Ottoman Empire, established Mulkiye College in 1859. The Sultan had two different sources of authority: he represented both secular authority in the empire and religious authority in the Islamic world. Both imperial and religious powers were abolished later during the republican era, specifically in 1924. The multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire had been losing power and territory from the 18th century on. Reform-minded officials suggested that sweeping reforms had to be introduced to stop the decline and to begin the process of recovery. They further suggested a set of social, cultural, and administrative reforms.

Europe had succeeded in building nation-states. Advanced technology and population growth helped to remove the barriers hindering the consolidation of the power of nation-states. However, there are two conditions for the creation of nation-states. The first one is a centralized governmental bureaucracy. The second one is a capitalist mode of production (Giddens, 1990; Wrong, 1970). Although there is a disagreement between Marx and Weber regarding the origins of capitalism, both argue that the capitalist mode of production necessitated the creation of centralized bureaucracies (Marx, 1843; Weber, 1947). The Ottomans needed such a centralized bureaucracy to transform the state from a weak empire to a stronger state with accumulation of much-needed capital.

A condition for the accumulation of capital is the presence of entrepreneurs (Weber, 1958). Since the Ottoman Empire had not been successful in developing an entrepreneurial class, it led leaders to believe that they might be able to change the social structure using the administrative apparatus, the state bureaucracy, as leverage. Thus, they tried to create a bureaucracy that would lead to the development of a capitalist mode of production.

This logic also led administrators to think that they needed a new type of administrator to carry out the reforms that had been introduced. As a result, Mulkiye College was established to educate the new civil servants who were expected to cope with the emerging challenges. Military-oriented administrators, trained in the 'palace school', were neither capable nor willing to handle the radical changes. Moreover, they resisted attempts to bring about change. Consequently, the establishment of the college reflected the anticipation of organizing a new type of bureaucracy – rational in the Weberian sense.

Courses were taught on politics, sociology, philosophy, and history at the college. However, the secret service of Abdulhamid II, who feared disloyalty to his regime, closely supervised the courses. By 1908, when the *Young Turk Revolution* took place, the number of graduates from these newly established colleges remained relatively small (approximately 2,500), but Mulkiye graduates constituted the majority, totaling 1,236 (Landau, 1997).

However, the school's influence was far greater than the administrators had anticipated. The college's graduates and teachers were among the leaders of the '*Young Turks*' movement. This movement, allied with young military officers, overturned the successor of the founder of the school, Sultan Abdulhamid II, in 1908. Thus, the school's involvement in this event might be considered a success since the graduates were trying to change the administrative structure. *The Young Turks* were convinced that without first limiting the imperial authority, social structure could not be changed. The rulers had certainly not anticipated such a result when they authorized the establishment of the college. Mulkiye's influence was immense.

The graduates of the college established an alumni association, and started to publish a journal, called *Mulkiye*. In this journal, they claimed that a new kind of professionalism was emerging and that they should be ready for the new phenomena. The beginnings of 'the spirit of Mulkiye' and 'the Mulkiye Family' were expressed in the journal. Some objectives of the society were to publish a journal for exchanging ideas, to serve the motherland, and to protect the rights of graduates (Cankaya, 1968; Kazamias, 1966).

The journal included news from the association and substantive articles written by members. The association pioneered the idea of looking out for the future of its members, rather than just serving as an alumni communication mechanism. Some articles of the journal implied that although the war (WW I) might cause the collapse of the empire, as a group they should find a way to survive. This was the first organized and reported experience of the empire with the 'old school tie' and persistence (Cankaya, 1968). Clearly, though, this was more than just that.

During World War I, most of the members spread throughout the empire. The society suspended itself until 1921. The school was itself shut down for three years between 1915 and 1918. However, the war and the collapse of the empire were unable to destroy the spirit of the school and alumni. They kept in touch from considerable distances. They discussed how to use the executive power that they were about to hold (Cankaya, 1968; Roos & Roos, 1971). With the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, the college's penetration of the bureaucracy reached its peak.

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, was proclaimed as a nation-state in 1923. The college was eager to seize the

opportunity and to align its mission with the vision of Atatürk, the leader of the republic. As a result, the college has been one of the principal advocates of modernity in Turkey. In fact, as Syzlikowicz (1970) points out, the college shared this role with only one other college – namely *Harbiye*, the Military Academy. Syzlikowicz (1970, p.376) indeed puts this pithily: ‘*Harbiye plus Mulkiye equals Turkey.*’

Mulkiye College has evolved into a four-year, doctoral degree granting, public higher education institution, now located close to the downtown area of Ankara, the capital of Turkey. The college’s first location was in Istanbul, the capital during the Ottoman era. It was relocated to the new capital of the young state in 1937. The college has six departments, nine research centers, 166 academics (49 full professors, 9 associate professors, 19 assistant professors, 78 full-time research assistants, 4 instructors, 7 specialists) and 110 non-academic staff. There are currently 3,750 undergraduates (222 from abroad) and 530 graduate students in six departments, i.e. International Relations, Public Administration, Public Finance, Economics, Business Administration, and Industrial Relations (Mulkiye Web Page, 2002).

Statement of the problem

Systems of higher education have been faced with a myriad of challenges and engaged in restructuring throughout the world since the 1980s. The Turkish higher education system has also been confronted with similar problems that triggered higher education reforms around the world: quality vs. quantity, centralization vs. decentralization, unification vs. diversification, specialization vs. interdisciplinary approaches, and public funding vs. cost-sharing (Korkut, 1984; Simsek, 1999).

The majority of these efforts are related to change. Higher education institutions are renowned for their adherence to traditions. Contextual knowledge is critical for identifying traditions since they are formed over time. When reforming higher education systems, alternative approaches to change might be considered. One alternative is to use international comparisons. However, the first step usually is an accurate definition of the problem. Practically all modern higher education institutions in Turkey know their origins in the 20th century (Guruz *et al.*, 1994; Simsek, 1999), except for a few institutions whose histories can be traced to the 19th century. These exceptions include technical schools, medical schools, and Mulkiye. Mulkiye is practically the only higher education institution that has a relatively long history, has played a central role in the transformation of Turkey, and has developed a distinctive character.

Hence, the following questions are pertinent to the understanding of the relationship between the state and higher education: First, how does the culture of one higher education organization and its environment reinforce and create constitutive environments that persist, thereby enabling the college's power. Second, what are the reasons behind the relationship between the college and the nation-state that helps the institution persist? That is, how does the college continue to legitimize itself? Third, what are the challenges to the survival of the institution in an era of competition vis-a-vis declined nation-state power?

Methodology

This section presents a rationale of the methodology used in this study. The methodology used in this study is a case study. The study utilizes the interpretation of history and events, with the modernization project in Turkey presenting a unique case in many ways (Gellner, 1997; Skocpol, 1978). As has already been noted, Mulkiye College was chosen because it has been a crucial part of the modernization project since its inception. The case of Mulkiye College is a good one because it has both theoretical significance for sociological reasons and historical significance. Ragin & Becker (1992) argue that it is rare to find such cases. As a result, this case's uniqueness provides new evidence for the institutional analysis of higher education.

Different sources increase the validity of arguments. The results have face validity. Since there is little or no research available in the literature, face validity is required to justify further research. For example, a speech by Ataturk, the first president of Turkey, has been useful to identify 'the state ideology' and link the ideology with the college's mission. Furthermore, various sources were especially useful to identify the creation, institutionalization, crises, struggles, solutions, and persistence of the issues.

Although it is methodologically difficult to overcome the duality of structure and action, for the purposes of this study, the author uses both small (individual) and large (organizational) units because structure and individual choice are intertwined. Also, there is the difficulty of doing an in-depth interview of a formal organization (Ragin & Becker, 1992; Vaughan, 1992). Newspaper articles were helpful to learn about the political unrest of the college students and they included the opinions of Mulkiye's faculty on the issues related to the state. Changes in the college structure reflected the basic assumptions. The college curriculum has been a battlefield between the faculty, who consider themselves modernist, and the college presidents, who characterize themselves as conservatives (Cankaya, 1968).

Results

This section reviews the evidence that supports the special relationship between the state and Mulkiye. The first part of results presented quantitative data on the number of Mulkiye graduates in government. The second part focused on documentary evidence on a number of variables such as legitimacy, environment, individual activity, isomorphism, persistence, and formal structures.

Data on the number of graduates in government

The graduates usually hold high-level governmental positions. In the history of the Mulkiye College, four graduates served as prime ministers, five graduates served as the head of the Turkish Parliament, 260 graduates served as cabinet ministers, and 310 graduates served as members of parliament. The overall distribution into the three key government ministries where the Mulkiye graduates are concentrated is as follows: Ministry of Interior employed 1,261 graduates, Ministry of Finance employed 914 graduates, and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs employed 547 graduates as of 1998. In comparison, the graduates of Mulkiye College held only 8.0 % of the positions in Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1879-1922 (Findley, 1989). The distribution of graduates based on positions held was as follows: 584 sub-governors, 119 governors, 290 assistant governors, 209 academics, 130 ambassadors, 377 inspectors, 356 bank inspectors, and 252 accounting experts (Yavuzyigit, 1999).

The data supporting the central argument of this paper comes from five studies conducted by Mulkiye to follow the progress of alumni/alumnae that span almost forty years. Four studies were conducted, roughly one study per decade, from 1965 to 2001 (Mihcioglu, 1972; Mihcioglu, 1976; Mihcioglu & Emre, 1990; Emre, 2002). All four studies were carried out by the faculty of Mulkiye. The last study (Yavuzyigit, 1999), was sponsored by the Ministry of Interior. The researchers collected the data from the institutions that administered the exams. The first study covered a period of six years, from 1965 to 1970. The second one covered a five-year period between 1971 and 1974. The third one covered a three-year period, ranging from 1986-1988. The last study is not a study of graduates but a study of public service, which includes governors, deputy governors, subgovernors, in the Ministry of Interior. Nonetheless, the majority of these civil officials were the graduates of Mulkiye and therefore this can be considered as a study of graduates (Mihcioglu, 1972).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1965-1970

The first study included results from 256 nationwide competitive exams. Of the 256 exams, Ankara University offered the largest number of positions with 37 exams, followed by the Ministry of Finance with 32 exams, and finally Ataturk University offered 15 exams. In the Ministry of Finance, where Mulkiye graduates are keen for employment, the success rate of graduates was almost 1/3 (29.29 %). The ratio of successful Mulkiye graduates to all successful graduates was 34.13 % while the ratio of attended graduates to successful graduates was 35.16 % in 1965 and 31.43 % in 1970. Needless to say, while the number of competitor colleges increased, the success rate of Mulkiye College graduates actually increased (See Table 1 for comparison of success rates between Mulkiye graduates and other institutions).

TABLE 1: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Positions in 256 Exams: 1965-1970

Institutions	No. of Graduates Attended	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ Attended (%)	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	2,465	722	29.29	43.13
All other HE Institutions	8,969	952	10.61	5.68
Total	11,434	1,674	14.65	48.81

Source: Mihcioglu, 1972, p.45

When only key governmental bureaucracies that Mulkiye graduates were interested in for employment (the Ministries of Finance, Interior, and Foreign Affairs) were taken into account, Mulkiye graduates were more successful between 1965 and 1970. Within the Finance Ministry, for the positions of Assistant Public Finance Inspector, there is a considerable difference, 30 out of 37 positions (80 %), from Mulkiye graduates. For Assistant Finance Expert positions, more Mulkiye graduates were successful, with a 20.80 %. Although the 20.80% rate appears to be relatively lower, the number of students who attended this exam was higher. For Certified Banking Accountants, no other school graduates except for the Mulkiye graduates were successful in the exams in 1965, 1966, and 1967 (Mihcioglu, 1972).

The second group of key government positions is in the Ministry of Interior. These positions are for small district administrators (sub-governors), who will be promoted to governor over time. For positions in the Interior Ministry, the Mulkiye graduates lead with 61.54 % between 1965 and 1970. However, when the successful/attended rate was considered, it actually constitutes almost 25% of all attendees. The explanation here for the relatively lower success rate of the Mulkiye graduates was the conservative government and the fact that the Minister of Interior treated Mulkiye graduates unjustly because they were considered politically left following the 1968 student unrest (Mihcioglu, 1972).

The third group of key government positions is in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Successful candidates are promoted to the ambassadorial positions over time based on their performance in the Ministry. The graduates of Mulkiye constitute almost half (48.21 %) of all successful attendees. Traditionally, Mulkiye graduates made up 79.08 % of all successful graduates (Mihcioglu, 1972).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1971-1974

Similar to the first study, the second study provided data for a decade, from 1965 to 1974. Although the study compared the rate of success of the Mulkiye graduates with the graduates of competitors on a yearly basis, only overall comparisons are included here. Four hundred fifty one (451) competitive exams were offered between 1965 and 1974. The ratios were calculated using two different criteria. The first one was the ratio of successful graduates to all graduates who attended the exams. The second criteria used the ratio of the graduates of specific institutions to all successful graduates (Mihcioglu, 1976).

Again, when the ratio of successful/all attended was used, Mulkiye was the most successful institution. The graduates of the college ranked highest (36.22 %). Mulkiye provided almost 1/3 (26.14 %) of the successful graduates when the successful/attended ratio was used within a decade, from 1965 to 1974. Therefore, Mulkiye had the largest number of successful graduates in these examinations. These figures remained stable between the period of 1965, 1970, 1971, and 1974, in the relative success rates for the institutions (See Table 2 for details) (Mihcioglu, 1976).

As mentioned previously, the Ministry of Finance was among the three key ministries where the Mulkiye graduates were concentrated. During the period of 1965-1974, in the exams for Assistant Public Finance inspector positions, the Mulkiye graduates were the most successful (10.81 %). When the ratio of successful to all successful is considered, the Mulkiye graduates appeared to be confronted with little challenge (77.77 %). For Assistant Accounting Expert positions, the Mulkiye graduates came in first at 17.72 %. Their graduates made

TABLE 2: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Positions in 451 Exams: 1965-1974

Institutions	No. of Graduates Attended	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ Attended (%)	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	5,462	1,428	26.14	36.22
All other HE Institutions	25,619	2,515	9.80	64.78
Total	31,081	3,943	12.69	100.0

Source: Riproduced from Mihcioglu (1976), p.11

up the largest group within this professional examination (63.84 %) between 1965 and 1974. For Certified Bank Accountant positions, only four successful graduates came from other institutions. The Mulkiye graduates made up 86.21 % of all successful graduates in this period (Mihcioglu, 1976).

For Civil Official Positions in the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the graduates of the college made up a little over half of all attended (54.64 %). For positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the ratio of successful graduates to all attended was almost _ (48.62 %). Within the period of 1965-1974, out of 192 successful graduates, 158 were the graduates of the college (82.29 %) (Mihcioglu, 1976).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1986-1988

A total of 642 exams were conducted from 1986 to 1988. Out of 642, 314 exams were for Research Assistant Positions (48.90 %) at various universities. The graduates of the Mulkiye College attended only 266 of these examinations. Overall, the successful/attended ratio, the graduates of the college led all other higher education institution graduates (8.54 %). When the ratio of successful/total successful is considered, the graduates of the college made up 28.72 % (See Table 3 for details).

When all examinations in the three key ministries were taken into account (the Ministry of Public Finance, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the graduates of Mulkiye were more successful than those of other colleges. During the period 1986-1988 in competition, for Assistant Public Finance Inspector positions, the Mulkiye graduates made up the largest group

TABLE 3: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Positions in 266 Exams: 1986-1988

Institutions	No. of Graduates Attended	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ Attended (%)	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	9,953	850	8.54	28.72
All other HE Institutions	43,890	2,109	.05	71.28
Total	53,843	2,959	5.49	100.0

Source: Riproduced from Mihcioglu & Emre, 1990, p.2

among the graduates (87.09 %). When compared to 1965-1974 period, the ratio of successful to all successful is considered, the Mulkiye graduates experienced very little challenge (77.77 %). For Assistant Accounting Expert positions, the Mulkiye graduates were almost the only source (98.27 %) from 1986 to 1988. There were few other position openings in the Ministry of Finance in the same period and the graduates of the college constituted the largest group (For details see Mihcioglu and Emre, 1990).

In the Ministry of Interior, for sub-governors (small district administrators), almost four-fifths of the graduates of the college were successful. They made up 77.86 % of all successful examinees for this position. The ratio of successful/attended was 15.03 % for the successful graduates of the college. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the ratio of successful graduates of the college to all attended was more than half (53.62 %). In the period of 1965-1974, this same ratio was 54.64 %. During these years, in addition to these positions, the Prime Minister's office started to employ individuals for the new capital market and other positions. The graduates again led with 2/3 in the competition for the positions in the new capital market and 1/3 of successful graduates for other positions (See Mihcioglu and Emre, 1990 for details).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1996-1997

Mulkiye supplied more than half (58.27 %) of all successful graduates in competitive high-end bureaucratic positions. This ratio remained stable. It was 56.44 % in 1996 and 59.39 % in 1997. These ratios show that although the

competitor institutions and number of students have increased over the years, Mulkiye graduates remained competitive.

Mulkiye graduates made up 50 % of successful graduates who were admitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs positions in 1996. For the Assistant Accounting Expert positions in the Ministry of Finance, Mulkiye graduates made up 90 % of all successful candidates. In the same ministry, 75 % of all Assistant Inspector Positions were filled by Mulkiye graduates. For three positions opened by the Prime Minister’s office, Mulkiye graduates consisted of 50 % of all successful for the Treasury, 29 % of all positions for the Capital Market, and 62 % of all positions in the Stock Market (Yavuziyigit, 1999).

In 1997, Mulkiye graduates constituted 55 % of all successful graduates for the positions in Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mulkiye graduates employed in the 54 % of Prime Ministry’s Expert positions and 57 % of Foreign Trade Office’s positions. Furthermore, in the Ministry of Finance, 55 % of Assistant Accounting Expert positions, 55 % of Assistant Inspector positions, 62 % of Revenue Controller were the graduates of Mulkiye (See Yavuziyigit, 1999, p.380 for details and other positions).

TABLE 4: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Position Exams between 1996 and 1997

Institutions	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	250	58.27
All other Institutions	179	41.72
Total	429	100.00

Source: Yavuziyigit, 1999, p.380

Mulkiye graduates in government in 2001

This section describes the positions held by Mulkiye graduates in the Ministry of Interior. This part of the study is based on a study of public administration in Turkey in 2001. The survey was conducted by a group of faculty of Mulkiye and was sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior. In addition to the central organization of the Ministry (including supervisory board, lawyers, and governors who have been currently working in the central organization of the Ministry), governors, sub-governors, retired governors and sub-governors were

surveyed. A total of 1,776 surveys were sent and 1,140 were returned, with a response rate of 64 % (Karasu, 2001).

The results show that over two-thirds of all governors, fifty three out of eighty governors (66 %), were Mulkiye graduates. This ratio has never been under 50 % except for once, when the Democrat Party was in power in 1955. The government and Mulkiye could not manage to have a good relationship. It was the only time the ratio was less than 50 % (45.9 %) since the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 (See Emre, 2001 and Karasu, 2001 for more information). Thus the quantitative evidence shows that the Mulkiye graduates constitute the largest group in the three key governmental bureaucratic positions.

Other evidence

This part reviews other evidence for the unique relationship between the state and the college. Themes to explain are legitimacy, environment, persistence, formal structures, and unreflective activity. There are studies that conducted interviews with the graduates and faculty. The topics of these interviews naturally included the Turkish bureaucracy and state. Although these interviews are secondary as a data source in this study, they provided valuable knowledge about the culture of the organization and the worldviews of the graduates. The interviewees included high-level bureaucrats. Moreover, the books on the history of the graduates of Mulkiye (Cankaya, 1968; Mihcioglu, 1972; Mihcioglu, 1976; Mihcioglu & Emre, 1990; Emre, 2002; Yavuziyigit, 1999) provided detailed information.

The unique relationship between the college and the state

In the modern world, there are three major competitors: nation-states, religious groups, and regional ethnic groups. States may prefer to play a relatively weak role, such as the U.S. (Kamens, 1977). In Turkey, however, the nation-state acted primarily as an agent in its own right. One consequence of this is that direct control of Mulkiye College was kept closely associated with the state. Thus, a principal-agent relationship has emerged between the two. Compared to other societies, official efforts to politically construct a 'new citizen' and to recruit national political elites have been strong. Administrative and political elites serve as gatekeepers (Karen, 1990). Furthermore, attribution theory is useful here rather than focusing on tasks and socialization, as in the classical tradition and norms of functional approaches.

Legitimacy

The college gained legitimacy by commitment to strong Western values in Turkey. No other college has stood firm in advocating Westernization in Turkey. The college has seen itself as the sole savior of Turkey. A crucial aspect of institutionalization is the concentration of power in the hands of people who believe in these values. The following quote is taken from Mulkiye's Web Page. It reflects the mission and the assumptions of the college (Mulkiye Web Page, 2002):

'The [Mulkiye] is one of the *principal* institutions in Turkey that offers intensive education in the fields of political science, economics, public administration, and international relations. The establishment of the school and its development are closely related to the Westernisation and modernisation movements which have been taking place in Turkey for more than a century. With the beginning of social reforms, the need for administrators trained according to Western standards was strongly felt in order to adjust the administrative procedure as a mechanism to the necessities of the day and to increase the efficiency of political and administrative organizations.' [*my italics*]

This quote refers to the college's reliance on formal structures rather than relying on hierarchical structures (conflict-classical) or informal structures (functional). Environments are interpenetrated with formal organizations directly: organizations exist as social ideologies with social (usually legal) licences (Jepperson and Meyer, 1991, p. 205). Therefore, while institutionalization is the historical preservation of values within organizations, an institution is defined as a structure and certain values to which some powerful individuals committed themselves. If one focuses on the relationship between institutions and the state, one finds out that the strength of institutionalization is in the correlation between commitment to that value and power (Stinchcombe, 1968). In the Mulkiye case, one expects this correlation to be very high.

Modernity means 'modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onward and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence' (Giddens, 1990, p.1). Two distinct organizational types of modernity are nation- states and the capitalist mode of production. Surveillance (control of information and social supervision) is one of the four institutional dimensions of modernity. The other three are capitalism, industrialism, and military power (Giddens, 1990). Mulkiye College has been controlling public resources and information through its 'clientele'.

Constitutive environments

The graduates of the college have held enormous executive power in Turkey. The prime minister and the president of a political party (the leaders of two out of four major political parties) who were actively engaged in politics were the graduates of the college. The graduates hold key bureaucratic positions: as governors, sub-governors, district administrators, diplomats, professors, experts, and CEOs of public institutions. Approximately eighty percent of graduates are concentrated in the three key ministries: Interior, Finance, and Foreign Affairs. Therefore, it is crucial to take *Mulkiye* into account if a study focuses on: the state, or bureaucracy in Turkey. Again, Szylikowicz (1970, p. 390) observed:

‘... A high degree of harmony apparently existed between the culture of the school and that of the administration, as students were effectively socialized into an acceptance of the values, attitudes, and patterns of behavior that were necessary for success within the administration. For this reason, any assessment of the performance of the Turkish bureaucracy, or at least of those ministries where *Mulkiye* graduates are concentrated, must take into account the culture of the school.’

Szylikowicz (1970) finds old institutional theories misleading and functionalist ones confusing; his study provides insights that might be considered complementary to the ‘new institutionalist’ theorizing. For example, his characterizations of the school point out to a strong connection between the college and bureaucracy. This argument supports Stinchcombe’s (1968) claim that a functional causation ‘implies’ an institutional-historicism, rather than competes with it.

Persistence

The college has demonstrated a great deal of persistence in the republican era. The following compelling story of the confrontation between the prime minister of Turkey and the dean of the college is part of the evidence college autonomy. With the multi-party system in the 1950s, a relatively liberal party came into power. The college, along with the military and other bureaucratic elites, were not happy with the liberalization and with government policies. There were student demonstrations resulting in student occupation of college buildings. The dean did not let the police intervene arguing that it would be a violation of academic freedom. The dean’s permission was required by law. The prime minister called the dean and asked him to stop the student demonstrations. The dean told the prime minister that he could not prevent students from protesting because he supported

the students. Needless to say, the prime minister was unhappy. Through the minister of education, the government tried to bring the college under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education. In 1960, there was a military coup in Turkey. The prime minister and two ministers in the government were sentenced to death and executed. The dean of the college became a member of the constitutional assembly. The assembly was responsible for drafting the legislation. The college was protected by law from that point forward (Heper & Oncu, 1987).

Additionally, in at least two instances, prime ministers (the elected head of the executive branch) wanted to close or curb the power of the school. However, the school blocked these efforts and become even stronger (Heper & Oncu, 1987; Heper & Evin, 1988). These historical events show that change followed a revolutionary, top-down, and radical path rather than an evolutionary, bottom-up path, as in Western higher education systems.

Formal structures

‘Formal organizations act in accordance with other elements of rationalized society: modern actors and their interests, legitimated functions and their functionaries, and agents of the modern collectivity such as state elite and legal and professional theorists and practitioners’ (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991, p.205). Institutions like Mulkiye emphasize formal aspects of organizational life since they constitute a substantial part of state structures.

Expansion of an educational systems also contributes to the dissemination of the values and norms of modernity not only for students but also for citizens (Meyer, 1977). The concept of nation-states emerged in Europe following the development of rational bureaucratic structures in education and in health (Wrong, 1975). Rationalized formal organization is a necessity to show that extensive institutional structures exist in a rational society (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The developments in the Mulkiye case illustrate institutional structures as they are related to state structures.

Unreflective activity

The Mulkiye college students are aware that prestigious careers lie ahead of them. They think that after their senior year at Mulkiye College, the fifth, sixth, and seventh years after graduation, their first few years in bureaucracy, are a formal extension or a part of their formal schooling at the college. The graduates begin networking with alumni in their freshman year at college. The following quote from the college’s web site points out this reality (Mulkiye Web Page, 2002):

‘The Faculty graduates have strong ties among themselves and the alumni society of the Faculty, *Mulkiyeliler Birliđi (Alumni Association)*, is a quite prestigious organisation with many branches all over Turkey. The *Mulkiyeliler Birliđi* occupies an important position in Turkish intellectual life and organizes various courses, symposiums, seminars and exhibitions every year and publishes books as well as a monthly journal. Its Ankara branch provides the Faculty, alumni, and its fourth year students with a lively and homely place with a garden for eating and drinking in the centre of the town. In addition, it also runs a motel for its members visiting Ankara. Other branches of the *Mulkiyeliler Birliđi* in various cities also have similar facilities.’

Institutional isomorphism at national and international levels

There are institutional orders at both national and international levels. Historically, the European nation-state system influenced the world system. This is reflected in knowledge systems and religious organizations; shared goals, means, and resources for ends; and control structures. Thus, modern societies have two groups of collective agents who lead economic organization: bureaucrats and business persons. In modern societies, social action takes place by authorized agents of collective interests (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991). In this case, *Mulkiye* graduates take on the role themselves.

The historical case of *Mulkiye* College illustrates the explanatory power of new institutionalist theory. Evidently, the college has long been a symbol for modernity in Turkey. The new institutionalists argue that organizations and environments mutually influence and regulate one another. The creation of the institution by the state and later influence of the college over the state through bureaucrats in social life, politics, law, economy, and bureaucracy are all evidence of this reality.

Further evidence can be found in the decisions and actions of the state. At least in two instances, prime ministers (the elected head of the executive branch in Turkey) tried to curb the power of the college. However, they both failed in their attempts. As evident in interviews, most of the college’s graduates have strong modernist attitudes. In order to understand the power of the college, note the following quote (*Mulkiye* Web Page, 2002):

‘In the eyes of the Turkish nation, the Faculty has come to symbolise evolution, reformism, and academic freedom. Always conscious of its historical mission and responsibility to contribute to the intellectual and political evolution of Turkey, the Faculty today is jealously defending its right to criticise the governments’ internal and external policies.’

Having enormous executive power makes the college's name, culture, and structure the envy of other colleges. For example, the Faculty of Political Sciences at Istanbul University modified its name to exactly the same one as at Mulkiye to comply with the legislation to secure their graduates admission to take the exams for prestigious positions in the bureaucracy (coercive isomorphism). The law specifically mentions the name of Mulkiye College, and therefore excludes other colleges that provide a similar type of education. Another fact is that the school is supposed to be the equivalent of a French college. This shows the existence of isomorphism in the international arena. Isomorphic tendencies created similar bureaucratic structures both at national and international levels. Globalization, liberalization of the economy, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and prevalent use of the internet have weakened the modernism and mission of the college to a certain extent. New competitors have emerged from private institutions.

In order to remain competitive, the college has to revise its functioning, and open up more to environmental influences. It is clear that the college will not have difficulty in regulating its environment. As Burton Clark (1970, p.259) points out, 'the ultimate risk of distinctive character is that of success in one era breeding rigidity and stagnation in a later one.' Similarly, the myths that colleges have about distinctiveness can haunt them in the periods of rapid social change (Kamens, 1977).

Discussion and conclusions

The study provided both quantitative and documentray evidence on the special and strong relationship between the state and Mulkiye in Turkey. The evidence reviewed in the results section show the limitatitons of conflict and functional theories in understanding the Mulkiye case. While it is still developing, the most recent theory on institutions provides a more complete explanation.

Rhoades (1992) contends that there has been no systematic study of the relationship between the state and higher education institutions. He also argues that higher education literature has overwhelmingly been based on a structural-functional framework. Structural-functionalism presents higher education institutions and the state as if they are separate entities. Moreover, Rhoades argues, it points in a direction toward political process rather than power structures.

In contrast to structural-functional conceptualizations, institutional theorists such as Brint and Karabel (1989) and Slaughter (1990) have studied the interconnectedness between higher education and the private sector. However, both structural functionalists and critical theories fail to take the role of institutions into account in such matters as using the state as an instrument outside of class

relations. They only look at the state's influence on higher education, not the other way around. The new institutionalist approach appropriately takes this point into account and therefore provides a more powerful framework.

Given 'modernity' as a technical project, it requires normative, economic, and political changes from the traditional toward the modern (Giddens, 1990), although there have been some positive changes in the social structure toward the goal of modernization. Moreover, modernity requires the separation of church and state. Almost all colleges and universities in Turkey remain secular. This is another dissimilarity between Turkey and the West.

It is clear that a unique relationship has developed between the higher education system, specifically Mulkiye College, and the State in Turkey. While Turkish policy makers have borrowed and adopted institutional structures, concepts, and policies from their French, German, and American counterparts, they were revised and modified to fit the state structures in Turkey. However, they developed a bureaucracy. The relationship has been characterized as a revolutionary process. Clark's framework (1983) has not been useful to explain the case in Turkey. Others also discussed the need for opening up the higher education system in Turkey to greater market interaction (Guruz *et al.*, 1994; Simsek, 1999). The Turkish experience is a unique one and it revealed itself in the relationship between Mulkiye College and the State.

New Institutional theorizing better explains the Mulkiye College case. The evidence may be found in the changes that had taken place, sources of legitimacy, such as Westernization, the separation between church and state, constitutive environments, persistent formal structures, and autonomy.

To reiterate, the review of the following variables shows limitations in Clark's framework that the actions of state and market largely determines higher education systems. Institutions like Mulkiye appear to have played an important role in shaping the higher education system in Turkey. The following variables support this argument. First, the college proved to be persistent. Mulkiye College embarked upon executive power through bureaucracy and persisted despite efforts from the external environment to change. This is a new approach that the new institutionalists have bestowed on the organizational literature. The college enjoyed great autonomy from its establishment until the 1980s.

Second, the college gained legitimacy advocating Western values and secularism. This is another dissimilarity between Mulkiye and higher education institutions in the West. The college created a collective identity around the clientele of Mulkiye. Other colleges tried to imitate this college. Moreover, the college worked against its reason for existence because the clients of the college enjoy enormous power, high status, and relatively good income. Again, Clark reminds us of the downside: 'for the organization, the richly embellished

institutional definition we call a saga can then be invaluable in maintaining viability in a competitive market' (Clark, 1970, p.262).

Third, Mulkiye College and the state have created 'constitutive environments.' Classical approaches conceptualize the environment as an important force that has regulative force over the organizations. However, the New Institutionalism conceptualizes both organizations and environments as 'constitutive' environments. As environments may penetrate into organizations, organizations may regulate environments as well.

Fourth, there has been a culture of negotiation in European and US cases but such a culture has never existed in Turkey. The findings suggest that further research is required on the college's influence on the state. This paper has focused on the interaction between the state and the college. Moreover, the effect of this relationship on academic freedom of the faculty may need further inquiry. Finally, the findings suggest further research is needed in the Middle East, the former Eastern bloc and Russia, where etatist influences have been strong.

Ahmet Aypay is Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Sciences of the Faculty of Education at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University. Address for correspondence: Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, E_itim Fakültesi, Anafartalar Kampüsü 17100 Çanakkale, Turkey. E-mail: aypaya@yahoo.com

Notes

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