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Importing Theories of Management and Organization

The Case of Turkish Academia

The extant literature acknowledges the dominance of U.S.-based theories and institutional models in research and teaching on management (Chanlat, 1994; Whitley, 1988). Postwar U.S. influence on academic management studies in Europe, for example, is now well documented (e.g., Amdam and Norstrom, 1994; de Man and Karsten, 1994). There is also a growing awareness, however, of the problematic nature of treating the development of management and organization theories as a global phenomenon and an increasing interest in studying national variations (e.g., Guillen, 1994; Lammers, 1990; Üsdiken and Pasadeos, 1995). These studies have sought to understand the conditions and the dynamics involved in the international transfer of theoretical orientations. Clearly, more research is needed for a better understanding of the international diffusion of theories in management and its local ramifications. Moreover, the empirical scope of the extant literature has been limited; much work has focused almost entirely on developments within and the interactions among the United States and some European countries. Research exploring the processes and the impact of theory taking in management studies in late-industrializing countries in Europe or elsewhere is almost nonexistent.

This paper addresses these issues within the context of Turkey, a postwar late-industrializer. Late industrialization means industrial development that takes

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place within an international context of advanced economies and through dependence on foreign technology (Buğra, 1994). It also implies the late-coming of management studies as a discipline and a prevalent disposition to import—very much like technology and capital equipment—management methods and procedures from more developed economies. Given this context, this explores the evolution of thinking and research of Turkish academia on management and organizations. More specifically, it traces the diffusion and persistence of theories developed elsewhere and their impact on indigenous contributions and research traditions.

Diffusion of management theories: The United States and Europe

Although there are traces of earlier U.S. influence on managerial thinking and practice in Europe (Guillen, 1994), the more significant surge has come in the aftermath of World War II. This can be attributed primarily to U.S. supremacy and involvement in the reconstruction of Europe after the war. It is also related to the tendency to emulate the "new paradigm" (Locke, 1994) in management education in the United States, which has involved strengthening the scientific basis of managerial knowledge. The influence and the reception of flows of theoretical ideas from the United States appear to vary, however, across European countries. In some, a strong initial impact in the postwar period and up to the 1970s seems to have been tempered by an orientation toward the production and accommodation of indigenous knowledge (Cooper and Cox, 1989; Lammers, 1990). The reception of different U.S.-based theories also appears to vary (Guillen, 1994); and there have been variations in different research areas within management studies, coupled, as in Britain for example, with the emergence of independent theoretical streams in organizational analysis. Furthermore, Chanlat (1994) has shown that Francophone organization studies have, since early days, remained distinct from mainstream theorizing and have essentially preserved their autonomy.

Such variations in the reception of theories emanating from the United States and the dynamics of the interaction over time have been attributed to a variety of factors. Guillen (1994) has argued that two sets of factors—namely, the external context confronting local firms and a range of institutional conditions—determine the degree and the timing of adoption of foreign theories by academics and practitioners. In a similar manner, Cooper and Cox (1989) mention the pressure to respond to the demands of client groups for locally more relevant theories and cases. Perry (1992) has suggested that nationally variable institutional conditions of academic work may explain divergence in the nature of scholarly activity. Intellectual traditions (Chanlat, 1994; de Man and Karsten, 1994; Ferraresi and Gasparini, 1976) and language barriers (Chanlat, 1994) have also been suggested to explain local orientations and autonomy from mainstream thought and research. Ferraresi and Gasparini (1976), on the other hand, argued that, in the case of Italy, the late arrival of social sciences and delayed economic development, as well as closer ties with the United States in the aftermath of World War II, have played an important role in their readiness to import U.S. theories on management and organizations. At a more general level, Guillen (1994) has proposed that economic backwardness leads to a stronger tendency to import ideas from more advanced countries as well as to imitate them.

These latter observations, in particular, suggest that late industrialization leads, at least in the early stages of local scholarly activity, to dependence on and readiness to import foreign theories, approaches, and methods. These early tendencies are then likely to have an imprinting effect on the later course of indigenous scholarly activity. Later evolution and the possibilities of theoretical change are, in turn, likely to be shaped by the nature of external pressures on academic and educational organization and the institutional context surrounding academic work.

The Turkish context: External pressures and institutional conditions

Foreign influence in the formative years

Academic units in business and management studies started to appear in Turkey in the 1930s as chairs in "business economics" in schools of commerce, law, and agriculture. As in some other European countries, but with a delay, these pioneering units mark the granting of academic status to accounting (de Man and Karsten, 1994) and the beginning of a German influence on the discipline (Pieper, 1994; Şencan, 1990). The major thrust, however, came some twenty years later with the founding in the mid-1950s of two non-university institutions and, most notably, the Institute of Business Economics at the University of Istanbul, to provide graduate programs in business. Although recommendations of international organizations and U.S. aid were involved in all three cases, the establishment of the latter institute marks, in line with the dominant wave at the time in other parts of Europe (see Amdam and Norstrom, 1994; de Man and Karsten, 1994), the beginning of a strong U.S. influence. The institute was an imitation of the U.S. business school model and, in its early years, relied extensively on the support of the Harvard Business School (Şencan, 1990). The accounting emphasis of the first twenty years was supplanted by a broader business outlook. The practical orientation, however, remained intact, not least due to the new emphasis on the case-study method (Şencan, 1990).

It is also important to note that these formative years, especially the period when industrialization started to gain momentum in Turkey (namely, the 1950s and 1960s), coincided with the ascendance of convergence theory in international academic circles. Transfer of foreign management knowledge and practices was thus regarded as an essential ingredient in the modernization process. These views about management were also very much in agreement with an intellectual heritage in Turkey that relied on a normative approach for dealing with socioeconomic transformation (Heper and Berkman, 1979).

External demands and pressures

A major consequence of late economic development for academic activity in management is that it leads to a widespread belief that a major impediment to industrialization, and a major source of inefficiencies in resource allocation, is a lack of qualified managers (Safavi, 1981). This leads to an emphasis on management education that can produce quick results and meet the increasing demand for "qualified" managers in both the private and public sectors. Implicit in these views, of course, is the assumption that "modern" management and its methods are transferable. Although the lack of and need for more research are often mentioned, emphasis is, invariably, placed on the need to educate managers in large numbers and on providing postexperience training opportunities for practitioners (e.g., Çynar and Saatçioğlu, 1973).

Coupled with increasing demand for higher education, a shift in emphasis toward undergraduate studies soon followed. By the early 1970s, ten schools or departments offered degrees in business, all of which were almost exclusively geared toward undergraduate education (Çynar and Saatçioğlu, 1973). Since then, with a growing young population, there has been mounting pressure on government to initiate new institutions of higher education and on existing universities to admit more and more students (Gürüz et al., 1994). A major consequence for academic departments in business and management studies, as well as for others, has been that they devote almost all of their attention and resources to undergraduate education. For the faculty, this means coping with heavy teaching loads and operating with limited funds within an incentive structure that rewards higher levels of teaching input.

The institutional setting

The shift toward undergraduate education has also meant the incorporation of management studies into the dominant institutional model that characterized Turkey's higher-education system. Although the origins of higher education can be traced to the Ottoman period, history for Turkish universities starts in 1933 with the founding of the University of Istanbul. This university and others that soon followed were shaped essentially by the continental-European tradition. In the following two decades, other organizational models (like the professionally oriented schools in engineering, commerce, and accountancy, called the "academies," and a small number of universities patterned more after the U.S. tradition) also emerged. The older universities, however, remained as core institutions, struggling to maintain their higher status and to preserve their autonomy from the government, while relying almost entirely on public funds. Most new universities were established under their sponsorship serving to diffuse their institutional model. Although ostensibly different in their mission, the academies also increasingly emulated the practices and organizational characteristics of universities. Isomorphism toward this institutional model prevailed, partly because of mimetic tendencies and partly because of legal provisions and court decisions. A major overhaul in the legal framework of higher education in the early 1980s eliminated, on the one hand, literally all formal distinctions among organizations and, at the same time, attempted to introduce a radically different institutional model. Although the new legal framework entailed some drastic changes pertaining to university governance, more than a decade's experience suggests that it has had a limited impact on the structural and processual features of what had become the dominant model in higher education (Gürüz et al., 1994).

A central structural feature of this dominant institutional model has been the "university" as a federation of specialized schools and colleges that are self-sufficient in terms of their faculty and that are internally structured around specialized units with strong disciplinary boundaries (Kaya, 1972). Such a model has led to limited interaction among different institutions and even among departments within the same institution. As in other disciplines, it has served as an impediment to the emergence of interdisciplinary links in management studies (Heper and Berkman, 1979). Academic journals have emerged but, following the tradition of previous ones, have remained essentially in-house publications. Professional academic associations have not developed, and scholarly meetings have been sporadic and failed to draw wide interest. Overall, the key elements of the organizational field have been isolated "chairs," leading to a setting that has provided only limited opportunities for scholarly interaction and exchange.

These overriding characteristics of the organizational field have been particularly enforced by institutionalized patterns of faculty recruitment and career progression. With the exception of a small number of U.S.-oriented institutions founded in the late 1950s that relied on foreign faculty and young faculty with graduate degrees earned abroad (Çynar and Saatçio lu, 1973), the dominant pattern has been based upon inbreeding and almost no interorganizational mobility (Gürüz et al., 1994). Typically, a young graduate would join as an assistant to the "chair" where he or she obtained an undergraduate degree and would earn a Ph.D. there. He or she would then be expected to spend the rest of his or her academic career in the same department. By merging the granting of academic degrees and promotion decisions in the hands of "chairs," these recruitment and promotion practices have accentuated the power of senior professors. They are also likely to serve as a source of inertia, perpetuating values, perspectives, and methods that came to dominate in the unit and preventing the infusion of different backgrounds and novel approaches.

Within this institutional model, there was also a very limited role for graduate work. Graduate studies were essentially limited to catering to small numbers of doctoral students who aspired to become faculty members in the same unit or department. This has been coupled, until recently, with the absence of a grant-making tradition to fund scholarly research, especially in the social sciences (Heper and Berkman, 1979).

Altogether, these considerations lead to the expectation that approaches that have been imported and come to dominate in the formative years of management studies as an academic discipline in Turkey should have left a strong mark on later evolution. More specifically, one would expect to find a continuing prevalence of the normative tradition imported in the formative years—initially from Germany and then from the United States—and thus a continuation of the emphasis on importation of foreign theories rather than indigenous research.

Data and method

The data for the study come from four journals published by academic institutions. These were the only journals that had an uninterrupted publication life throughout the period specified for the study, namely 1972–91.[1] Because all four of these journals are eclectic in their coverage, three judges (professors of management and organization, two affiliated with different universities in Turkey and one working abroad) were employed to determine the database of the study. They were provided with a list of all articles by Turkish authors (1,467 in total)[2] published in the four journals in the specified period as well as separate domain statements for organization and management theory, organizational behavior, and human-resources management, and they were asked to identify the articles they thought were within each of these areas. The average agreement among the three judges was 82.9 percent, giving a value of 0.77 for Scott's pi, the reliability coefficient used in this study (Scott, 1955). A minimum value of 0.75 is considered as acceptable in the literature (Wimmer and Dominick, 1991).

The 173 articles that at least two referees categorized into the organization and management theory area constituted the data base for this study. These articles reflect the contribution of 107 different authors over a period of twenty years. Notable, first of all, is the small proportion of empirical articles (16.2 percent), providing initial support for preceding arguments concerning the paucity of indigenous research. The proportion of authors from the publishing institution varied between 78.6 and 97.9 percent for the university-based journals, providing again a clear indication of the prevalence, as argued above, of in-house authorship.

The study relies on citation indexing as the method of analysis. Citation indexing is based upon the investigation of citations listed as footnotes or references in scholarly work. It takes the published citation as the unit of analysis and is based on the central assumption that the citation reflects a relationship between the citing and cited documents. It is, thus, a means for studying patterns of interaction among scholars and scholarly communities. Although citation indexing does not often take into account the context of the citation, studies investigating the validity of the method in the social sciences (e.g., Gordon, 1982; Summers, 1984) have shown that citation analyses can provide useful information on the particular literature under study.

The present study is based upon two sets of citation analyses. The first relies upon simple citation counts. Data derived from citation counts enable us to operationalize a number of key variables for identifying the characteristics and tracing the evolution of the literature of a discipline. The present study uses three such variables: scholarliness (or the theoretical versus applied nature of the literature), immediacy (extent to which old versus new knowledge is used), and, in this specific instance, dependence on foreign literature. The indicator used to assess scholarliness was citation density, operationalized as the number of references per article. More "applied" articles tend to cite less than those with a scholarly orientation (So, 1988). Immediacy was measured by citing half-life, the number of years into the past that cumulatively accounts for 50 percent of all the work that is cited in an article (So, 1988). Shorter citing half-lives are indicative of reliance on more recent literature. Finally, dependence on foreign literature was measured by coding the language of the cited work. Altogether, 2,678 references were coded for this analysis. Each separate source quoted in an article was recorded as a citation. Multiple references in the same article to the same source were not coded as separate citations.

The second set of analyses involved a citation-indexing procedure known as co-citation analysis, which measures the number of documents that have cited any pair of sources (Culnan, 1986). These co-citation frequencies can then be used to construct co-citation networks that help to assess the cumulative traditions of a field and changes over time. For this analysis, only references to books, chapters in books, and journal articles were coded, giving a total of 2,314 citations (excluding self-citations, a total of seventy).

Findings and discussion

Table 1 presents the average citation densities and citing half-lives for the articles included in the study for four time periods. The citation densities are indicative, as expected, of a more "applied" orientation in this literature. Furthermore, the findings show little in the way of change. Notable, first, is the finding that the average citation density has remained almost constant over the twenty-year period (one-way analysis of variance showed no significant differences among the periods specified for analysis). Second, citing half-lives appear to have become longer in the 1980s, suggesting a slowdown in the rate of utilization of more recent knowledge. One-way analysis of variance using citation age (i.e., the number of years between the citing article and the cited source), another measure of immediacy, showed significant differences, the Scheffe test indicating ($p < 0.05$) that this is particularly true for the early 1980s. This finding is particularly noteworthy given the "applied" orientation suggested by citation density figures, as more applied journals tend to have shorter citing half-lives.

As expected, breakdown by origin of sources cited shows extensive dependence upon foreign (in particular, the Anglo-Saxon) literature. For the entire

Table 1
Citation densities and citing half-lives (n = 173)

	1972–76 (*n* = 52)	1977–81 (*n* = 36)	1982–86 (*n* = 35)	1987–91 (*n* = 50)
Citation densities[a]	14.9	14.7	15.7	16.5
Citing half-lives[b]	7.4	6.5	11.6	8.9

[a] Number of references per article.
[b] Number of years into the past that divides citations in an article into two halves.

period, less than a quarter (23.6 percent) of the citations are to sources in Turkish. More than 70 percent of all references, on the other hand, are to literature in English. Breakdown by two ten-year periods, reported in Table 2, does show that some degree of change has been taking place with regard to dependence on foreign literature. Although Anglo-Saxon (primarily American, as the following co-citation analyses reveal) dominance persists in both periods, there also appeared to be a move in the 1980s toward a larger proportion of Turkish sources (the chi-square test shows a highly significant difference between the two periods). It is also interesting that the limited recourse to continental European literature in the 1970s disappears almost entirely with the 1980s. This study's observations for the 1970s could be an indication of the last remnants of the relationship with the continental European literature that covers the very early stages of academic management studies in Turkey, to be taken over in the last decade almost completely by an American influence.

Although these findings provide some indication of the prevailing features of and patterns in the Turkish literature, they offer no information on the approaches that have dominated, an issue that the co-citation analyses attempted to address. Co-citation analysis initially requires the determination of sources that have received citations above a certain threshold specified by the researcher. The analysis is then based on identifying the frequency with which any pair of these sources have been cited together. The output of this analysis is a network that can be constructed by linking documents that have been co-cited above a threshold frequency also specified by the researcher.

The result of the co-citation analysis based on twenty-two most-cited sources (i.e., cited six or more times and a minimum co-citation frequency of three) is reported in figure 1.[3] Overall, there appears to be a prevalence, on the one hand, of "process" approaches to management and, on the other, of the behavioralist perspectives of the 1960s. The dominance of these two approaches becomes apparent as they emerge as two distinct clusters in the network produced by the co-citation analysis. The management-process perspective emerges as a highly

Table 2
Origins of sources cited (n = 2677)*

	Turkish	English	French/ German	Translated works	Total
1972–81	207 (15.9%)	967 (74.3%)	98 (7.5%)	29 (2.2%)	1,301 (100%)
1982–91	424 (30.8%)	938 (68.2%)	12 (0.9%)	2 (0.1%)	1,376 (100%)

* The figures for foreign works include Turkish translations. Translated works include sources that are translations from one foreign language to another.

distinct cluster (upper part of figure 1), with some links to pioneering contributions to organization theory. The second cluster (lower part of figure 1) is made up essentially of behavioralist viewpoints about management and organizations. Altogether, the results support the primary contention of this paper, that the Turkish academic literature appears to be dominated by one or the other of the normative traditions in management studies and seems to have been, in the last two decades, under the influence of original or revised versions of work of this genre. These findings are also in line with what the citation density and citing half-life figures reported above suggest.

In order to investigate whether changes have occurred over time, separate co-citation analyses were conducted by dividing the time span of the study into two ten-year periods (not shown here). Notable in the results of these analyses is the overall resemblance of the two networks, as the influence of management-process and behavioralist approaches appears in both periods, albeit with what seems to be a shift in emphasis. A more balanced influence of both approaches, in fact, perhaps even a stronger impact of the behavioralist perspective, is observed for the 1970s, whereas in the 1980s the influence of the behavioralist perspective appears diminished, giving way to almost singular dominance of the traditional management-process approaches. It thus seems that the Turkish literature of the 1970s followed relatively closely (as the citing half-lives reported in Table 1 also suggest) the then-dominant modes of American theory (Kassem, 1976). The late 1970s are marked in the U.S. literature by the increasing popularity of contingency views and the ensuing divorce of organizational theory from organizational behavior. Interestingly, the shift in the United States toward contingency views appears to have received only a limited reception within the Turkish academic community. Additional co-citation analyses conducted by reducing the citation threshold up to two (not shown here) indicate that, for both periods, works that are associated with contingency and open-systems approaches enter into the networks, suggesting that these views have received at least some attention in the Turkish literature.

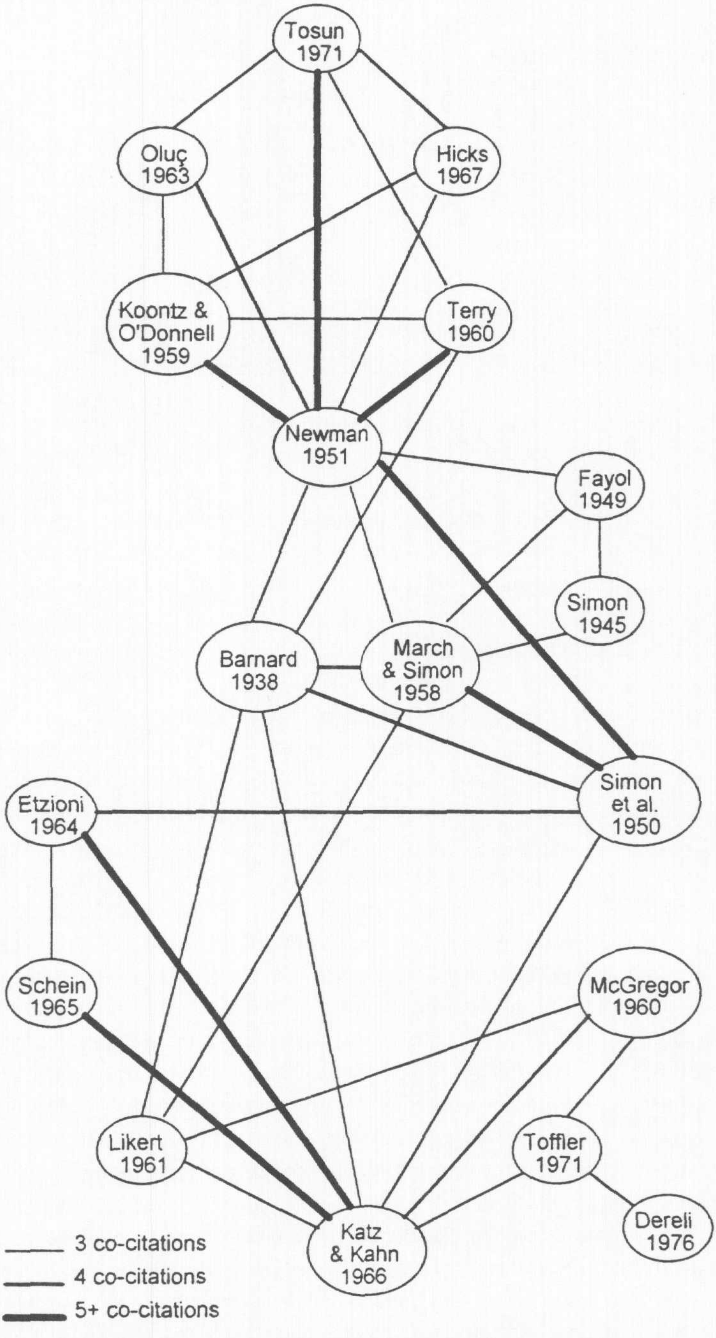

Figure 1 Co-Citation Network for 22 Most Cited Sources, 1972–91

The extent of this reception, however, has not been on a scale that could rival the supremacy of the "one best way" tradition associated with the management-process and behavioralist approaches.

When the citation threshold was reduced to two, the results for the 1980s also showed a broader range of smaller, independent clusters, reflecting, probably, emerging concerns with issues such as strategy making, social responsibility, international dimensions of management, and Japanese management practices. The last point is particularly noteworthy, especially in view of the absence of any indication of interest in more recent perspectives in organizational analysis (e.g., resource dependence, population ecology, institutional theory, transaction costs, agency theory, interpretive approaches, etc.). A review of all the citations revealed that, with the exception of a couple of references to Pfeffer and Salancik, none of the authors associated with these perspectives received even a single citation. On the other hand, more than half the citations that make up the clusters about Japanese management are sources published in the latter 1980s. These findings suggest that the absence of any references to developments in organization theory in the 1980s and the debates they have engendered may be less a result of the time lags involved in importing these ideas than a reflection of selective links to new literature. The slant again is towards normative literature, which promises to be responsive to managerial concerns and offers new recipes for more effective management.

Summary and conclusions

Whitley (1988) has proposed a fourfold classification for types of managerial knowledge, distinguishing specifically among knowledge developed and codified by managers, consultants, and the academic research system, and through prescriptions about general "principles." Broadly, the "principles" approach has dominated, in North America and elsewhere, the earlier stages of thinking and writing on management and managerial problems. As Whitley (1988) and others (e.g., Locke, 1994) have observed, starting in the 1960s and pioneered by U.S. business schools responding to demands for a more science-based management education, a theory- and research-oriented approach to studying management has gained increasing ground. Since then, with the United States at the forefront, both the normative "principles" and the research-oriented approaches have evolved in their distinct ways, as well as interacting with one another and changing (or perhaps oscillating) over time in terms of dominant concerns and perspectives. As Whitley (1988) also observed, basically because of the multiplicity of client populations, both of these approaches to the management discipline and to generating managerial knowledge have sustained their legitimacy and international impact.

This study shows that Turkish management academia provides an example of how only one of these approaches—namely, the normative orientation—has dominated an academic community. Although there have been shifts in emphasis and some changes have taken place, there is strong and consistent evidence that the normative "principles" approach has throughout sustained its dominance in the thinking and writing of Turkish management academics.

These results, coupled with the discussion of the Turkish context, seem to support the central premise of this study. Management studies in Turkey started to emerge in an international context where the practice-oriented, normative approach, in one or the other of its forms, as well as convergence ideas, dominated the academic scene, and in a national environment where, very much like technology, transfer of managerial ideas and practices was regarded as an immediate necessity for economic development. Academics, at least at the time, were seen as the primary agents of knowledge transfer and diffusion through education and training. This particular era appears to have had a strong imprinting effect on the later course of management studies in Turkey.

The interesting phenomenon, of course, is that, although there has been reliance in many ways on the United States in these early stages and since, there has been an inability or resistance to import the scholarly research orientation that has emerged as an alternative knowledge-production system in management from the 1960s onwards. The discussion of the context surrounding academic organization and activity in Turkey suggests that this may have been due to a variety of interacting external and institutional factors. The general emphasis on teaching in business schools and departments, partly as a response to the increasing demand for student places in universities and partly to train practicing managers, has served as a major constraint to the development of a research orientation. Throughout, there have been more incentives for teaching and training, and for consulting as well, as the emergence of consulting in Turkey has lagged behind the development of academia. Probably more important, however, the structural features and human-resource practices business schools and departments adopted by becoming a part of the Turkish higher education system have buttressed the persistence of the outlook that gained prominence in the early stages of the discipline's evolution. The marriage of academic and personnel decisions and the intraorganizational progression of careers must have had a powerful impact on the perpetuation of what had initially been considered acceptable and legitimate ways of doing academic work. Intellectual traditions, coupled with the late development of social sciences in general (Heper and Berkman, 1979), have also allowed little room for the incursion of research norms into the discipline and the academic community. Finally, and certainly not least, the legitimacy that normative approaches, albeit with changing messages, have continued to enjoy in some of the international literature has also contributed to its dominance within Turkish academia.

An assessment of the degree to which the Turkish case in this study is unique or similar to the experience of other late-industrializing countries requires comparative work. The present study is still instructive, however, in at least two ways. First, it points out the role of historical factors and of the institutional setting in the diffusion and production of managerial and organizational knowledge. Second, and perhaps even more strongly, it shows how convergence assumptions and readiness to import foreign theories and approaches may constrain not only the development of the discipline at the local level but also the potential for a more international knowledge base.

Notes

1. The four journals are *Amme Ydaresi Dergisi* [Journal of Public Administration] (published by the governmental Institute of Public Administration), *Eskişehir Dergisi* [Eskişehir Journal] (published by the academy in Eskişehir, which was converted to a university in 1982), *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi* [METU Studies in Development] (published by the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, a relatively new university patterned after the North American model) and *İşetme Fakültesi Dergisi* [Journal of the School of Business] (published by the University of Istanbul, the oldest university in Turkey). These journals started publication in 1968, 1965, 1970, and 1972, respectively.

2. There were two rounds of coding by the judges. In the second round, one of the original three judges was unable to do the assessment and was replaced by a professor from the same department. The list included 1,087 articles in the first round and 380 in the second.

3. Full bibliographic information on the sources in the figure may be obtained from the author. For books with multiple editions and/or that have been translated into other languages, the dates indicated in the figure are their earliest editions cited in this sample of articles. Of the Turkish books that appear in the figure, two (Tosun and Oluç) are "management process" texts. The one by Dereli is a book on organization behavior, but with an open-systems slant. Four of the books (Burns and Stalker, Davis and Bloomstrom, Lawrence and Lorsch, and Koçel) in the list of 22 most cited sources could not enter the network. Notably, they represent a contingency and systems perspective. The book by Koçel, although it uses the management-process framework, also has a contingency orientation.

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