

Katariina Juusola

Mercury Beats Minerva?

Essays on the Accelerating Impact of
Market Logic Permeating Higher Education



Katariina Juusola

Mercury Beats Minerva?

Essays on the Accelerating Impact of Market Logic Permeating Higher Education

Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston kauppakorkeakoulun suostumuksella
julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston Ylistönrinteen YK-rakennuksen salissa KEM1,
tammikuun 30. päivänä 2015 kello 12.

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by permission of
the Jyväskylä University School of Business and Economics,
in building Ylistönrinne YK, hall KEM1 on January 30, 2015 at 12 o'clock noon.



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2015

Mercury Beats Minerva?

Essays on the Accelerating Impact of
Market Logic Permeating Higher Education

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS 155

Katariina Juusola

Mercury Beats Minerva?

Essays on the Accelerating Impact of
Market Logic Permeating Higher Education



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2015

Editors

Tuomo Takala

Jyväskylä University School of Business and Economics

Pekka Olsbo, Timo Hautala

Publishing Unit, University Library of Jyväskylä

Cover Image: iStockphoto

URN:ISBN:978-951-39-6054-4

ISBN 978-951-39-6054-4 (PDF)

ISBN 978-951-39-6053-7 (nid.)

ISSN 1457-1986

Copyright © 2015, by University of Jyväskylä

Jyväskylä University Printing House, Jyväskylä 2015

ABSTRACT

Juusola, Katariina

Mercury beats Minerva? Essays on the accelerating impact of market logic permeating higher education

Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2015, 270 p.

(Jyväskylä Studies in Business and Economics

ISSN 1457-1986; 155)

ISBN 978-951-39-6053-7 (nid.)

ISBN 978-951-39-6054-4 (PDF)

This study examines the relationship between two major institutional logics in higher education, the academic logic (Minerva) and market logic (Mercury), which have shaped the development of universities over the past century. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to our understanding of how and why the market logic emerged and gained influence in higher education. The main argument of this study is that the increasing influence of market logic involves two processes; first, the market forces that have shaped higher education have in turn legitimized market logic, and second, the functional background of business schools enabled the introduction of Mercury to Minerva when these schools became part of universities. Since this initial encounter, the relationship between Mercury and Minerva has become increasingly peculiar. This study suggests that although the academic and market logics can function as plural logics, significant challenges inevitably emerge from this uneasy truce because many of the characteristics of these institutional logics conflict.

This study contributes to an improved understanding of the emergence and institutionalization of the market logic, which was enabled by the business school link between academia and business. This thesis consists of three parts: I) an introductory essay, II) original research articles and III) conclusions and discussion. Part I explains how the market logic emerged, permeated and became institutionalized in higher education. To do so, institutional theory has been framed to understand universities' institutional logics. Part II consists of four qualitative research articles, each of which has a unique focus and utilizes different methods and data. Finally, Part III brings together the findings of the introductory essay and interprets the findings of the research articles through more specific research tasks.

Keywords: higher education, business school, management education, globalization, institutional forces, market forces, institutional logic, market logic, academic logic

Author's address	Katariina Juusola Motor City, Sherlock Circus II, 407 Dubai, United Arab Emirates katariina.juusola@jyu.fi
Supervisors	Professor Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi Department of Marketing University of Jyväskylä
Reviewers	Professor JC Spender Professor Jeroen Huisman
Opponent	Professor Behlül Üsdiken

FOREWORD

My entry into academia occurred in September 2008 when I began a master's program in International Business at the Oulu Business School. I quickly learned that the world of academia was rapidly changing. When I began my studies, all Finnish universities were public institutions. However, in 2009, the status of all Finnish universities changed from public to private and campuses began to change. CFOs were suddenly hired from the corporate world while universities and their faculties were furiously building their brands. Some universities even merged to build an even stronger brand as a national flagship institution. In addition, many universities began offering new degree programs to lure international students and faculty. Competition, budgets, efficiency, university-industry partnerships and prestige building through international accreditations and rankings were the terms often heard in official encounters and ceremonies. I was not alone in my surprise at the speed of these new developments and their influence in academia.

In 2010, I visited the United Arab Emirates (UAE) for the first time. Little did I know that this trip would change my life forever. The first thing that caught my attention was Dubai's higher education landscape, which was very different from that in Finland. I could not help but notice the dozens of foreign universities packed into Dubai's education free zones—they were "educational shopping malls" conducting large-scale marketing campaigns for degree programs with hefty price tags. Most of these universities exclusively offered programs in business—specifically, BBA and MBA curricula. Before this encounter, it had never occurred to me that education had become a multi-billion dollar industry. Academia had indeed changed. I was initially intrigued by this phenomenon in the UAE because of my background as a student of international business. It was apparent to me that higher education, and particularly management education, had truly become an international business. This curiosity led to a massive master's thesis, which I completed in 2011. In January 2012, I began my Ph.D. journey at the Jyväskylä University School of Business and Economics. Since then, I have spent a considerable amount of time in the UAE to better understand how and why it appears that corporate ideas have changed academia and why business schools seem to be particularly involved in this phenomenon.

I began my doctoral studies with the firm goal of writing a book about how several intriguing features of the UAE's higher education system distinguish it from more traditional academic systems. I initially thought that I was studying different expressions of the globalization of higher education. However, some of the data that I had collected did not quite fit this discourse, nor did the globalization of higher education offer an all-encompassing explanation for the drastic change in the logic that had guided the change in higher education in the first place. Therefore, the "theories" of globalization were only helpful to a certain extent in explaining my data. Although globalization was clearly an important part of this development, it was obvious

that there were other issues involved in the process. Nevertheless, I struggled to find a label for this process.

One day, during a coffee break in Jyväskylä, an economics professor asked me, “*What sense does it make to study business schools in the UAE?*” and, moreover, “*What type of economic worth can this research of yours possibly provide to our nation?*” Although these questions were very straightforward, I realized that they were not easy to answer; in fact, I had no simple or obvious answer. It had never occurred to me that the only possible way to measure the worth of research was through economic value. I had thought that I was studying something fascinating and highly topical—something about which little was known. Furthermore, I considered that my study would produce deeper knowledge about this phenomenon that was essential for several audiences to understand and was therefore worthy of research. Somehow, it seemed that I had it wrong, and I felt demoralized.

Those questions haunted me for a long time, until one day when it finally hit me—where did those questions come from? I then realized that I had found the answer within those annoying questions. Those changes in academia that I had noticed were actually more widespread than was apparent on the surface. It was no longer acceptable to pursue knowledge simply for the sake of increasing knowledge. As the economics professor saw it, academic research was valuable only if it provided measurable, direct economic benefits (i.e., money and profits) for the university and for the nation. Academia had definitely changed. Somehow, corporate values had entered traditional academic logic. This realization motivated me to begin research on how this change had occurred in the first place, why and to what extent academia had changed and where this need for change had originated. To find these answers, I knew that I should look for clues in the historical development of the higher education sector in the United States (US), which has become the trendsetter in higher education and initiated the birth of market logic.

Therefore, this research primarily discusses the historical development of American higher education while simultaneously placing this development into a global context. To a great extent, elements of the US system have shaped other nations’ higher education systems and even the politics of global education. The pieces of this puzzle began to come together as I realized that this development was not only explained by globalization but also had obvious connections to the corporate world and its values. In the introductory essay, I use the concept of *market forces*, which I see as explaining the change in the logic guiding universities, i.e., the increasing influence of market logic.

To understand this aspect, I realized that I must conduct an in-depth study of the institutional logic driving the US higher education system to determine how market logic entered the system, gained more influence and—most importantly—spread across borders. The introductory essay aims to contribute to understanding these aspects. The research articles, however, focus on how business schools that were originally academic outcasts made their way

to universities and how they have become important players in promoting corporate values in higher education.

The introductory essay and the four research articles are loosely based on the frameworks of institutional theory and related metatheories. Institutional theory offers a good starting point for the analysis as it focuses on the external relationships between organizations and their operating environments and the basis for institutional logics. Although a single thesis is an admittedly modest attempt to shed light on the increasing impact of market logic, I nevertheless aim to approach this phenomenon from multiple perspectives for an initial understanding of what market logic is, how it is promoted through market forces, how it is put into practice and how market logic has worked its way into education systems across borders. I consider each of these perspectives important for understanding the complex web of institutional forces that are changing the higher education field, not only in the UAE but also in Finland and elsewhere. Based on the introductory essay and the findings of the research articles, I argue that it is important, even in Finland's small, sleepy villages, to understand the increasingly influential market logic that is changing higher education systems on a global scale. The Universities Act of 2009 in Finland is merely one outcome of this long developmental trajectory. Although market logic has made an incremental entry into our system, it has become more influential part of a larger picture. It is time for all to recognize that our universities are no longer isolated from the rest of the world and that understanding our own business processes is essential for the survival of our institutions.

During the course of my research, I have encountered numerous people who have influenced and inspired me in many ways. I would first like to thank my supervisor, Professor Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, for guidance and support throughout these years, beginning with my master's thesis. It has been a privilege to have a supervisor as fascinated by this topic as I am. Thank you for believing in my skills and in the importance of this topic. Without your support, this thesis would never have been completed. Having said that, writing this thesis has been a challenging process, and I greatly appreciate having Professor JC Spender and Professor Jeroen Huisman serve as pre-examiners of this study. Thank you for offering your time to read this thesis and for providing insightful comments.

In addition, I would like to express my gratitude for numerous colleagues and mentors in Jyväskylä and Oulu who have played a special role in this project. Two people have had a significant impact on my academic career thus far and on my interest in the UAE's higher education sector. First, I would like to thank my aunt and godmother, Professor Aino Sallinen. You are one of the few academics in our family, and I have always admired you and your career. Because of you, the University of Jyväskylä has always had a very special place in my heart. Second, Postdoctoral Researcher John Meewella from the Oulu Business School also played a significant role in motivating me throughout my studies. You are a key person who piqued my interest in the Arab world. Since

the beginning of this journey, I have also been fortunate to work with D.Sc. Kerttu Kettunen from Oulu, along with colleagues D.Sc. Marjo Siltaoja and Professor Juha-Antti Lamberg and Professor Jussi Välimaa from Jyväskylä; they have inspired my work and broadened the scope of my research in so many ways. It has been an honor for an academic “rookie” like me to have such talented people as commentators and co-authors. Kerttu and Marjo, I also owe you special thanks for commenting on this thesis. Furthermore, I send my special thanks to D.Sc. Jasem Almarri. Jasem, you have been of enormous support as a friend and colleague. Your effusive hospitality throughout these years has really made me feel welcome in the UAE, and you have always treated me like an Arabian princess. I have enjoyed all our discussions during these years, which not only aided my research but also enriched my understanding of the beauty of your country and culture. Furthermore, you opened many doors that I could not have opened myself.

Of course, this research would not have been possible without all the people in the UAE who have contributed valuable information. Although I cannot list the names of the interviewees and other informants for reasons of anonymity, I would like to send very special thanks to all of them. I also appreciate all the support of my colleagues in Jyväskylä’s marketing department for providing me a great working environment and atmosphere for conducting this research. I am especially grateful for the freedom that I have been given throughout these years because I have spent considerable time in the UAE collecting empirical evidence. Of course, the faculty has also financially supported my studies, which facilitated the conduct of this research in the first place. In addition, I would like to acknowledge the financial support of Liikesivistysrahasto in 2013 and 2014, which has also facilitated this research.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, who have been an important and irreplaceable support network during this process. My parents have showed enormous support in so many ways throughout my career in whatever I do, for which I am forever grateful. There are no words to describe how much this support has meant to me. My husband Tero has also been of great support and is one of the key reasons that I have been privileged to call the UAE my home for the past four years. Tero, you know that I was not thrilled when you began talking about moving to the UAE in 2009 and took a job there in January 2010. However, when I came to Dubai for the first time, I immediately knew that you had made the right decision. Looking back, it was one of the best decisions you have ever made for the both of us. Of course, living in the UAE would not have been a wonderful journey without making new friends. After moving to Dubai, getting to know my dearest friends Elina and Tiina has been a highlight. You have been part of some of the most important events of my life, and I have been always able to count on your help and friendship during these years.

Dubai 10.12.2014
Katariina Juusola

FIGURES

FIGURE 1	Marketing education as a lifestyle.....	82
FIGURE 2	Test preparation agency advertisements.....	83
FIGURE 3	A private bank offering student loans	84
FIGURE 4	Discounts as recruiting tactics.....	85
FIGURE 5	Recruiting tactics for wealthy niche market students	86
FIGURE 6	The selling and marketing of prestige	87
FIGURE 7	Marketing education as a steppingstone to lucrative careers	88
FIGURE 8	“Early decision” recruiting tactics.....	89
FIGURE 9	Recruiting tactics through freebies.....	90
FIGURE 10	Education programs advertised in classified ads.....	91
FIGURE 11	A free zone business school.....	92
FIGURE 12	Selling licensed programs of the Chifley Business School.....	94
FIGURE 13	Selling licensed programs of the Swiss Business School.....	95
FIGURE 14	Consumer information on non-locally accredited schools	96
FIGURE 15	Targeting discontinued and failed students	97
FIGURE 16	Selling education by any possible means	98
FIGURE 17	Conceptualizing the interplay between institutional logics and the outcome of plural logics	246

TABLES

TABLE 1	The contrasting characteristics of institutional logics in academia.....	17
TABLE 2	Conflicting institutional logics in higher education	54
TABLE 3	Summary of Article I	57
TABLE 4	Summary of Article II.....	59
TABLE 5	Summary of Article III.....	61
TABLE 6	Summary of Article IV	63
TABLE 7	Interview summary	99
TABLE 8	Aspects of market logic studied in the research articles	107
TABLE 9	Institutional forces promoting market logic in business schools	243
TABLE 10	Terminology of trends of market logic in business schools.....	245

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT
FOREWORD
FIGURES AND TABLES
CONTENTS

PART I: INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.....	13
1 INTRODUCTION	15
1.1 Changing academia: the relationship of Mercury and Minerva.....	15
1.2 Introduction to academic and market logics	16
1.3 Research objective: why business schools, why the UAE?.....	24
1.4 Structure of the thesis.....	26
2 INSTITUTIONAL FORCES SHAPING INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION.....	27
2.1 Positioning the study	27
2.2 On institutional theory.....	28
2.3 On institutional change.....	31
2.4 Institutional logics in higher education: origins of market logic.....	36
2.5 Institutionalization of market logic in higher education	41
3 SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH.....	57
3.1 Article I: The Legitimacy Paradox of Business Schools: Losing by Gaining?	57
3.2 Article II: Accelerating the Americanization of Management Education: Five Responses from Business Schools.....	59
3.3 Article III: Institutional Logic of Business Bubbles: Lessons from the Dubai Business School Mania	61
3.4 Article IV: Academic Capitalism Hits the Fan: The Birth of Academic Capitalism	63
4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	66
4.1 On research philosophy	66
4.2 Higher education crossing the traditional boundaries in research philosophy	70
4.3 Reflecting on the problems of research design.....	73
4.4 Data collection, handling, analysis and validation.....	80
4.4.1 Data sources	81
4.4.2 Data analysis, considerations on validity and reliability	103
PART II: ORIGINAL ARTICLES.....	109

PART III: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	231
5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	233
5.1 Key findings of the research.....	233
5.2 Theoretical and conceptual contributions.....	243
5.3 Practical contribution and managerial implications of the study ...	248
5.4 Suggestions for further research.....	250
YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY).....	253
REFERENCES.....	255

PART I: INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Changing academia: the relationship of Mercury and Minerva

In his 1992 book *Mercury Meets Minerva*, Lars Engwall used the metaphors of two ancient Roman gods—*Mercury*, the god of merchants, and *Minerva*, the god of science—to portray the complex and peculiar relationship of business and academia and thus, that of business schools and traditional research universities. Whereas Minerva has deep historical roots (some of the first European universities had already been established by the early 11th century), Mercury represents a far more recent phenomenon that originally had little relevancy in academia (Engwall 2008).

Universities can be considered highly durable institutions because they have existed for centuries. Although these institutions are typically stable and durable, they also tend to change over the course of time. This change is natural because their continued existence is subject to societal support. Because the expectations of evaluating audiences tend to change over time, certain organizing models and institutional practices may become obsolete, thus creating the need for institutional change (Oliver 1991). Educational institutions are focal points of exogenous forces and professional changes that may initiate changes in guiding institutional logics (Dunn & Jones 2010). In this study, these exogenous forces are namely market forces and the professionalization of business schools, which introduced Mercury to Minerva. This institutional change has been reflected in the purpose, mission, goals, and even organizational forms and focus of various universities over time.

Business schools were not originally part of the traditional university; they typically operated as independent professional schools. In the early 19th century, business studies increasingly entered university curricula despite initial resistance from academia. The entry of business schools into academia was initially opposed for two reasons. First, the values of business and profit orientation that were associated with business schools were considered to be at odds with the more disinterested values and ideals of universities as institutions of public good (Khurana 2007). Second, business was not considered a noble academic science but rather a layman's knowledge that was

self-explanatory (Engwall 1992). Accordingly, the initial meeting between Mercury and Minerva was relatively disharmonious.

However, this marriage of business and academia has been one of the most successful ventures in the history of higher education when measured by the exponential growth in the number of university-based business schools; in addition, business programs have become one of the most popular university degrees (AACSB International 2011). Moreover, the language and principles of business have become incorporated into the manner in which universities operate. Thus, the presence of Mercury has slowly become an integral part of modern university culture.

Academia has obviously changed due to this apparent linkage between Mercury and Minerva: business schools and corporate values are no longer academia's outcasts but are increasingly important and influential players. Therefore, I have titled this study using the metaphors of Mercury and Minerva, and I continue to study their peculiar relationship and whether Mercury is not only meeting Minerva but beating her. Next, I will discuss how business schools and their ideologies, once successfully institutionalized within academia, not only have become important elements in developing their own fields but also have played an influential role in shaping entire universities to become more businesslike. As Engwall (2008) has noted, universities have a tendency to transform from cathedrals of learning to cathedrals of earning. To understand Mercury and Minerva's initially strange encounter and how Mercury has become a more relevant part of academia, I will examine this change by contrasting the institutional logics represented by these metaphors: academic logic and market logic.

1.2 Introduction to academic and market logics

Organizations never operate in a vacuum. Instead, organizations are influenced by the prevailing institutional logics in wider institutional environments that are shaped by historically contingent interests, sources of power, authority and politics (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, Meyer et al. 1997, Thornton & Ocasio 1999). Institutional logics define the sources of power and legitimacy as well as the rules of the game in an organization (Thornton & Ocasio 1999). Similarly, universities are subject to prevailing institutional logics. This study identifies two key institutional logics that have shaped higher education: the academic logic (Minerva) and the market logic (Mercury). These institutional logics are based on different conceptions of the *raison d'être* of the university.

Institutional logics are hardly fixed models; they are heterogeneous sets of ideas or rationalized myths (Meyer & Rowan 1977), but they have become important sources of power for universities to organize themselves. This study focuses on how the market logic emerged, became institutionalized in higher education, gained influence, and challenged the traditional academic logic. This study focuses on business schools, which are considered active promoters of

market forces and thus market logic. This research was largely inspired by Slaughter and Leslie (1997, 2001) as well as Slaughter and Rhoades (2004, 2011) and draws on (but is not limited to) the impact of academic capitalism on higher education to explain the implications of market logic. I focus on the myriad *market forces* that impede higher education and how these forces have increased the alignment of universities with market logic.

Market forces are a broad set of market ideologies, market and market-like practices and market-oriented reforms in higher education (mainly those inspired by neoliberalism and new public management) that have favored market logic. This process has involved the increasing influence of corporate values on universities, values that are not inherent in traditional universities' original purpose, mission, goals, values, organizational forms or practices. By this loose definition, this research is not limited to academic capitalism. Instead, it provides more freedom to discuss various market-oriented and market-like elements that began in the late 1970s, when a range of neoliberal-oriented reforms were implemented, the effects of which became more explicit in the 1980s and beyond (Chan & Fisher 2008, Hacker & Dreifus 2010, Popp Berman 2011, Tuchman 2009, Washburn 2008).

Market forces have also been intertwined with the basic goals of traditional research universities: reputation and accountability. For example, notions of the "best practices" within a field, "global competition" and what are considered "quality standards" promote market logic that is cloaked in efficiency and quality discourses, making it increasingly difficult to oppose these trends. Because market logic is disguised, many people do not realize its connection to academic trends. Table 1 below lists the key differences between the academic and market logics in academia, which represent the extremes of a continuum.

TABLE 1 The contrasting characteristics of institutional logics in academia

Institutional logic	Academic logic	Market logic
Purpose	Public good	Private good
Values	Academic values rooted in Humboldtian university ideal	Market values rooted in corporate businesses
Mission	Production and diffusion of knowledge for its own sake	Production and/or diffusion of knowledge for the sake of market competition
Basis for legitimacy	Reputation through rigor and relevance that is evaluated by peers and society	Reputation through rigor and relevance that is evaluated by the market
Organizational structure	Collegial, professional	Managerial, hierarchical
Role of academic science	Resource of the university's intellectual basis	Economic resource, economic engine

Academic logic

Academic logic does not represent a specific university but the remnants of historically ideal universities. The roots of academic logic can be traced back to the origins of universities. In the late Middle Ages (c. 1150-1500), European universities, the *universitas*, were primarily religious institutions (Engwall 1992, Rüegg 1992, Scott 2006) that were typically sponsored and funded by the church (Ramirez 2008). The *universitas* was a guild of masters (professors) and scholars (students) that formed as a result of powerful societal trends, including the revival of mercantilism, the growth of European cities that were more complex to operate, the growth of the urban middle class, bureaucratization and an intellectual renaissance (Scott 2006). Thus, the medieval universities' major goals were to produce an informed clergy, a trained administrative class and learned professions (Etzkowitz 2004, Tierney 2010, Tierney & Lechuga 2010) to lay the foundations for a rapidly developing Western civilization and to fulfill its social demands (Scott 2006).

The roles early universities played in fulfilling these social demands varied in different parts of Europe. Whereas universities in Northern Europe generally modeled themselves after the University of Paris, which was known for its system of faculty governance, universities in Southern Europe were usually modeled after the University of Bologna, which was student controlled (Scott 2006). However, across medieval universities, Latin was the universal language of teaching and learning (Engwall 2008). Bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees were commonly granted (Scott 2006).

During the period 1500-1880, early modern Europe continued to develop through the Industrial Revolution and the rise of independent nation-states, and both the university itself and the role of the university in society also evolved. Medieval universities developed into early modern universities as they became more focused on serving national rather than religious purposes (Scott 2006). It was believed that education improved civic virtues, such as moral standards and obedience to state authority, thus building more politically stable societies (Ramirez 2008). Naturally, early modern universities varied in different parts of Europe. Whereas the Napoleonic ideals of higher education prevailed in France, England followed its own Anglo-Saxon traditions. For example, the Anglo-Saxon tradition was embodied in Cardinal Newman's *The Idea of a University*, published in 1852, and viewed universities not as tools of businesses, states or churches but as institutions whose purpose was the pursuit and transmission of liberal knowledge and culture (McCaffery 2010).

However, the university model that became the most important during the early 19th century in Europe, and later in the US and elsewhere, was the German Humboldtian model fostered at the University of Berlin (Delbanco 2012, Giroux 2002, Ramirez 2008, Scott 2006). The Humboldtian idea of the university stemmed from Immanuel Kant's influential piece, "The Conflict of the Faculties" (1798), which viewed universities as servants of emerging nation states. Humboldtian university ideals guided the values of academic logic and early modern research-focused higher education institutions (Michelsen 2010,

Mohrman, Ma & Baker 2008). The Humboldtian university is not a fixed model but a collection of different values that different nations have translated and adopted; however, certain ideals are strongly associated with this model. For example, research universities were ideally self-governing; legitimate public institutions did not require outside accreditation but were internally governed by faculty members who were respected in their fields of expertise, formed a board of governance and held collective decision-making authority in the context of a professional system (Ginsberg 2011, Michelsen 2010). The key disciplines were traditionally the humanities and liberal arts, such as philosophy, literature and languages (Donoghue 2008, Ramirez 2008).

The fundamental role of the university was to focus on the unity of teaching and research, to promote academic freedom and research endeavors and to provide a place for academics and students to exchange ideas (Engwall 2008, Michelsen 2010). Thus, Humboldtian ideas began to favor a new type of intellectual basis for universities that consisted of the production of knowledge (research) and its dissemination through publication and education (Engwall 2008). Furthermore, the rigor and relevancy of these activities were considered the most important functions of universities that operated in the “reputation business.” Although the rigor and relevance of the knowledge produced by research universities was originally evaluated only by academics, it became important to demonstrate the worthiness of research to society as university missions became linked to—and financed by—the needs of nation-states (Washburn 2008). For example, German universities were purposefully state-funded to shield them from business intervention but also enjoyed relative political autonomy (Baker & Lenhardt 2008, Michelsen 2010). Thus, gaining and maintaining reputation through research became the ultimate goal of research universities and the *raison d'être* of Humboldtian university ideals. The vaunted role of a university's reputation differs from that of a corporation, which sees reputation primarily as a profit-generating attribute (Engwall 2008).

Market logic

Once higher education attracted the interest of nation-states, the addition of non-altruistic ideas to the purpose, values, mission and goals of traditional universities and their *raison d'être* was enabled, at least in theory. For example, industrialization and the emergence of modern professions, large corporations, globalization and international trade have hastened the inclusion of new, non-traditional programs at universities to ensure that those universities remain relevant to modern society.

The foundations of market logic were laid in the US, where higher education has always served a more utilitarian purpose and business schools became an increasingly influential part of universities. The integration of business schools into academia, however, did not occur without struggle. Although commercial education has a long history, it was not considered an academic discipline but rather a craft (Khurana 2007). Although large

corporations began to grow rapidly after the 1900s, which increased the need for more effective management, business and management programs were considered ill-suited to universities as academic disciplines because they lacked coherent research foundations, which were prerequisites for academic disciplines according to Humboldtian ideals.

However, the idea of including fields that were more practical in universities slowly gained support in the US. For example, in Abraham Flexner's *Idea of a Modern University*, published in 1930, universities were expected to offer vocational education and to demonstrate their practical usefulness to the country (McCaffery 2010). Moreover, in another piece, *Universities: American, English, German* (1930), Flexner idealized pure research and graduate teaching over undergraduate teaching and public service (Scott 1996). These influential works fostered the idea of developing management into a science that could be taught at research universities and providing foundations for business school research traditions (Khurana 2007). After World War II, the utilitarian purpose of higher education gained even more influence in the US. This period also marked the initiation of the scientification and professionalization of university-based business schools, which then became accepted as legitimate scientific disciplines.

The first signs of an emerging market logic can be traced to the 1960s. In 1963, Clark Kerr, the president of the University of California, published his *Uses of a University*, which viewed the university as important actor serving multiple stakeholders, including the business community (McCaffery 2010). This work signaled the changing idea of the university and a more utilitarian purpose. This idea spread along with mass higher education, which began after World War II, as the scope of university activities changed from educating the elite to educating the masses (Washburn 2008). Consequently, higher education expanded beyond traditional universities to numerous types of institutions, both public and private, which each served a designated societal purpose (Hentschke, Lechuga & Tierney 2010).

However, both public and private institutions were traditionally non-profit and therefore did not follow the ownership, funding logic or profit-oriented model of corporations (Engwall 2008). It is important to note that although universities have traditionally been non-profit institutions, this does not mean that revenues never exceed expenditures; indeed, non-profits often generate profits. However, when a non-profit university charges tuition, the cost is often state-subsidized, and profitability is not the goal (Winston 1999). It has also been socially acceptable for universities to run certain programs that bring in profits (e.g., business programs) so that they can offer other programs that are financially "unsustainable." Although traditional universities have had some profit motives, this does not mean that they have lost their multi-faceted purpose as non-profit organizations performing various societal roles for the public good (Marginson & Rhoades 2002). However, as market logic has taken over, an increasing number of non-profit institutions are engaging in market and market-like practices to generate additional income and profits.

As market forces gained strength, market logic was institutionalized and became increasingly influential, especially since the 1970s, because its ideals have spread to most Western countries and changed dominant higher education systems. In a pioneering study of market forces in the higher education systems of four Western countries (Australia, Canada, US, UK), Slaughter and Leslie (1997) initially have found that this change toward market logic, which they labeled academic capitalism, has been a long process driven by the idea of viewing universities as producers of private good. This idea has often been justified by rhetoric attesting to education's role as improving one's skills to lead to more advanced and meaningful jobs, thus benefitting those individuals who invest in it (Crouch 2011). Furthermore, the "crisis of the welfare state" has been used as a rationale for broad reforms in virtually all public sector services, including the reduction of public funding (Teixeira & Dill 2011): taxpayers' role in paying the bill has been called into question (Boyer 1996, Tierney 2010). Thus, many formerly public services have been reconsidered. In general, private initiatives have increasingly taken over the provision of public services to ensure that these services are made more efficient, effective and responsible to customer needs (Bok 2003, Giroux 2002, Slaughter & Rhoades 2011, Teixeira & Dill 2011).

According to market logic, certain values, such as profit-generation and cost-efficiency principles, rooted in corporate business have been gradually introduced to the manner in which universities are expected to operate (Starkey & Tiratsoo 2007). Such initiatives have served the noble purposes of saving taxpayer funds and ensuring that universities become more efficient and effective in their operations. Along with this change, evaluating audiences have slowly changed their expectations of public services. According to market logic, the purpose and value of the knowledge created and disseminated by universities should be subject to measures similar to those imposed on corporations. As a result, universities began to develop and promote a range of entrepreneurial and corporate-like activities (Etzkowitz 2004, Spring 2009, Tuchman 2009, Washburn 2008, Wilkins & Huisman 2012). "Excellence" and "innovation" have become common entrepreneurial catchwords in efforts by universities to prove their value in the marketplace and thus foster legitimacy (Etzkowitz, Webster & Healey 1998). Entrepreneurialism has been displayed through the actions of institutional entrepreneurs who have initiated innovative ideas and practices into academia that are often derived from the business world (cf. Khurana 2007). For example, new accountability methods such as benchmarking and quality assurance procedures have been taken from the corporate world and introduced in universities.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2000) and Slaughter and Leslie (2001) have expanded their evidence of academic capitalism by explaining changes in the organizational structures of public research universities. They have shown how universities have become increasingly corporatized, i.e., run according to corporate logic (Giroux 2002, Olssen & Peters 2005). Not only has corporatization resulted in university administrations behaving as market-

oriented and profit-seeking entities, it has also introduced hierarchical governance models similar to corporations into universities' internal management (Ginsberg 2011, Giroux 2002, Hentschke et al. 2010, Tierney & Lechuga 2010). Privatization initiatives have also increased as the ownership and funding logic of public universities has changed to one of private ownership and funding; there has been an effort to create private institutions to increase capacity rather than to expand the public provision of higher education (Ball 2012, Burbules & Torres 2000). Furthermore, market logic has enabled the creation of a range of new universities and university-like institutions such as for-profit and corporate universities (Burbules & Torres 2000, Hentschke, Lechuga & Tierney 2010).

Because universities are increasingly being operated and evaluated according to market values, it is natural for them to use their core activities as resources in a manner similar that of corporations (Engwall 2008, Popp Berman 2011). In practice, this change has been evident in the commodification and commercialization of the core activities of teaching and research (Naidoo 2011, Slaughter & Leslie 2001). Focus on research has become particularly important, not only at leading research universities but also at lower-tiered schools, whereas knowledge dissemination through teaching has become a secondary activity because educational functions generate less profit in terms of physical and reputational gains (Hacker & Dreifus 2010, Tuchman 2009, Washburn 2008). The ability to produce high-quality research has become crucial for a university's reputation. However, this reputation is no longer evaluated solely by peers or society but instead through a number of external evaluators such as accreditation and ranking organizations (Hazelkorn 2011, 2013, Marginson & Van der Wende 2007). Moreover, faculty members experience self-pressure to publish their research in prestigious peer-reviewed international academic journals for the purpose of sustaining or advancing their own careers because outstanding teaching skills are increasingly insufficient for climbing the academic ladder (Altbach & Knight 2007, Donoghue 2008, Tuchman 2009).

Because the superiority of market involvement in handling more traditional public sector responsibilities has become an increasingly popular strategy spread by global discourses on globalization, it should come as no surprise that market logic has also spread across borders. There is nothing new in importing innovative policies developed elsewhere to improve domestic systems. In fact, the spread of market forces has been actively supported by powerful supranational organizations such as the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Mohrman et al. 2008, Spring 2009). These organizations have not only sponsored research on educational policy issues since the 1950s (Holmes 1981) but also ensured that neoliberal economic policies that emphasize the superiority of market logic (e.g., privatization and user fee policies) are implemented in higher education systems (Mohrman et al. 2008).

Educational policies do indeed travel, and the ideas of free trade and the virtues of markets are often used as rhetoric in market-oriented educational reforms across borders (Ball 2012, Djelic 2008a, Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson 2008b, Slaughter & Leslie 2001, Teixeira & Dill 2011). The role of universities as economic resources has recently gained increased focus due to their apparent potential to contribute to nations' economic growth and prosperity to provide the necessary means for keeping ahead of (or catching up with) global competition. In return for the investments made in these public institutions (particularly domestic flagship institutions), there is an expectation that they will become world-class universities within an agreed-upon period. Elite research institutions must compete globally, attract the best talent available and improve the economic position of their nations while serving the needs of industry (Chan & Lo 2008, Salmi 2009). This ideology has become a powerful mantra for many nations that have adopted and implemented similar strategies when reforming their national higher education systems to be better positioned to participate in global competition and the race for excellence (Deem, Mok & Lucas 2008, Spring 2009). This mission is quite visible in nations' current attempts to build world-class universities and knowledge centers (Altbach & Knight 2007, Altbach & Salmi 2011, Chan & Lo 2008, Deem et al. 2008, Hazelkorn 2013, Kirk & Napier 2009, Mok 2011, Salmi 2009, Vincent-Lancrin 2007). These attempts can also shed light on the increasing difficulties of aligning universities according to market expectations. As Philip Altbach (2004) ironically notes:

Everyone wants a world-class university. No country feels it can do without one. The problem is that no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one. Everyone, however, refers to the concept (Altbach 2004, p. 20).

Thus, the concept of the world-class university is a myth of something superior that one nation after another aims to achieve to prove its rigor and relevancy in the global marketplace. Market logic has become increasingly influential in guiding state policies that have challenged the *raison d'être* of higher education institutions (Altbach & Knight 2007, Hazelkorn 2013, Kirk & Napier 2009, Popp Berman 2011, Stromquist 2012). However, as much as these rationales for market forces have been praised by many authors, the major problem is that universities were not originally designed as corporations or to be evaluated as such (Engwall 2008). Therefore, there have also been many voices critical of the outcomes of the introduction of market logic to universities because this change has blurred the boundaries between markets, states and higher education systems (Kauppinen 2012, Slaughter & Rhoades 2004).

For example, McNay (1995) raises concerns about the shift from "collegial academy to corporate enterprise," and Marginson and Considine (2000) discuss the birth of an "enterprise university," whereas Bok (2003) and Delbanco (2012) express concern about the "commercialization" of higher education. Hayes and Wynyard (2002) view the commercialization of higher education as the "McDonaldization" of higher education. Within the same critical approach,

Chan and Fisher (2008) address the outcome of the commercialization of higher education as the “exchange university,” whereas Grubb and Lazerson (2005) discuss the “education gospel”. Popp Berman (2011) views today’s universities as “economic engines,” and Ball (2012) views current neoliberal-oriented higher education policies as “Global Education Inc.”.

1.3 Research objective: why business schools, why the UAE?

As much as the rationales behind market forces have been identified and debated, the phenomenon of market logic in academia has been largely under-theorized (Marginson & Rhoades 2002) and misunderstood because of the variety of concepts that have been used to describe it. Stephen J. Ball (2012), who focused on neoliberal policies in higher education, noted that it is very difficult to study something that lacks a common understanding, vocabulary and methodology. Neoliberally oriented market forces fostering market logic in higher education similarly challenge research. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that studies on the external forces shaping higher education above the local and national levels are not only few in number but also under-theorized. Peck (2010) argued that to understand the nature of neoliberal ideas and to follow their movement and global spread, one must first understand how those ideas have been historically constructed. To do that, one should “triangulate between its ideological, ideational and institutional currents, between its philosophy, politics and practice” (Peck 2010, p. 8). Therefore, the aim of this research is to improve understanding of the relationship between academic and market logics as well as the implications of strengthening the role of market logic in higher education. Scott (2006) explains why it is important to know more about why universities change and how to begin analyzing this process:

“...the new millennium and its projected societal transformations now appearing on the horizon, all parties concerned, especially institutions, employers, policy-makers, and legislators, can benefit from a deeper understanding of how and why the university mission has evolved” (Scott 2006, p. 1).

Although the theory of academic capitalism has contributed much to our conceptual understanding of market logic, it is still an emergent theory and was primarily created to describe the change in public Western research universities in contexts that include strong institutional environments and academic roots that define how universities should operate (Maldonado-Maldonado 2012, de Vries & Alvarez-Mendiola 2012, Kaneko 2012, Slaughter & Leslie 2001, Stromquist 2012, Vidovich 2012). In these settings, the impact of market forces has been subtle because market-oriented changes must operate within the boundaries of these highly legitimized, institutionalized and professionalized contexts. What is less understood is how market forces act in settings that lack deep academic roots and values within a society, or strong institutional

environments that could buffer against market logic. In 1995, Ian McNay wrote this about the future scenario of a market-oriented higher education system:

"If academic departments are market-led, or at least market-oriented, they could resemble units in a business park, franchised outlets in a departmental store or independent businesses in an academic shopping complex, with the combined studies modular programme as a supermarket equivalent." (McNay 1995, p. 124).

McNay's prophecy seems extreme when thinking about how the effects of market forces have been identified and documented in Western countries. However, the impacts of market forces in settings that are characterized by the far more recent development of higher education systems are more visible and different. There have been many changes that market forces have initiated outside the Western context, and several authors have contributed to expanding our knowledge of the effects of market forces in these settings. In Latin America, studies by Maldonado-Maldonado (2012), de Vries and Alvarez-Mendiola (2012) and Saavedra (2012) have identified where neoliberalism—in particular, the new public management discourse—has played a strong role in shaping universities. Similar discourses on initiating changes in university governance in the Far East and in Southeast Asia (Homma 2012, Jacob et al. 2012, Kaneko 2012, Mok 2009, 2011) have also been documented. Although these studies describe the effects of market logic in non-Western contexts, their effect on higher education systems remains limited due to the strong counterforces of academic logic and professional and institutional settings, especially regulation. Therefore, to improve understandings of the effects of market logic—i.e., Mercury—it would be fruitful to study organizations that originally experienced minimal effects on the values of academic logic in which de-regulation has enabled the spread of market logic.

This study focuses on business schools because they can be considered active promoters of many of the market ideologies (Naidoo et al. 2014). Due to their position between academic and business organizations, business schools are likely the most revealing organization to examine the impact of market logic within universities. Moreover, three articles of the present study examine market logic in a context that has the potential to provide new knowledge of market logic in a setting that is relatively unregulated and lacks a long academic history, thus offering very little initial buffer against the influence of market logic. This context is the UAE—and specifically, Dubai. Thus, my research task is described as follows:

To contribute to our understanding of how market logic has become an increasingly influential institutional logic in higher education and why it has spread so widely, particularly in business schools.

This research enacts a two-fold plan to accomplish this task. First, the introductory essay aims to explain the emergence, institutionalization and permeation of the market logic within higher education through market forces. To do this, I explain how institutional logics of universities are constructed

according to institutional theory. I then track Mercury's institutional logic and how it has developed, particularly through neoliberal discourse and new public management initiatives in higher education. Second, through the use of research articles, I will outline how the entry of non-traditional professionalized disciplines into academia—namely, business schools—has increased the influence of market logic in academia. Although each research article naturally had its own research tasks, this study will re-interpret some of their findings keeping market logic in mind for the purpose of shedding light on the following aspects:

How business schools, after becoming legitimate parts of academia, have strategically utilized their influence to promote market logic?

How top American research universities can be considered particularly active promoters of the ideas and values of market logic in other nations?

How market logic has encouraged business schools to go beyond their original purpose and how that encouragement has led to unexpected outcomes?

How market logic affects contexts that lack a long academic heritage that would act as a buffer against its influence?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This dissertation consists of three parts: Part I contains an introductory essay; Part II consists of four qualitative research articles; and Part III offers conclusions and discussion. The remainder of Part I consists of Chapters 2, 3 and 4; Chapter 2 focuses on theoretical aspects and will briefly introduce the major theoretical underpinnings utilized in this research. Chapter 3 summarizes the key findings of the research. Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology. Part II is composed of the original research papers, and Part III offers conclusions and discussions (Chapter 5) that aim to answer the research questions offered in Part I's introductory essay.

2 INSTITUTIONAL FORCES SHAPING INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

2.1 Positioning the study

This study aims to improve our understanding of the relationship between the academic and market logics through institutional theory as well as the construction of institutional logics. This chapter lays the foundation for this study by positioning it within institutional theory and elaborating how it can help explain numerous institutional and field-level forces shaping institutional logics of higher education. Conformity and durability is typical in highly professionalized, isomorphic organizations (Heugens & Lander 2009) such as universities; their key institutional characteristics still resemble most features of the early modern universities and even Medieval universities. However, even highly institutionalized organizations and organizational fields are subject to at least subtle changes due to external pressures that initiate institutional evolution, and organizations must adapt themselves to changing conditions if they wish to continue to enjoy social support (DiMaggio & Powell 1983). While the institutional setting is subject to institutional forces that traditionally fostered durability and conformity through regulatory, normative and cognitive institutions, external forces and professional changes have created pressure for change in guiding institutional logics (Dunn & Jones 2010).

The subsequent subchapters first present the foundations of institutional theory to explain how institutional logics are constructed and then discuss the reasons for deviation from previously institutionalized logics. Changes in institutional logics are typically understood as the deconstruction of previous institutional logics and the creation of new logics (Thornton & Ocasio 1999). However, the co-existence of plural institutional logics when organizations operate in multiple institutional spheres is also possible (Dunn & Jones 2010). To discuss shifts in the wider institutional setting, I rely on the institutional

logics perspective, a core perspective in sociology and organization theory, and the organizational agency perspective. I consider the organizational field-level institutional forces that facilitate change in higher education. Unlike institutional scholars who view organizations as passively acquiescing to macro-level institutional forces to survive, the institutional logic and organizational agency perspectives view organizations as capable of strategizing how they organize themselves to respond to these forces, even manipulating them for their own purposes (Greenwood et al. 2008, Oliver 1991, Suchman 1995).

In the concluding subchapter, I weave these theories into the existing research on higher education. Institutional theory is first utilized to ground the institutional forces operating in higher education. I then discuss the origins of the ideas and ideologies of market logic and how they were historically constructed. Finally, I discuss how market logic has become an increasingly influential institutional logic in higher education, how market logic continues to shape institutional currents, how market logic is diffused and utilized to shape rhetoric and guide policymaking in other places and also how market logics are put into practice in different education systems.

2.2 On institutional theory

New institutionalism, often called neo-institutionalism, is a stream of research that focuses on viewing institutions from a sociological viewpoint to understand the manner in which institutions behave and affect the larger society. Unlike the works of old institutional theorists, who typically focused on narrow analyses of formal institutions (often limiting their analysis to government and state), since the 1970s, the works of new institutional theorists (e.g., John W. Meyer, Brian Rowan, Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell) provide a theory for determining why so many organizations in the same field have remarkably similar organizational structures and resemble each other despite their different developmental paths (e.g., Meyer & Rowan 1977; DiMaggio & Powell 1983).

To understand institutional theory at a grass roots level, the concept of an “institution” requires a clear definition. An institution can be considered a constellation of defined formal sets of rules and agreements, unwritten rules or patterns of socially accepted behavior and actions that legitimized organizations and individuals are expected to follow (Bruton, Ahlstrom & Li 2010, Scott 2005, Scott 2008). Institutions are also bound by regulatory issues and numerous social and cultural influences that form the guidelines for accepted behavior within a society. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have identified *coercive*, *mimetic* and *normative* forces that act as mechanics that largely predict organizational development and responses to contextual demands. Some researchers have identified those mechanics as *regulative*, *normative* and *(cultural)-cognitive* pillars (e.g., Scott 2005, 2008). Despite the different

terminology, coercive or regulative forces refer to established laws and regulations that govern a field, whereas normative approaches are more often softer, indirect and voluntary “guidelines” that organizations are expected to follow. These three institutional pillars comprise the basis of organizational legitimacy. Organizational legitimacy is defined as

“a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions” (Suchman 1995, p. 574).

Gaining legitimacy is crucial for organizations to succeed and survive (Aldrich & Fiol 1994, Ashforth & Gibbs 1990, Bitektine 2011, DiMaggio & Powell 1983, Elsbach 1994, Elsbach & Sutton 1992, Meyer & Rowan 1977, Suchman 1995). An organization’s legitimacy can be based on legal sanctions (the regulative pillar), can stem from moral issues (the normative pillar), or can be culturally reinforced (the cognitive pillar) (Suchman 1995). The cognitive pillar is often considered the most important for legitimacy because institutions are unlikely to survive without social acceptance (Scott 2008). Cognitive pillars also consist of individual or organizational behaviors based on a set of formal rules and beliefs together with actions within a particular cultural setting (Bruton, Ahlstrom & Li 2010, DiMaggio & Powell 1983, Scott 2008). The importance of this pillar is unchallenged; once institutions enjoy embedded cultural support, it is difficult to change them. Even when policymakers attempt to redesign existing institutions, they are challenged by society’s cultural constraints (Thelen 1999). Once legitimate organizations institutionalize, the foundations of their legitimacy can cause organizational inertia and slowness to change because organizations are typically stable, persistent and inflexible (Ahrne & Brunsson 2008a, Selznick 1996).

Next, we examine the normative pillar, which includes norms and values within a society that consist of unwritten social obligations such as routines, procedures, strategies, beliefs and organizational forms and behavior that typically include a mixture of shared values, norms and ground rules (Bruton, Ahlstrom & Li 2010, Scott 1995, 2005). These forces are occasionally termed *normative carriers* that are often related to a field’s professionalization process and can include developing specific measures, membership strategies, ritualized performance measurements and different types of standards, myths and symbols (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson 2008b, Leca, Battilana & Boxenbaum 2008, Selznick 1996). The implementation of normative schemes such as routines and practices tends to harmonize a given field (Heugens & Lander 2009). Furthermore, other normative carriers such as professionalism and professional standards are also powerful normative institutions that define a field (Khurana 2007).

Socially accepted sets of norms and moral rationalizations then create a platform for the regulative pillar of institutions or the regulative and coercive forces that consist of systems and tendencies that constrain and regulate organizational behavior in wider institutional settings (Bruton et al. 2010,

DiMaggio & Powell 1983, Scott 2005). The regulative pillar of institutions consists of established formal laws (coercive) and voluntary rules (normative) that encourage institutions to behave in a certain way. Coercive rules are often established by a government or other local authority, and there are often rewards or sanctions to guide present and future institutional behavior (Heugens & Lander 2009). Voluntary or “soft” rules, a constellation of more informally accepted codes of behavior, are non-legally binding and are learned and internalized through socialization and global and professional networks rather than through formal laws and their compliance mechanisms (Ahrne & Brunsson 2008a, 2008b, Djelic 2008a, Maldonado-Maldonado 2012). When addressing the voluntary regulative forces in an organizational field, the word “governance” is often more appropriate than “regulative” because the role of soft rules has become more important in defining organizations and professions and fostering governance culture, particularly when dealing with the changing nature of contemporary higher education (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson 2008b). Moreover, soft rules are more easily transferred across borders due to their transnational character—they leave room for local adaptation (Djelic 2008a). Therefore, governance factors can explain how institutional forces work transnationally.

The three bases of institutional forces are defined by local society, the government and existing organizations and professions. However, the level and degree of institutionalization of a given template is not fixed; it depends on the maturity of the organizational field and whether it is still forming, already mature or in crisis (Fligstein 1997). In general, institutional scholars believe that the more broadly accepted an institutional idea or practice, the higher the probability that organizations within the field will conform to the expectations embodied by the idea or practice (Oliver 1991). Conformity thus promotes organizational isomorphism within the organizational field (DiMaggio 1991). Isomorphism is a result of the combination of coercive pressures (e.g., coercion by authorities that provide organizations with resources or governments with legislative power), mimetic pressures (because organizations tend to mimic their successful counterparts to cope with uncertainty) and normative pressures (e.g., pressures from professional groups and membership conditions) (DiMaggio 1991, Drori & Meyer 2008). Thus, these theoretical elements typically build on one another and are self-reinforcing (Phillips, Tracey & Karra 2009).

Isomorphism is especially visible in highly professionalized fields of organizations that tend to share a large number of similar interests and norms (Djelic 2008a). These fields and organizations have a dense network of ties with the most important institutions within the field, resulting in a high degree of institutional relatedness (Peng, Lee & Wang 2005). Pressure toward isomorphism is also strong in cases of frequent state interference (e.g., through regulation setting) and cases that include a low number of alternative templates for organizing the field (DiMaggio & Powell 1983). Moreover, new organizational fields often borrow templates for their own institutionalization process from highly legitimized fields (Heugens & Lander 2009), which in turn

can increase the degree of institutional relatedness. Thus, isomorphism is a logical end state of institutionalization in most fields because it legitimizes those fields (*ibid.*).

Institutional forces and the pressures of isomorphism push and pull organizations' activities in certain directions as they seek legitimacy. To become legitimate, organizations must be positively perceived by the cultural definitions and existing institutions of their society (Suchman 1995). Cultural definitions establish natural ways of doing things and define frameworks for evaluating whether certain behavioral, organizational, discursive and interaction patterns are proper and suitable (Djelic 2008a). However, there is a debate among institutional and agency scholars whether and to what extent social structures actually determine organizational behavior and whether they attempt to pursue substantial benefits in addition to maintaining social acceptance (Heugens & Lander 2009). Institutional scholars tend to view conformity to institutionalized ordinances as the most desirable option for organizations because conformity improves legitimacy and thus the organization's expected performance because legitimate organizations are considered more worthy, more meaningful and more trustworthy than illegitimate ones (DiMaggio & Powell 1983, Suchman 1995). Conversely, resistance to institutionalized ordinance may lead to less social support and thus less popular options and organizational instability (Oliver 1991). Therefore, according to institutional scholars, organizations deliberately search for similar organizational structures to gain acceptance and legitimacy from their evaluating audiences (*ibid.*).

2.3 On institutional change

Institutional theory is a useful tool in explaining continuity, stability, homogeneity and order in social life, and this perspective also considers that while institutions endure long periods of relative stability, incremental changes and evolution also occur (Peng 2003). However, institutional theory has traditionally been less useful for explaining fundamental change as well as organizational strategic responses to and manipulation of existing institutional settings. There are different schools of thought that explain the motives of organizations coping with institutional change and uncertainty.

The diffusion school shares the perspective of institutional theory that institutional change and evolution are likely to occur gradually. The diffusion process in general can be understood as a conforming strategy to dominant field-specific norms, but the adoption or rejection of institutionalized ideas and practices can also be a strategic option for an organization. Diffusion scholars identify the process and logic of institutional change as stemming from the diffusion of field-level institutionalized practices or templates that travel and change existing institutions wherever these templates are actively adopted (e.g., Djelic 2008a, 2008b, Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson 2008b). The diffusion of institu-

tionalized templates is likely to occur in highly professionalized fields that share similar organizational field-level factors; thus, diffusion often leads to greater organizational isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, Heugens & Lander 2009)

Diffusion logic is often used when explaining institutional change within a field across borders. In these cases, the legitimacy of the diffused idea or practice is not assumed at the receiving end. As a result, diffusion often results in a more incremental change process because the diffused foreign idea or practice must receive local support upon implementation (Djelic 2008a). In these cases, the outcome of institutional change in the case of diffusion is also more unpredictable. In practice, diffusion is likely to result in some form of local adaptation of organizational or field-level strategic responses, a process that researchers have labeled as “hybridization,” “transmutation,” “translation,” “selective assimilation or emulation” or “custom adaptation” (Ansari, Fiss & Zajac 2010, Kieser 2004, Pedersen & Dobbin 2006). Variations in the degree of adaptation often result either from loose coupling to make professionalized fields more suitable and legitimate (Scheid-Cook 1990) or from the nature of the underlying diffusion model, diffused practice or mechanism through which the diffusion process occurs (Klingler - Vidra & Schleifer 2014).

There are numerous types of generic institutional pressures related to the diffusion process that are derived from institutional theory. These are often referred to as carriers of diffusion (Djelic 2008b). For example, there are individual carriers, organizational carriers (public or private organizations, professional networks and networks of organizations and meta-organizations), routines and institutionalized practices within a field, relational or social networks and normative and symbolic carriers (Ball 2012, Djelic 2008b). In addition, ideological frames of institutionalized rationalized myths (Meyer & Rowan 1977) are powerful normative carriers (Djelic 2008a, 2008b).

To understand institutional change through diffusion, one must understand the ideas and practices that are likely to diffuse and initiate change in wider institutional settings and organizational fields. In general, legitimate ideas and practices diffuse rapidly and often with little resistance, whereas less legitimate practices diffuse gradually, initiating incremental change over time (Tolbert & Zucker 1983). Ahrne and Brunsson (2008b) and Ramirez (2008) have shed light on this phenomenon by noting that legitimate ideas or practices (“best practices” or “standards”) are likely to initiate change in existing systems because they tend to have greater portability. These ideas, whether institutional or strategic in nature, are more likely to be accepted by other similar organizations in a field due to organizations’ isomorphic tendencies.

The origin of a given institutional template also matters when explaining institutional change (cf. Heugens & Lander 2009). The origins of legitimate ideas are likely to emerge from certain world models, and institutionalized ideas can sometimes be considered rationalized myths (Meyer & Rowan 1977). It has been well documented that legitimate templates are more likely to diffuse across borders than ideas produced elsewhere (Shibata 2006). Thus, there is a

widely shared belief among researchers that institutional change traditionally concerns the transfer of ideas of the “core” to the “periphery” rather than the other way around (Altbach 2009). The adoption of these institutionalized templates also defines and legitimizes the agendas of nation-states (Meyer et al. 1997, Meyer & Rowan 1977).

Although diffusion has been widely used to explain conformance and incremental evolutionary change in organizations, it is not capable of explaining drastic or strategic change in institutional settings. However, agency scholars suggest that organizations can adapt their responses to institutional pressures within the boundaries of institutionalized frames (DiMaggio 1988). Therefore, institutional change is not merely a passive adaptation to the changing external environment but instead allows an organization to engage in more active and strategic approaches (Oliver 1991, Peng 2003, Peng et al. 2005). This behavior is often linked to the idea of a *competitive isomorphism* that organizations may employ when pursuing their goals. Competitive isomorphism is likely to emerge in situations in which a large number of organizations compete, leading to mimicry of the best practices, the survival of the fittest and finally, competitive isomorphism (Scott 1995). Thus, although agency scholars agree on the importance of legitimate social structures defined by institutional forces, they do not consider those structures an overriding determinant for explaining organizational responses to these pressures (Heugens & Lander 2009). Although the degree of professionalization and institutionalization often determines the most desirable options for strategizing, it does not necessarily drive organizations toward similar behavior; it can actually initiate different and more strategic approaches to adapting to institutional forces (Heugens & Lander 2009, Peng et al. 2005). Moreover, strategic scholars do not assume that deviance from institutionalized prescriptions will cause failure; organizations that resist certain institutional prescriptions may be more flexible, innovative and adaptive because they are not subject to organizational inertia and slowness to change (Meyer & Rowan 1977, Oliver 1991).

However, both institutional and strategic scholars seem to agree that organizations are highly sensitive to the environment in which they operate (Selznick 1996). After all, the most important evaluating audiences are the local ones that define the scope of institutional forces – whether cognitive, normative or regulative – and thus the basis of organizational legitimacy (Suchman 1995). Naturally, different organizations are evaluated according to different criteria and reasoning. For example, organizations that are expected to provide public services are subject to different evaluative criteria than those that offer private material goods (cf. Crouch 2011). Based on the expectations of local evaluative audiences, organizations aim to increase their *symbolic performance*, the extent to which organizations gain positive societal evaluations, along with their *substantive performance*, the extent to which organizations are able to generate profits or increase their market value (Heugens & Lander 2009). Whereas institutional researchers see legitimacy as constructed by the institutional forces in a given society, strategic researchers often view legitimacy as an operational

resource of organizations that guides organizational behavior and decisions (Suchman 1995). For example, by utilizing their legitimacy, organizations can capitalize on non-market forms of capital—social capital (e.g., social goodwill and support), political capital (the use of decision makers and governments to ensure more favorable treatment or funding) and reputational capital (increasing organizational or product reputation)—that can offer organizations both symbolic and substantive performance (Peng et al. 2005).

Agency scholars have applied institutional theory to explain organizations' more drastic institutional changes and strategic approaches to taking advantage of institutional settings when pursuing their goals (Battilana, Leca & Boxenbaum 2009, Dacin, Goodstein & Scott 2002, Leca et al. 2008, Oliver 1991, Peng 2003, Peng et al. 2005). Institutional change is often initiated by shifts in wider socioeconomic contexts such as social upheaval, competitive settings or regulatory changes that disturb the predominant field-level consensus by introducing new schools of thought (Battilana et al. 2009, Dacin et al. 2002, Leca et al. 2008). Moreover, institutional change can also occur due to empowered entrepreneurial individuals who have the capacity to initiate, organize and implement change (Dacin et al. 2002). Institutional change can also occur due to political changes (DiMaggio 1991). Particularly in volatile institutional settings, political change can result in fundamental changes that can literally happen overnight (Peng 2003). At times, change can be demanded when existing institutionalized organizational ideas or practices become obsolete (Greenwood & Hinings 1996). This discontinuity or erosion is also referred to as deinstitutionalization, which initiates new behavioral approaches that allow organizations to cope with uncertainty (Oliver 1992). Organizations can actively influence how they adapt to new circumstances.

Another school of thought that aims to explain drastic changes in institutional settings is the institutional logic perspective, which is a newer meta-theoretical approach in organization studies (Greenwood et al. 2008, Thornton & Ocasio & Lounsbury 2012). The institutional logic perspective was first introduced by Friedland and Alford (1991) as a new dimension of institutional theory that also considers the actors in social contexts who affect the institutional setting. Since then, institutional logic research has gained increasing interest in both the US and Europe. This perspective aims to tackle some of the shortcomings of prior approaches to institutional analysis in economics, political science, and sociology that have narrow views of how institutions influence the behavior of individuals and organizations. Unlike the previous institutional scholars who have used, *inter alia*, historical, rational choice, and sociological viewpoints emphasizing diffusion and isomorphism to explain organizational forms and practices, Friedland and Alford (1991) viewed institutional logics operating in larger institutional contexts as critical to understanding institutional change. Thornton and Ocasio define institutional logics as *“socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social*

reality" (Thornton & Ocasio 1999, p 804). Institutional logic scholars generally believe that one dominant institutional logic guides the actions of organizations within a field. That dominant institutional logic defines the acceptable principles, frames of reference, practices, symbols, vocabulary, and sense-making process as well as how rationality is perceived (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury 2012). Thus, the institutional logics perspective focuses on the complex inter-related constructs of institutions, individuals, and organizations in a given social system and aims to understand how both individual and organizational actors are affected by the power of institutional logics (ibid.). Institutional logic explains heterogeneity within an organizational field as well as stability and change (Thornton & Ocasio 2008).

Most scholars who have contributed to the institutional logics perspective view institutional logics as ideal types guiding institutions and identify two or more competing institutional logics that are antecedents or consequences of institutional change to explain the process of how a dominant institutional logic is abandoned and replaced by a competing logic (Lounsbury 2002, Thornton & Ocasio 1999, 2008, Thornton et al. 2012). In practice, competing institutional logics typically result in conflict as individuals within organizations cope with institutional change (Pache & Santos 2013). Therefore, it is common for individuals in organizations to either adhere to the new institutional logic or resist the change (ibid.).

Sometimes multiple institutional logics prevail simultaneously. This has been witnessed in complex organizations and highly fragmented fields that by nature are often subject to multiple logics because they operate within multiple institutional spheres and possess numerous uncoordinated constituents (Dunn & Jones 2008, Pache & Santos 2010). For example, in their study of medical schools, Dunn and Jones (2008) identified two institutional logics, the care and science logics, which act as plural logics in medical education. These authors further suggest that plural institutional logics are likely to co-evolve in professional schools due to their functional backgrounds in professional fields and membership in academia. In cases of conflicting plural logics, organizations develop strategic responses to cope with conflicting demands (Pache & Santos 2010, 2013b). In practice, organizations tend to selectively pair elements from each institutional logic to improve legitimacy and acceptance (Pache & Santos 2013b).

2.4 Institutional logics in higher education: origins of market logic

The starting point for understanding institutional logics in higher education is the fact that organizations and professions that operate in multiple institutional spheres, such as universities and business schools, are often subject to plural institutional logics that guide their evolution (Dunn & Jones 2010, Pache & Santos 2010). As previously discussed, universities are highly institutionalized and legitimate members of society. Society defines universities' expected role that enables them to be considered legitimate organizations. The purpose of universities has been generally tied to serving the public good—a key concept upon which academic logic was based. Academic logic can be considered a relatively durable institutional ideal because modern universities still incorporate many of the features of early universities. However, universities are subject to institutional pressures in a similar manner to any other organization within a society, and they must adapt to changing expectations when necessary. Although the institution of the university is durable, it is not static; it is subject to the needs of its evaluating audiences and must be adaptive and capable of change. Institutional change in higher education is thus often considered a natural, evolutionary process that occurs because of changes in wider institutional settings as described in institutional theory.

Universities operate as social constructs of socially accepted ideals. Therefore, universities can be considered as formed based on rationalized myths (Meyer & Rowan 1977) constructed during a given time in a manner that has societal meaning. Accordingly, academic logic and market logic are also rationalized myths. In academic logic, the ideas of universities typically have been attached to the Humboldtian university ideals. Different nations have always sought to refer to ideas, elements and practices considered legitimate and desirable (Bennett 1991, Marginson & Rhoades 2002). Thus, consistent with Thornton and Ocasio (2008), the academic logic and its elements, including interests, identities, values and assumptions, have become embedded within the institutional logic that has guided the actions of universities transnationally.

Because universities are socially constructed organizations that must be considered legitimate, it is expected that the societies that surround them largely define universities' purpose and scope and that universities are built on existing institutions. Whereas the Humboldtian university ideals and the old, key European universities were originally designed as cradles of intellectual development for their citizens and have deep academic roots, the diffusion of such a complex structure was unlikely in many other societies, where the starting point for establishing universities was quite different. However, the ideas, symbols and rituals that constituted the Humboldtian ideals were easily diffused due to the lack of alternative organizational templates (DiMaggio & Powell 1983); thus, the Humboldtian model and academic logic served as reference points for establishing universities in other countries.

In practice, Humboldtian ideals also served as a reference point in the US, most notably in the establishment of Johns Hopkins University (1876), Clark University (1887), Stanford University (1891) and the University of Chicago (McCaffery 2010, p. 26). However, merely copying the German model would not have been sustainable because the newly established nation lacked certain important institutions such as academic heritage and traditions; moreover, it lacked intellectuals. The surrounding society also had different expectations for its universities. In the US, the role of universities was not to serve purely intellectual purposes; instead, universities were to serve the more practical purpose of nation building (Geiger 2011). Consequently, early American higher education institutions achieved legitimacy by emphasizing their utility in producing a skilled workforce and serving the varied and imperative practical needs of a rapidly developing, modernizing and expanding society (Washburn 2008). However, the mission of those universities, although practically oriented, was derived from academic logic: to serve the public good (Geiger 2011). Early American higher education institutions were predominantly teaching-focused colleges offering practical, utilitarian programs. For example, during the 1800s, most American higher education institutions aimed to educate a workforce to develop agriculture, manufacturing and commerce (Washburn 2008). Those who wished to pursue research typically went overseas to study at German research universities (Donoghue 2008). Liberal arts programs did not emerge until the early 1900s (Washburn 2008).

Higher education in the US evolved following a decentralized system, as wealthy patrons and external boards of layman trustees established private universities to serve the needs of their respective states (Geiger 2011). Because the states were the key evaluating audiences for these universities, they were subject to change their focus according to state demands. After the Civil War, states' needs became increasingly focused on the growing influence of private industries and the emergence of large corporations that required more managerial and technical expertise (Washburn 2008, p. 35). In response, many universities began to model their practices on those of traditional research universities. The aim of this institutional change was to ensure legitimacy by adopting research as a means to prove utility. In practice, this was achieved by showing the link between academic science and industrial revolution and discoveries (Boyer 1996, Washburn 2008). Thus, the key mission of American higher education institutions and the ideals of teaching and research in the 19th century were linked to practicality, reality and serviceability in providing for the public good (Boyer 1996, Scott 2006).

This model was inherently different than those of the traditional European universities, which had been designed to serve society by offering the classical and theoretical studies that were considered relevant. Therefore, European universities did not focus on modern non-academic studies, and these subjects were taught at less-prestigious institutions or outside universities (Geiger 2011). For example, the early business schools in Germany and in France were not

originally parts of universities; instead, they were independent trade schools (Engwall 2007, Üsdiken 2004).

However, unlike Europe, evaluating audiences in the US had a more utilitarian goal for higher education; in the US, the addition of practical disciplines to university program offerings was considered a rational approach (Üsdiken 2004, Washburn 2008). Despite some resistance from academia, many practical disciplines were implemented at US universities because of overriding societal interest. For example, business programs were already present in academia by the end of the 19th century; the Wharton Business School of the University of Pennsylvania introduced its first bachelor's programs in 1881 (Engwall 2007, p. 11; Khurana 2007, p. 88). Dartmouth developed its first master's program in business in 1900, and Harvard was the first to offer an MBA in 1908 (Antunes & Thomas 2007, p. 384). As suggested by institutional theory, legitimized ideas and institutional templates are likely to result in the diffusion of ideas and organizational isomorphism. Consequently, numerous other universities began to mimic successful counterparts such as Wharton and Harvard and offered these new popular and practical programs.

The beginning of the 20th century was a key period in the institutionalization of the utilitarian American higher education model. Because social worthiness and legitimacy are typically fostered through conformity to external criteria (Oliver 1991), US institutions of higher education were confronted with a problem: they had no existing external criteria. Thus, institutionalization was first initiated through normative means by establishing voluntary associations designed to standardize the relatively heterogeneous higher education system. These associations began to promote a set of more uniform criteria in higher education institutions with respect to admissions, credit hour systems, program offerings (including majors), etc. (Geiger 2011). Conformity to these established criteria led to more positive social evaluations and thus a pathway to legitimacy (Heugens & Lander 2009). One of the most important associations, the Association of American Universities (AAU), was founded in 1900 and became an increasingly influential institution in defining the standards of the "American university" and the rules and guidelines for graduate education (Geiger 2011, Harclerod & Eaton 2011). It was the most notable professional network organization of that time and served as the first accrediting agency in the field of higher education.

Because the American higher education system was established as a state-controlled and thus decentralized system (Holmes 1981), the establishment of professional organizations such as the AAU was a particularly important step for the professionalization of American higher education because it also served as a means to assess and standardize the higher education system nationwide. Without such organizations, it is unlikely that American higher education would have emerged as a role model for the rest of the world. As the influence of institutionally based membership organizations such as the AAU gained influence as a normative hegemony in the field of higher education (Harclerod & Eaton 2011), American universities were the first to incorporate a massive

diffusion of ideas that became known as “best practices” (Geiger 2011). It was already possible to define the elements comprising the standard American university by 1908 (Geiger 2011).

Heugens and Lander (2009) noted that when organizations establish new fields of application, they are likely to adopt practices from highly legitimized points of reference rather than develop their own because legitimacy is easier to borrow than to produce. Therefore, it was hardly a surprise that the AAU borrowed its university evaluation criteria from leading research universities, namely, Harvard and Yale (Geiger 2011, Harclerod & Eaton 2011). Because these pioneering American research universities had proven themselves by their considerable symbolic performance and were backed by enormous private sources of financial support, they were considered highly legitimate and powerful higher education institutions; it was rational to use their practices to define academic standards, knowledge and professions (*ibid.*).

The decades preceding the First World War were characterized as a generation of growth, standardization and institutionalization of several new practically oriented disciplines within academia, including business studies, although criticism was abundant (Engwall 2007). Whereas the development of higher education stagnated in Europe during World Wars I and II, the development of higher education in the US proceeded, largely promoted by favorable changes in regulatory settings through numerous government initiatives. For example, as early as 1912, state universities were granted the right to patent and license their professors’ discoveries, which have enabled the biosciences especially to generate profits from their discoveries (Washburn 2008 p. 34). This initiative ensured that universities were able to serve their respective states by providing new solutions with commercial value to local industries in return for receiving financing from those industries. Furthermore, the US government started to sponsor university research during the World Wars (Khurana & Spender 2012).

Thus, universities were expected to prove their utility by demonstrating their substantive performance (Heugens & Lander 2009) in return for investment. This logic further differentiated the US system from the European system, where universities were financed by the government to ensure that private interests were separated from higher education; money received from industry was considered to come with strings attached. In contrast, educators and politicians in the US believed that federal funding for universities would compromise academic autonomy, and industry funding was considered more suitable (Giroux 2002, Washburn 2008). Furthermore, although federal funding is likely to ensure universities’ continuous symbolic performance, it does not encourage them to reap benefits through substantive performance.

During the World Wars, research conducted by American universities was harnessed to produce new practical and commercial discoveries in medical and wartime applications. Academic discoveries such as radar, fuses, blood plasma and penicillin proved that academic science was truly an important national resource (Washburn 2008), thus increasing both the symbolic and substantive

performance of the universities (Heugens & Lander 2009). In 1944, the US government passed new laws to facilitate the growth of higher education. Informally known as the GI Bill, it offered, among other benefits, access to education for the masses (Washburn 2008). After this favorable regulative change, the proportion of young men attending college tripled and continued to increase exponentially until the 1970s (Geiger 2011). This was, to a large extent, facilitated by generous federal and state support mechanisms to institutions of higher education (e.g., land grants) and direct support to students through tax relief, grants and student loans (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011).

This policy prompted the “massification” era of US higher education, which witnessed a dramatic increase in capacity and facilitated the growth of new types of education providers. Because these new types of providers needed to become legitimate organizations to gain access to resources for survival, they began to build their own isomorphic structures that conferred support (Heugens & Lander 2009). As a result, different types of strategic groups began to emerge in US higher education. Among the newcomers were private municipal universities, regional state colleges and vocational junior colleges that soon became the largest providers of higher education (Geiger 2011). This massification era resulted in a more clear separation between elite and mass higher education, whose key evaluating audiences had different expectations of them. At one end was the traditional, large, increasingly hierarchical group of elite, socially exclusive institutions (Altbach 2011, Geiger 2011). At the other end were an increasing number of vocational, teaching-oriented institutions catering to the masses (Tierney & Lechuga 2010).

The decades following the end of World War II were also shaped by the Cold War political dichotomy that, inter alia, resulted in education policies that were more politically motivated. The Marshall Plan played a significant role in the reconstruction of Western Europe, including rebuilding and increasing the capacity of its higher education institutions (Kieser 2004, Tiratsoo 2004), which was implemented in many ways, both explicit and implicit. For example, US scholars were sent around the world to promote social and economic progress (Boyer 1996). Several institutions received direct monetary aid in the form of loans and grants to build and staff new institutions of higher learning (Tiratsoo 2004) and targeted funds purchased American scientific books for non-American universities (Kettunen 2013). In addition, European academics were invited to visit American universities to learn “best practices” that could be implemented in European universities (Engwall 2007). These policies acted as carriers of institutionalized American ideas and practices that ensured their diffusion elsewhere.

The end of the Cold War was a watershed for the nature of science and knowledge produced by American universities. After the Cold War, university research focusing on military applications and the overall role of universities in implementing a range of “Great Society” programs were considered less important by evaluating audiences. As Boyer (1996, p. 18) has noted, for the first time in nearly 50 years, American universities had to reposition themselves

around something other than direct, urgent national endeavors. Thus, they fundamentally needed to implement institutional change if they wished to continue to enjoy legitimacy. They had to prove their worthiness by increasing the scope of their influence. Soon, the new role and purpose of US universities was intertwined with the increasing economic competitiveness that became the primary goal of many government policies outside the US (Krücken 2003, Washburn 2008).

This new rhetoric changed the focus of university research from wartime and medical discoveries toward more entrepreneurial and managerial sciences that were considered more directly linked to socioeconomic development (Washburn 2008). This change in research focus, and in the disciplines that produced that research, altered the power structure of universities: business schools became the new front-runners of this type of enhanced knowledge (Augier & March 2011, Djelic & Amdam 2007, Locke 1996, Kipping, Üsdiken & Puig 2004, Zeitlin & Herrigel 2000). Moreover, American business schools had successfully professionalized their field by establishing membership organizations such as the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), which had standardized and institutionalized the field since its inception in 1916 (Durand & McGuire 2005, p. 171). Later, the establishment of other professional institutions such as the Academy of Management and the European Foundation for Management Development (EFMD) further professionalized the field (Spender 2007).

Thus, US business schools were forerunners in establishing the criteria for evaluating all business schools (Durand & McGuire 2005), and they enabled their cognitive superiority because no alternative templates existed at the time. In particular, the establishment of the Graduate School of Industrial Administration (GSIA) played an important role as a prototype for US business schools (Khurana & Spender 2012). The Ford and Carnegie Foundations, in turn, were important organizations for the international diffusion of the American business school idea, namely the GSIA model (Khurana & Spender 2012, Spender 2005, 2007). Because highly institutionalized ideas and practices are easily diffused, the American business school model began to spread—first to Western Europe after World War II and elsewhere after the end of the Cold War (Djelic & Amdam 2007, Engwall 2004, Kieser 2004, Kipping et al. 2004, Üsdiken 2004, 2007).

2.5 Institutionalization of market logic in higher education

Institutional theory accepts that even highly durable and legitimate organizations, rationalized myths and even institutional logics can change over time. According to Zajac and Westphal (2004), institutional forces initiate changes in prevailing institutions. They note that since organizations are always influenced by the markets in which they operate, one should also understand

the institutional construction of markets and how markets change in response to pressure from their evaluative audiences. After all, markets are also institutions. Markets are economic structures that are subject to institutional forces, especially regulatory forces through changing formal laws and normative forces through changing societal expectations (Thornton & Ocasio 2008). As discussed in the previous subchapter, the higher education market has always been influenced by strong institutional forces. However, the market logic developed in the US because that higher education system was influenced by utilitarianism. As the US higher education system gained legitimacy and became an international leader in higher education, it fostered the legitimacy of utilitarianism in higher education and strengthened the market logic at the expense of the academic logic. However, more drastic institutional changes in higher education, including the spread of more explicit market forces, began during the 1970s when the US government enabled market forces to interfere in higher education markets. Geiger (2011, p. 61) has labeled this watershed the “transitional decade for higher education”.

Emergence of ideologies promoting neoliberalism

The birth and strengthening role of market logic was facilitated by powerful political discourses, namely, neoliberal ideology and its associated dialogue, which were introduced to public sector organizations. However, what, precisely, *is* neoliberalism? According to Campbell and Pedersen, neoliberalism is

“a loose conglomeration of institutions, ideas, and policy prescriptions from which actors pick and choose depending on prevailing political, economic, social, historical, and institutional conditions” (Campbell & Pedersen 2001, p. 3)

Neoliberal discourse is a political toolkit that organizations utilize as they strategize their responses to institutional pressures under market logic. The application of the ideas of neoliberal discourse has initiated wide institutional changes on a global scale, and it has become the central guiding principle of economic thought and management (Harvey 2005). Before neoliberalism became the dominant economic viewpoint, there were several alternative templates, such as Keynesian economic ideas, which guided economic policies in different nations (Campbell & Pedersen 2001). As neoliberalism gained influence, it replaced those alternatives, promoting discourses on monetarist, supply-side and rational expectation theories that were eagerly adopted by decision makers (Campbell & Pedersen 2001). In contrast to the classic liberalism that promoted limitations on state power, which was seen as a negative force restricting individual power and freedom, neoliberal ideals viewed the state from a strategic point of view because it could take a more active role in creating beneficial conditions for achieving neoliberalism’s goals (Olssen & Peters 2005). According to this ideal, there was an opportunity to use the state as an entrepreneurial creator and facilitator for market conditions that also helped individuals behave more entrepreneurially (Campbell & Pedersen

2001). This rhetoric of neoliberalism that highlighted entrepreneurialism was positively received by American society because the attributes of entrepreneurship are linked to productivity; in turn, productivity is an irrefutable measure of success (Donoghue 2008). It was believed that entrepreneurship should be encouraged because entrepreneurs are capable of creating jobs and thus of increasing society's overall wealth and empowering consumer citizens. In short, entrepreneurship was seen as directly promoting societal well being. The end goals of neoliberalism are the principles of freedom and choice, consumer sovereignty, the promotion of competition and compliance and obedience through auditing, accounting and management requirements (Olssen & Peters 2005, Peters, Marshall & Fitzsimons 2000). If there are problems in the market, whether social or economic, it is the responsibility of the state to intervene and to make the markets function better, thus achieving human ends. Accordingly, neoliberalism was ideally constructed through the combination of powerful cognitive and normative arguments, and obedience was to be ensured through regulative means.

In an ideal situation, once market problems had been fixed, only minimum state involvement was required because markets had distinct advantages over state regulation and planning (Crouch 2011). This was due to the belief that markets inherently promoted the laws of supply and demand and thus increased efficiency and the quality of products and services (Olssen & Peters 2005). This idea was based on the belief that in efficient markets, numerous organizations compete for customers, thus promoting efficiency and responsiveness to consumer choice. Ideally, markets insure against under- or oversupply and eliminate unnecessary or overpriced products and services (Olssen & Peters 2005); when true market conditions apply, the supply and demand for goods and services adjust to each other through price mechanisms (Crouch 2011).

When these ideal free market conditions are achieved, government involvement should be minimized. There were strong arguments that anything other than minimal government interference would only sabotage the virtues of the markets and result in increasing prices, consequently implicating needs for increased wages, which would eventually result in excessive labor costs and the decline of productivity and competition in global markets, thus increasing unemployment and decreasing consumption (Crouch 2011). Minimal government interference would also prevent politics from distorting market conditions. According to the neoliberal ideal, politics should not interfere in markets and businessmen should not interfere in politics (ibid.).

The teachings of neoliberalism and its related products were actively promoted in the media, the tool used by individuals to obtain "perfect" information. For example, the "Chicago School" of economics became popularized by the best-selling book *Free to Choose* by Milton and Rose Friedman, which also sparked a ten-part television series (Crouch 2011). After Milton Friedman's scholarly work was awarded the Nobel Prize for Economic Science in 1976, Friedman became a most highly regarded and influential

scholar, and his reputation was revered both within and outside of the US (Ebenstein 2007). According to Lounsbury (2002), as market-oriented financial ideas and practices become popular, they become strong normative forces that promote market logic. Thus, the message of neoliberalism and its supporting schools of thought were actively legitimized by influential scholars who popularized their core ideas and ensured the global diffusion of those ideas through market forces, which fostered market logic.

From ideologies to applicable ideas

The ideas of neoliberalism gained influence because of their ability to combine economics with politics and to use rational choice as a primary argument for legitimacy in attempts to change social systems (Peters et al. 2000). The rise of neoliberalism also coincided with globalization and internationalization trends (Morrow & Torres 2000). The spread of neoliberalism and its core ideas was aided by its adoption and promotion by an influential network of supranational organizations. In the 1970s, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) discarded Keynesian ideals and began to promote neoliberal ideas and free markets, encouraging the privatization of public services (Crouch 2011). In parallel, the World Bank promoted the diffusion of a similar agenda in developing countries (Naidoo 2011). These network organizations effectively acted as postcolonial powers by spreading and promoting Western schools of thought on market economies along with ideas about human and knowledge capital (Spring 2009). These organizations were also active supporters of the creation of favorable institutions to undertake the shift toward neoliberal economic politics in countries where these institutions were absent. For example, because it was important to raise the quality of education, the OECD and the World Bank actively assessed different countries based on their education systems and the contribution of those education systems to economic growth (Burden - Leahy 2009, Schuetze 2012), suggesting neoliberal educational reforms for underperforming nations to improve their performance (Spring 2009). These organizations simultaneously promoted other key interests of neoliberalism such as support for giant multinational corporations (Crouch 2011).

Thus, as Western capitalism spread, room was created for the diffusion of neoliberal ideologies, neoclassical teachings and related dogmas, namely, the ideas of the Chicago School, new public management, agency theory, transaction cost economics and public choice theory (Djelic 2008a, Olssen & Peters 2005). Whereas neoliberalism was a purely theoretical ideology, the by-products of the neoclassical school of economic thought were more generic and considered to be apolitical, universally applicable tools of good administration (Hood 1991, Peters et al. 2000) that therefore were easily diffused. For example, transaction cost economics were used to demonstrate the superior performance of market-led governance structures compared to existing templates that fostered the cognitive superiority of neoliberal discourses (Olssen & Peters

2005). The cure for management ills, according to these ideologies, was found in policies leading to deregulation, corporatization and privatization (ibid.).

Furthermore, the new public management (NPM) movement provided a new pathway for larger governmental reforms of the public sector and, by association, higher education (Wedlin 2011a). According to this administrative megatrend, several market traits in the public sector were considered inherently bad: inefficiency, inflexibility, lack of response to customer needs, lack of productivity and excessive cost (Crouch 2011). The argument further contends that all things private are necessarily good and efficient (Apple 2000). Public sector institutions were considered to waste society's economic resources because significant taxpayer funds were poured into them but they did not provide efficient results. Thus, according to economic rationality, the cost-benefit analysis of public institutions was insufficient (Apple 2000).

NPM was a "marriage" of new institutional economics and its core ideas of transaction cost theory, public choice theory, principal-agent theory and the introduction of corporate managerialism and private sector management styles with the public sector (Hood 1991; Peters et al. 2000). If public sector organizations are privatized and the market is left to control their activities, then "management ills" are cured, leading to increased productivity, flexibility and cost efficiency (Hood 1991, p. 8) caused by the gradual withdrawal of the state from the provision of public sector services (Campbell & Pedersen 2001, Harvey 2005, Hood 1991, Olssen & Peters 2005). The NPM model also initiated a shift to a fully consumer demand-driven system of public services that aimed to ensure neoliberalism's other principle: consumer freedom to choose the best service provider (Peters & May 2007).

From applicable ideas to actions

The neoliberal ethos in action initially questions the role of public good in many ways – i.e., what should be considered a public good and who should pay for it. Whereas access to basic education and first degree education are willingly acknowledged as public goods and universal human rights because citizens' education level has been shown to contribute to economic growth, public opinion in many nations has been polarized as to whether higher education beyond first degree should be considered a private good (Crouch 2011, Holmes 1981). In many nations, public opinion has shifted toward regarding certain forms of higher education as an individual economic investment and thus a private good. The key debate has focused on how to use public money, whether private institutions should receive any public money, and if so, whether the money should be given to individuals who can choose a preferred institution or directly to the institution (Tierney 2010).

This promotion of consumer choice is one of the core ideas of neoliberalism because customer choice signals democracy and the idea of the citizen-consumer (Giroux 2002). Consumers are considered rational and informed customers with the ability to choose among different product or service suppliers because they have access to "perfect" information about

different options available on the market; based on this access, they are able to select the solution that best suits their needs (Apple 2000, Crouch 2011, Olssen & Peters 2005, Peters et al. 2000). Naturally, consumer choice also includes the option not to consume and pay for a service. When a public service is financed with taxpayer funds, one does not have such a choice because the consumer pays for the service regardless of whether he or she consumes it.

The belief that markets could run education systems better than the state or the public sector has prompted significant structural reforms in higher education in nations where neoliberal ideas have been established. The role of the neoliberal state has been quite peculiar. State control of higher education has become more visible in some respects because governments are increasingly interested in the role of universities in national economic development and the creation of knowledge societies (Schuetze 2012). To ensure that these goals are achieved, neoliberal states have typically assumed an active and strategic role in restructuring the provision of higher education by creating attractive conditions, laws and institutional environments that improve market-like conditions and encourage competition and entrepreneurial activities (Naidoo, Shankar & Veer 2011). This behavior, in which the state intervenes in the development of the market to remove inefficiencies and maximize gains is occasionally referred to as the “market-accelerating state” (Mok 2011, p. 75). However, the role of the state in other functions, particularly in governance and funding, has diminished as market forces have been established (Giroux 2002, Geiger 2011, Hentschke et al. 2010, Kirk & Napier 2009, Mok 2011, Olssen & Peters 2005).

Nonetheless, the neoliberal state is more than willing to spend state and private money to revamp certain education institutions *if* that investment is considered essential to creating a more competitive economy and thus to delivering substantial profits (Apple 2000, Morrow & Torres 2000, Olssen 2011). This tactic has been initiated by viewing knowledge as a form of capital that can be utilized to reap benefits. The popular terms “knowledge capital” and “knowledge economy” were adopted as key policy trends by many Western economies in the late 1990s because knowledge was viewed as a key issue in determining the future of a society based on the skills and competencies of its workforce, i.e., its human capital (Teichler 1988).

Because in the era of increasing influence of market logic, universities are no longer evaluated as social institutions but instead more as businesses (Donoghue 2008), they must use new methods to prove their worthiness in the marketplace to those that evaluate them to determine their ability to continue to exist and be successful. According to some neoliberal reforms, federal funding is allocated on a competitive basis and based on the criteria or standards of established national priorities (Olssen 2011). To prove their worthiness, university administrators have to develop measurements to evaluate the benefits and impact of their universities’ research and education. To do this, they have utilized audit and accountability measurements from the corporate world, such as total quality management (Ginsberg 2011). These evaluation

instruments are used to demonstrate university transparency, efficiency and customer orientation (Wedlin 2011a), thus serving the demands of free markets in which customers must be provided with objective information about service providers (Crouch 2011). In addition, universities are now subject to new forms of governance—i.e., non-coercive soft rules that have become rule-like features in higher education (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson 2008a), such as accreditation and ranking organizations. As a result, universities are expected to provide objective information to these evaluative bodies.

Those accreditation, ranking and other voluntary membership organizations were traditionally developed as normative authorities for quality assurance to establish and strengthen university standards (Harclerod & Eaton 2011). However, their role has become more powerful and strategic than their original design. The state also uses the indirect coercive power of these voluntary membership organizations to steer the manner in which higher education students are taught. Typically, students who attend “approved” and “ranked” institutions are entitled to receive federal financial aid (i.e., grants and loans), whereas students in “unapproved” institutions are not (Harclerod & Eaton 2011, Slaughter & Rhoades 2011, Tuchman 2009). Thus, the significance and importance of these voluntary membership organizations have dramatically increased. These organizations have become increasingly influential rule-setters and authorities in the new governance of higher education because states have outsourced their former authoritative role in quality assurance (Harclerod & Eaton 2011).

Simultaneously, accreditation and ranking organizations have endured their own professionalization process and have become more discipline-focused (Durand & McGuire 2005). For example, AACSB was established in 1916 (ibid.). Furthermore, influential national university rankings have been published annually by *US News & World Report* (since 1987), and *Business Week* (since 1988); Germany’s *Der Spiegel* began to publish its own rankings in 1989 and the UK’s *The Times* did so in 1993. Furthermore, business programs became popular disciplines that sparked their own separate ranking bodies, such as *Business Week*, the *Financial Times* (FT), *Forbes*, *The Economist* and the *Wall Street Journal* (Starkey & Tiratsoo 2007, Wedlin 2007, 2011a, Wildavsky 2010).

As these accreditations and rankings became an institutionalized part of higher education governance, their evaluations increased isomorphism in higher education. As Donoghue (2008) has noted, the normative pressures established by these agencies have caused all institutions to look alike. However, because higher education institutions are ultimately affected by the level of their reputation and resources, this type of unequal competitive setting typically leads to competitive isomorphism because organizations must operate in a particular competitive space with their most immediate competitors; in this setting, imitating the most successful players within a competitive group is the most feasible option (Heugens & Lander 2009). Originally, rankings evaluated institutional performance only on a domestic or regional level; as the role of evaluations has become a more important part of global higher education

governance, accreditations and rankings have become a global business. Global rankings have been produced since 2003 by the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) at Shanghai Jiao Tong University; the Times Higher Education Supplement's (THES) global rankings were launched in 2004 (Wedlin 2011a, p. 568). Consequently, universities and business schools around the world began to compete in the global reputation race (Hazelkorn 2011, Marginson & Van der Wende 2007, Salmi 2009, Wedlin 2011a, 2011b, Wildavsky 2010). These normative measures have ensured that universities worldwide are pressured to mimic each other, thus beginning the shift toward significant convergence among higher education institutions and worldwide policy making (Scott 2006).

Many of the initial ideas of neoliberalism that were applied to education provision were noble in theory. In general, the intention was to make education more accessible and affordable and assure that it met the needs of the job market and the economy. However, noble ideas are often problematic when put into practice. For example, in strongly class-divided societies such as the US, there is a wide discrepancy between demand and realistic access to education – in particular, the ability to pay for it (Morrow & Torres 2000). Thus, ensuring social support for neoliberal reforms requires addressing this access problem. To overcome this problem, the implementation of neoliberal reforms has been supported by tax relief and increased student grants and loans (Donoghue 2008, Ginsberg 2011).

Another noble idea in theory was to enable customer choice by improving the quality of programs offered in universities through the virtues of the markets. In practice, this policy was implemented in the US through legislative change in the 1970s that shifted direct state aid from public institutions to students (Ginsberg 2011, Naidoo et al. 2011). This initiative was aimed to empower students as consumers and to force universities to increase cost competition and marketization to attract students (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). This in turn, initiated competitive isomorphism (Heugens & Lander 2009) among the different categories of education providers that competed for particular market segments.

After the 1990s, the promotion of neoliberal policies was taken to a new level due to increasing calls for trade agreements to facilitate the globalization of the world economy. Trade barriers conflicted with neoliberalism because government support and subsidy of local industries impede the ideal functioning of free markets on a global scale. To ensure fair competition, facilitate free markets and promote national competitiveness within the global economy, a commonly agreed set of rules for international trade was required (Peters & May 2007). These calls were answered in 1995 when the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) under the World Trade Organization (WTO) reduced and even eliminated barriers to trade; that agreement also enabled trade in education services (Knight 2003, 2006, Mok 2011). Thus, education became viewed like any other tradable commodity that had an inherent interest in profit. Consequently, university leaders began to seek

commercial advantages from internationalization activities, such as student mobility and cross-border ventures, which originally had no profit-generating motives (Altbach & Knight 2007, Schuetze 2012). Seeking profits from internationalization was a “fashionable fad” during 2005-2008 (Tuchman 2009, p. 171) as more universities participated in international activities (Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola & Lamberg 2014b).

From actions to outcomes

When the ideas of neoliberalism were put into action, decision makers may not have considered that unlike many other public services, education is highly politicized. Therefore, the neoliberal ideas applied to education policies have resulted in peculiar outcomes. Whereas the previous chapter discussed the external factors largely initiated by neoliberal states, the outcomes internally changed universities in many ways. As universities grew in size and number, they became more complex and expensive to run and had to rely on more diverse funding sources while simultaneously facing pressures to monitor and control budgets (Zgaga 2012). Thus, the traditional operating logic of universities (collegial decision making by academics) was no longer considered suitable. Because universities were evaluated like businesses, it was natural that they also became managed like businesses. To an increasing extent, universities became managed by professional managers and administrators, and even executive boards, according to a top-down or line management model (Ginsberg 2011, Olssen 2011) while diminishing the power of collegial decision making and the voices of faculty and students (Altbach 2011, Slaughter & Leslie 1997). According to this new trend, an increasingly important quality for university managers to have was the ability to strategize in securing the bottom line.

To secure funding sources and the bottom line, it was crucial for university managers to be able to engage the most important sources of funding: the state, corporations and individuals. University managers began to engage the first two categories through a triple-helix model in which knowledge produced by the universities would be strategically aligned according to the needs of corporations and the state (Etzkowitz et al. 1998). For example, university-industry linkages became a more important focus as a legitimizing discourse in an attempt to acquire more private money for financing universities. In addition, including industry representatives on the governing councils of higher education institutions became the norm (Giroux 2002, Olssen 2011). With this change, industrial firms gained a stronger role in designing curricula more suitable to industry needs (Altbach 2011), appointing new faculty members (Giroux 2002) and promoting private industry-sponsored university research (Geiger 2011, Popp Berman 2011, Washburn 2008). Research came to be evaluated based on its impact on industry as well as according to its market potential (Marginson 2011, Olssen 2011). In addition, alumni with successful careers were seen as important resources for external funding through donations that universities were required to manage efficiently (Geiger

2011). Improvements in information and communication technology have resulted in more cost-efficient methods in program delivery, such as the increasing trend toward online and distance education (Slaughter & Rhoades 2000, Van der Wende & Middlehurst 2004, Vincent-Lancrin 2004) and the more recent introduction of massive open online courses (MOOCs) (Martin 2012).

Market logic has also been reflected in key university disciplines. Because tuition fees are constantly increasing and students must pay an ever-increasing amount of tuition, they are likely to favor disciplines more likely to repay their initial investment by qualifying them for high-income jobs after graduation (Tuchman 2009, Washburn 2008). Consequently, professional degrees in engineering and business have become the most common and popular disciplines (Ramirez 2008, Slaughter & Rhoades 2000). Courses are often offered at convenient locations at flexible times, including evenings, weekends and summers, to suit the needs of consumer-students (Tierney 2010). In contrast, academic disciplines with less direct output potential have become marginalized, underfunded or even eliminated unless they have been able to secure a sufficient number of students and/or external funding (Donoghue 2008, Ginsberg 2011).

According to neoliberal ideas, there was nothing distinctive about education that would make it unsuitable to be managed like any other service or private institution (Peters et al. 2010). Thus, education became viewed as any other commodity to be purchased and consumed. Moreover, because education was now viewed as a commodity, it was possible to detach the production of knowledge (research) from the dissemination of knowledge (education) (Trank & Rynes 2003). As a result, the value of research-based education diminished because, technically speaking, anyone with basic knowledge could offer education, thus increasing the number of institutions that were not intellectually based on research. This is evident in the exponential growth of for-profit and online education providers.

From intended outcomes to unintended outcomes

For a certain period of time, market logic seemed to function according to its noble ideas, and the market logic co-existed with the traditional academic logic. However, by the 1980s, it was already apparent that under some circumstances, market forces produced unintended outcomes, which ended the peaceful co-existence of the market and academic logics as the conflicts between the two institutional logics became more antagonistic. With respect to universities' *raison d'être* under market logic, the most notable unexpected changes involved the consequences of viewing education as a private good that detached its value based on the knowledge produced and disseminated by universities, thus eroding their traditional intellectual foundations. This is often referred to as the de-professionalization of academia, which has caused universities to resemble job-training institutions rather than contributors to the creation of knowledge (Donoghue 2008, Ginsberg 2011, Giroux 2002, Roberts & Donahue 2000, Slaughter & Leslie 1997, Slaughter & Rhoades 2000, 2011).

This change in the universities' *raison d'être* naturally was accompanied by unexpected changes in their operating logic. One of the most notable unintended consequences of market logic was the limitation of the role of collegial decision making in decisions related to institutional development (Olssen & Peters 2005, Roberts & Donahue 2000, Trank & Rynes 2003). Because universities are now run more like corporations with a focus on the bottom line, they have engaged in various profit-generating aspects that traditionally have not been part of their operating logic. This new operating logic has received wide criticism from evaluating audiences and supporters of academic logic.

As university administrations have become hierarchical, university faculties have also experienced increasingly hierarchical classification as the tenure track, a hallmark of academic logic, has been slowly eroded, which in turn has had a negative impact on the traditional faculty tasks of research and teaching (Ginsberg 2011, Giroux 2002, Schuetze 2012, Tuchman 2009). This has resulted in an increasing number of underpaid part-time adjunct and other temporary faculty at various types of institutions as faculty is viewed as wage employers (Giroux 2002, Marginson 2011). The rights of the faculty members in many for-profits are even more limited because in a sense, they are freelancers: they are part-time workers paid a fixed sum for each course they teach, with little job security and no benefits (Hentschke et al. 2010). These new employment trends have resulted in decreasing organizational commitment among faculty members (Lim 2014).

The increasing influence of market logic has also resulted in significant unintended consequences at the student level. For example, contrary to its original purpose, the introduction of market logic fundamentally *increased* education costs at all levels of education, and students are paying for an increasing amount of education out of their own pockets, resulting in increasingly unequal access to high-quality higher education (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). Escalating costs are particularly notable in full-time study programs (Hacker & Dreifus 2010). Because tuition fees have increased significantly, many university students must work part-time—or even full-time—to afford their studies. Because students are increasingly viewed as consumers, universities have created detailed marketing campaigns to capture the target groups viewed as the most desirable. Targeting is not only limited to high-quality and high-performing students and their parents but is also based on other desirable qualities (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). For example, an increasing number of universities have increased their efforts to locate out-of-state and international students, who are typically charged higher tuition fees than local students (Hacker & Dreifus 2010, Stromquist 2012, Tuchman 2009).

In addition to these more general tactics, market logic has resulted in more entrepreneurial and questionable recruiting tactics. For example, for-profits often target all students despite their performance levels because their aim is to maximize their intake and thus their profits (Hentschke et al. 2010). Certain non-elite universities have utilized similar tactics by purposefully recruiting a certain percentage of low-performing but financially eligible students to ensure

a desired profit margin (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). Sometimes this behavior is compensated by offering discounted prices (for example, through institutional aid) to financially strained, high-performing students, for the purpose of maintaining quality (ibid). Elite institutions also have their own recruiting priorities and strategies. They typically recruit a certain percentage of minority students to appear more diverse, and they often improve the overall test scores of their applicants with high-performing foreign students; however, at the same time they are careful to maintain a desired ethnic composition (Hacker & Dreifus 2010).

In general, despite the existence of myriad forms of financial aid, tuition fees have increased at all levels of education since the introduction of market logic (Hentschke et al. 2010, Winston 1999). It has been documented that in practice, the distribution of grants and financial aid is no longer need-based. Instead, it is typical that all students, despite their income status, are in the same candidate pool for the purposes of financial aid (Hacker & Dreifus 2010, Winston 1999). In addition, students pay more for a range of items that used to be either free or subsidized, including the use of library facilities, food and beverages and even parking spaces (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004). Due to these escalating costs of higher education, more students must turn to private banks and predatory lenders with high margins to finance their studies with loans (Adamson 2009). More students currently graduate with debts that they find increasingly difficult to repay (Hacker & Dreifus 2010, Reynolds 2012). In many ways, market logic has failed students; instead of making education more affordable, market logic has made it more costly.

In addition, some universities have begun to utilize entrepreneurial practices to manipulate their yield rates, i.e., the ratio of all applicants to those who actually enroll. Increasing the yield rate is an important marketing tool: for media rankings, a higher yield rate translates into being a more prestigious institution (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). To increase their yield rates, universities began to offer discounted prices and other marketing gimmicks such as freebies to secure more recruits (Hacker & Dreifus 2010, Slaughter & Rhoades 2011, Tuchman 2009). For example, new admission tactics such as encouraging early-decision applications, on-site admissions, lax admission policies (e.g., no entrance exams, setting minimum requirements, making SAT or equivalent exams optional and crediting applicants for their life experience) and other “snap-apps” and “hard sell” approaches are common tactics currently used by non-elite institutions (Starkey & Tiratsoo 2007, Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). At elite institutions, tactics such “amenities arms races” (investing in visible signs that signal prestige), “positional arms races” (recruiting elite faculty members and superstar speakers) and offering increased student services are typical tools used to increase yield rates. Students no longer buy an education alone—they want an entire package that will provide them with higher social status and higher incomes (Brandon 2010, Ginsberg 2011, Hacker & Dreifus 2010, Marginson 2006, Starkey & Tiratsoo 2007, Zell 2001).

Furthermore, corporate university admissions offices have become profit centers in which managers are hired and fired – and sometimes incentivized – according to their performance (Tierney & Lechuga 2010). Private banks and test preparation agencies have also become big businesses that partner with university admissions offices to exclusively offer their services (Starkey & Tiratsoo 2007). Consequently, many universities engage in expansive marketing and recruiting campaigns that are sometimes based on inflated promises of job placements and high-income jobs after graduation (Tierney 2010, Tierney & Lechuga 2010). Education is increasingly marketed as a branded service and a lifestyle on campuses that resemble adolescent resorts where courses are taught by entertaining and perky faculty supported by superstar guest lecturers (Brandon 2010, Slaughter & Rhoades 2004).

Students' role in these market-oriented higher education systems is complex. Although there has been criticism of the role of students as victims of academic capitalism and its byproducts (Apple 2000, Slaughter & Rhoades 2004), students' expectations of educational institutions have become more demanding. Student consumerism, initiated in the US in the 1970s after the change in federal and state financial aid dissemination from institutional aid to individual student aid, has become commonplace (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). This legislative shift in educational funding enabled students to play a more consumer-like role, forcing institutions of higher education to become dependent on them as a major source of their financial flow (Naidoo et al. 2011). This shift has increased student numbers at more expensive private institutions because private schools are considered more efficient and private-school students are allocated more financial support than are public-school students (Ball 2012, Slaughter & Rhoades 2011). Students tend to view education, and especially high-status degrees, as a tool for climbing the career ladder faster rather than as a means of intellectual self-development and becoming informed citizens and representatives in democratic public spheres (Giroux 2002, Hentschke et al. 2010).

Table 2 contrasts the some of the key conflicting elements of the academic and market logics. As previously discussed, scholars of institutional logics suggest that it is typical for organizations to try to balance contrasting institutional logics (e.g., Pache & Santos 2010, 2013a, 2013b). As a result, organizations in fragmented fields with multiple interests are likely to be influenced by coexisting plural logics. Most universities that have traditionally been influenced by the academic logic that try to incorporate some of the demands of the market logic are actually positioned somewhere between these two poles. However, it seems to hold true that the more there is of one, the less there is of the other (Marginson & Rhoades 2002).

TABLE 2 Conflicting institutional logics in higher education

	Academic logic	Market logic
	<u>Basic university ethos and raison d'être</u>	
Purpose	Serving the public good	Serving the private good
Values	Academic roots of Humboldtian ideals	Market values rooted in corporate businesses
Mission	Production and diffusion of knowledge for its own sake	Production and/or diffusion of knowledge for the sake of competition in the marketplace
Focus	Institutional-centric	Market-centric
Basis for legitimacy	Reputation through rigor and relevance that is evaluated by peers and society	Reputation through rigor and relevance evaluated by the market
Connections to industry	Important, but not more than other constituent groups	Increasingly important over other constituent groups
Role of academic science	Intellectual resource for the university	Economic resource, economic engine
	<u>Operating logic</u>	
External governance	State-controlled, self-accrediting	Various groups of governance ranging from coercive rules of the state to non-coercive methods of governance such as external accreditations
Internal governance	Self-governing body of scholars	Governed by administrators and board of governance (e.g., industry-representatives and non-academics on governance boards)
Decision hierarchy	Bottom-up governance structure characterized by slow decision making	Top-down; governance structure promotes swift decision making
Organizational flexibility	Traditionally characterized as organizational inertia	Flexible; able to quickly adapt to changing market needs
Funding logic	Public subsidy, philanthropy	Increasingly private, portfolio management
Profit logic	Non-profit	Increasing profit orientation in traditional universities, for-profit institutions
Key disciplines	Humanities, liberal arts	Practical disciplines with the greatest ROI potential
Program delivery	Fixed semester structure according to academic calendar	Flexible, often module-based; weekend and evening courses, year-round campus
Types of institutions	Universities, colleges, polytechnics	Universities, colleges, and polytechnics, along with new

		types of providers: for-profit universities, corporate universities, non-degree awarding institutions, online providers
Program delivery	Traditional: brick-and-mortar institutions, face-to-face learning	Different types of programs, ranging from traditional programs to virtual universities and distance learning
Internationalization	The academic mission guides such ventures (non-profit oriented)	Profit-motivated internationalization and cross-border operations for obtaining quick profits
<u>Faculty interface</u>		
Faculty's role in decision making	Collegial decision-making	Decreasing; the professional administration holds most decision power
Faculty and careers	Ph.D. with tenure	Different categories ranging from adjuncts to full professors (academic and non-academic), abolishing tenure
Key faculty functions	Research and teaching as inseparable functions	Teaching and research have been separated
Research	Curiosity-driven basic research free from conflicts of interest	Market-driven specialized research, sometimes industry sponsored
Teaching	Based on research and own experiences	Based on industry's latest needs or "gap spotting" based on abstract theories
Academic freedom	Essential element	Becoming a peripheral concern
<u>Student interface</u>		
Students	Viewed as colleagues	Viewed as consumers
Student quality	Quality of students matter, limited seats	Quantity of students matter, maximizing intake
Tuition fees	Low, sometimes free of charge	Increasing, often financed by loans
Financial aid	Needs-based	Performance-based
Purpose of education	Intellectual development (education)	Career enhancement (degree)
Courses	Take what is offered	Demanding market-oriented courses

The previous chapters explained the origins of market logic and how it became an institutionalized and increasingly influential institutional logic whose ideas conflict with the academic logic in many ways. I shall now turn the focus to

understanding what type of role business schools have played in this development and how market forces have been accompanied by additional, unintended aspects that previous research has not been able to fully capture. To shed light on this issue, I shall introduce the key findings of research articles and the implications they offer for understanding more about market forces and the role of business schools in promoting them.

3 SUMMARY AND KEY FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

3.1 Article I: The Legitimacy Paradox of Business Schools: Losing by Gaining?

TABLE 3 Summary of Article I

Title	The Legitimacy Paradox of Business Schools: Losing by Gaining?
Authors	Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Katariina Juusola & Marjo Siltaoja
Authors' contributions	All authors contributed equally to the research design. The present author conducted the literature review based on a database search and categorization of the articles. The subsequent analysis and writing were equally divided by the authors.
Aims	The aim was to study American business schools' historical legitimacy building processes and how business schools became a part of academia.
Research task	We aimed to develop an understanding of how the process of building legitimacy can be paradoxical when non-traditional professionalized disciplines were brought to academia, where they did not originally belong.
Theoretical background	Loosely based on institutional theory, focusing on legitimacy (Suchman 1995).
Type of the article	Research-based essay
Major findings and contributions	Our key finding was that legitimacy building can be paradoxical when the evaluating audiences are diverse, and building and maintaining legitimacy requires strategic approaches to balancing attempts to be legitimate among different audiences.
Publication	Academy of Management Learning & Education, doi: 10.5465/amle.2013.0106

Aims

The aim of this article was to build an understanding of how non-traditional professionalized disciplines, namely, business schools, entered academia. Their entry was studied through business schools' attempts to build the legitimacy that would allow them to enter academia and to manage their legitimacy among different evaluating audiences since that time. We focused on three legitimacy-building phases of business schools since 1945, based on a literature review of previous studies concerning business school legitimacy. Based on this literature review, we examined how business schools have built legitimacy within academia and why, despite being successful, business school legitimacy is still questioned.

Findings

The major finding of this article was that the building and maintenance of legitimacy can be paradoxical in nature: noble acts aimed at building legitimacy among certain interest groups may lead to a loss of legitimacy with other audiences. In the case of business schools, this is largely due to a diverse set of constituent groups with contradictory aims. At different times, these constituents have also evaluated business schools based on different criteria. We identified three subsequent and interrelated legitimacy-building eras in business school history: *scientification* (since 1950), *politicization* (since the 1970s), and *corporatization* (since the 1980s). The scientification era focused on a period when business schools aimed to build their academic legitimacy by scientifying their research to make it appear more rigorous. Although the scientification era helped business schools to obtain academic legitimacy, it paradoxically led to managerial irrelevance because the new, rigorous research produced in business schools was less capable of addressing actual, practical managerial needs.

The politicization era was characterized by pragmatic legitimacy, as business schools searched for more influence by increasingly promoting political movement with a neoclassical ethos. Promotion of this overpowering ethos, while successfully increasing the scope of business schools' influence, resulted in the distortion of earlier business school priorities related to serving the public good as an institution performing various roles within a multi-faceted society. Consequently, many of the earlier-assumed features of academia suffered, creating legitimacy challenges for business schools.

The third era focused on business schools' quest to build corporatist legitimacy by causing academic institutions to become more like corporations through the implementation of neoliberal ideals. Consequently, several neoliberal trends taken from the corporate world, such as improving cost efficiency and other short-term goals, were implemented in academia. This quest led to more entrepreneurial ways of managing universities and business schools, including the new corporate-style governance logic, the marketization of the student interface and the professionalization of university administration. This quest, while successful in transforming academic institutions into more

corporate-like entities, has resulted in not only the loss of traditional academic values but also increased legitimacy threats.

Based on our findings, managing legitimacy, particularly if the evaluating audience is heterogeneous and fragmented, is a complex task. We suggested that business schools should develop paradox strategies that can help them to gain, maintain or repair their legitimacy. However, to accomplish this, business schools engaged in long-term planning must understand the historical building process of legitimacy and the different needs and expectations of their diverse evaluating audiences, instead of resorting to the current trend of short-term performance logic. In addition, business schools must redesign their curricula, research objectives and practices to account for the more human side of business and organizations' diverse purposes; not everything should be managed with the principle of maximizing profits. However, implementing these changes in business schools would require a more fundamental change in the expectations of corporate managers related to how enterprises are run.

3.2 Article II: Accelerating the Americanization of Management Education: Five Responses from Business Schools

TABLE 4 Summary of Article II

Title	Accelerating the Americanization of Management Education: Five Responses from Business Schools
Authors	Katariina Juusola, Kerttu Kettunen & Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi
Authors' contributions	All authors contributed equally to the design of the research. Data collection was divided among the three authors as follows. The first round of interviews was conducted by Author 3. The subsequent rounds of interviews were divided between the present author (interviews in the UAE) and Author 2 (interviews in Finland). Data analysis was performed by the present author and Author 2. In the early stages of the review process, the writing of the article was equally divided among the three authors. In the later phase, the distribution of work was slightly altered: the present author and Author 2 equally divided the writing and editing, whereas Author 3 provided insightful comments during the review process.
Aims	This study aimed to develop a systematic framework to analyze the breadth and depth of non-American business schools' emulation of the US management education model to understand how business schools have responded to the increasing influence of Americanization.
Research task	The research task was twofold: first, to understand the ideal type of American business school that has diffused elsewhere, and second, to understand how and why business schools in non-American countries have adopted the American business education model to different extents and why the level of

	Americanization of business education varies even within specific countries.
Theoretical background	Institutional theory (diffusion, isomorphism and institutional logics)
Type of the article	Comparative historical case study
Main findings and contributions	By comparing business school systems in two opposite institutional logics – academic logic via the case of Finland and market logic via the case of the United Arab Emirates – we were able to build understanding how Americanization takes place in different institutional logics and how it can result in different institutional approaches.
Publication	Journal of Management Inquiry (accepted with revision)

Aims

This study focused on understanding the construction of the American business school ideal that has been diffused to non-American countries. Although the Americanization of business schools has been documented in various non-American contexts such as the UK, Sweden, Finland, Spain and Turkey (Engwall 2004, Kieser 2004, Kipping et al. 2004, Tiratsoo 2004, Üsdiken 2004, 2007), these studies tend to focus on single-case contexts; as a result, there is little theoretical knowledge of Americanization. Moreover, because the majority of research on Americanization was conducted a decade ago, less is understood about the most recent phases of accelerating Americanization and how and why business schools in non-American countries have adopted the American business school model to different extents, as along with why there are differences in Americanization levels even within countries.

This gap in the existing literature on Americanization inspired us to build understanding of Americanization by creating a systematic framework to analyze Americanization and the different responses of business schools. This framework consists of three broad categories: superstructure, research and education. The extent to which a business school resembles an American research university was then measured along the following two dimensions: the degree of adoption (low-high) and the amount of practices (low-high). In order to conceptualize Americanization, this research utilized two case studies to understand Americanization according different and even opposing institutional logics that underlie development in national settings. Two case countries were utilized to illuminate the two institutional logics: academic logic via Finland and market logic via the United Arab Emirates. We conducted comparative historical narratives to understand how these countries have been influenced by the American business school model.

Findings

The framework described above was utilized to illustrate how closely the adopted practices in superstructure, research and education resemble those of American research-intensive business schools. In conclusion, we were able to demonstrate that the most recent decade of Americanization has resulted in an increasing number of business schools in Finland and the UAE adopting

American practices; simultaneously, however, the degree of adoption in both countries has resulted in different outcomes explained by different institutional logics. We were able to identify five different responses of business schools to Americanization varying from imitation to immunization and different hybridization forms, namely, transmutation, compromization, and imposterization. Within this framework, we developed elements for this particular study that comprise the American model; this research contributes to the body of literature discussing the international diffusion of the US business school model.

3.3 Article III: Institutional Logic of Business Bubbles: Lessons from the Dubai Business School Mania

TABLE 5 Summary of Article III

Title	Institutional Logic of Business Bubbles: Lessons from the Dubai Business School Mania
Authors	Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Katariina Juusola & Juha-Antti Lamberg
Authors' contributions	Authors 1 and the present author designed the research and collected the data. The first round of interviews was conducted by Author 1, and the subsequent interviews and analysis were conducted by the present author. Article writing was equally divided between Author 1 and the present author. Author 3 has provided insightful comments, especially with respect to the design of the theoretical framing of the research and methodology.
Aims	The aim of this article was to develop an explanation for why business cycles – and even bubbles – can develop in education.
Research task	To understand the following issue: 1) How is it possible that the world's top business schools simultaneously badly judged the markets of Dubai's education sector and collectively invested in activities that, in retrospect, were far from economically rational and more closely resembled euphoria and mania? and 2) Why did business school leaders decide to enter the overcrowded Dubai market, precipitating its boom and bust cycle?
Theoretical background	Institutional theory applied to theories on business bubbles (Kindleberger & Aliber 2011)
Type of the article	Research paper
Main findings and contributions	In this article, we identified a number of factors in the business school market, institutionalized logic and organizational design that explain the enthusiasm of many business schools about expanding overseas, and the similar pattern of such logics of business schools in expanding to Dubai. The process followed the classic bubble process and thus, we were able to show that there are also bubbles in the education business and that business schools can even create their own bubbles.
Publication	Academy of Management Learning & Education 2014 (13): p. 5-25

Aims

The aim of this research article was to explain on a theoretical level how and why corporate-style business cycles, and even bubbles, can occur in education. The starting point for this research was rather problematic because scientific research on business schools and higher education has viewed business education as a stable, countercyclical and recession-proof field. In general, previous research neglected the possibility of educational bubbles. However, there have been several indications in the media, including *Forbes*, the *Boston Globe*, *The Economist*, the *Financial Times* and pamphlets (e.g., Reynolds 2012), about impending education bubbles. These authors have focused on identifying the potential cause-and-effect relationships that may cause the bubble to burst. These examples include rising student debt, unfulfilled promises of educational value (Leef 2013, Reynolds 2012) and universities' unsustainable financial situations (Piereson & Riley 2014). However, these sources have been less helpful in identifying an actual bubble and theorizing its emergence, growth and bursting, along with the institutional logic behind its development.

In this article, we focused on the exponential growth and decline of business schools in Dubai from 2002-2012. As a starting point to build a theoretical explanation for the boom and bust of Dubai's business school industry, we developed a theoretical framework that could capture the phenomenon of an educational bubble within the context of globalization. We applied business bubble theory (e.g., Kindleberger & Aliber 2011) to institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell 1983) to better approach the education bubble phenomenon. To test the suitability of our theoretical frame, we conducted an initial round of interviews with business school representatives in Dubai; the informants' spontaneous references to bubble terminology and institutional theory bolstered the applicability of our theoretical frame.

Findings

Although educational bubbles are very rare, there is one previous example of this phenomenon: a burst of the educational bubble in Japan in 1980s (Chambers & Cummings 1990). However, few people even know about that event. In our article, we were able to demonstrate a more current educational bubble and the institutional logic at work in different phases of the bubble and its ultimate burst. We were able to explain how and why educational bubbles can form, particularly in the business school field. We also identified numerous field-specific causes of the Dubai bubble, namely, decreased state funding, saturated home markets and an imbalance of supply and demand. In examining the dominant institutionalized logic of viewing the business of business schools as a global industry, we were also able to identify organizational design features such as sub-units inside business schools that specialized in international operations. All these features were identified as reasons for why many foreign business schools expanded to Dubai despite the potential market problems that experienced business managers should have foreseen.

Dubai's business school bubble concerned not only business schools but also the entire higher education sector. Our findings also addressed numerous implications for an even larger higher-education bubble—not in Dubai but in the US. The general belief that higher education is nearly always a profitable investment is a worrying sign, especially when the cost of higher education is rapidly increasing and students are paying an increasing proportion of their tuition bills with loans. There have also been numerous warning signs about students' inability to repay their student loans because they find it increasingly difficult to find meaningful jobs after graduation (Giroux 2002). The neoliberal logic behind the development of higher education in most Western countries that shifts the cost burden from taxpayers to students and their families (Slaughter & Rhoades 2011) seems to fuel the bubble. As more of these conditions are met, there is a possibility that additional educational bubbles may emerge.

Educational bubbles seem quite unlikely in Finland and elsewhere in Northern Europe, where the higher education field is still largely controlled by the state and where tuition fees (if any) play a smaller role in the market. However, as European universities face the increasing pressures of market forces to compete globally and to obtain revenues from abroad, they have also become increasingly interested in expanding their operations abroad. The oil-rich countries of the Arab Gulf have been specifically targeted as the most desirable places to expand. Therefore, our article also aims to offer policy implications for higher education institution decision makers who plan to expand. However, our findings showed that the cross-border operations of traditional non-profit schools can be risky because they forsake their traditional role and purpose when corporate-style decision making predominates. We suggest that expansion decisions should be made as a result of collective decision making, where the top management team should include reflective, heterogeneous individuals who will evaluate the thought processes and emotions that are involved in making decisions. Thus, a school's ultimate decision might benefit from collegial decision-making architecture because collective structures counteract market forces.

3.4 Article IV: Academic Capitalism Hits the Fan: The Birth of Academic Capitalism

TABLE 6 Summary of Article IV

Title	Academic Capitalism Hits the Fan: The Birth of Academic Capitalism
Authors	Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Katariina Juusola & Marjo Siltaoja
Authors' contributions	All authors contributed equally to the design of the research, data collection and the analysis and writing the article.
Aims	This study aims to further develop the theory of academic

	capitalism.
Research task	To examine academic capitalism in a context that enables a more radical form of academic capitalism.
Theoretical background	Academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie 1997, 2001)
Type of the article	Research-based essay
Main findings and contributions	This study aimed to study the most recent phases of academic capitalism in a context that has facilitated the takeover of a more extreme type of academic capitalism.
Publication	Dialogues in Critical Management Studies 2013, (2) p.91-121.

Aims

The aim of this article was to study the more recent events and forms of academic capitalism. Previous studies on academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie 1997, 2001, Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000, 2004, 2011) have focused on countries with well-established higher education systems with deep academic roots that are largely state-controlled and -regulated (e.g., the US, UK, Canada). These nations also have relatively strong civil societies (Chan & Lo 2008). In these settings, the neoliberally oriented reforms in higher education that led to market and market-like activities continued to operate within the realms of governance and typically faced resistance from civil society. In contrast, we studied academic capitalism in Dubai, which lacks a long history of higher education and academic traditions and where state governance of higher education is not only deregulated but is also purposefully and partially established outside the control of federal laws and regulations. Moreover, the role of civil society is relatively weak (Lootah 2011). To study academic capitalism, we focused on three mutually reinforcing forces: university corporatization, marketization and corporatization.

Findings

We found three particularly revealing cases in Dubai's higher education field that manifested the extreme outcomes of academic capitalism. The first case concentrated on corporatization as the new governance logic of higher education institutions and showed how a corporate-style university was more efficient in dominating the higher education market in Dubai over a world-class research university. This case represents how corporate-style universities are more agile in taking advantage of market forces in cross-border operations compared to traditional non-profit state universities, where decision-making is slow. This case showed how world-class prestige is not transferable as such but that careful market analysis and local legitimacy building are crucial tools for expanding universities across borders.

The second case illustrated the marketization of higher education and how it has supported the expansion of for-profit distance education institutions and even bogus universities. The underlying ethos of marketization was found in the neoliberal thinking in these universities as education was turned into a for-profit business. In practice, marketization was facilitated by students'

increasingly consumer-like behavior, the emergence of new university marketing practices (such as marketing by ranking status, the branding of universities and the use of hard-selling tactics) and the numerous profit-motivated alliances of universities and corporate partners. The case focused on the University of Atlanta, a for-profit online education provider. This institution took advantage of loopholes in the governance and quality of higher education institutions that were facilitated by the entry of market forces. As a result, thousands of students fell into its trap by investing money in degrees with no value or official recognition.

The third case focused on globalization aspects related to academic capitalism. To illustrate this phenomenon, we showed how academic capitalism fostered universities' cross-border activities, particularly those of business schools, and how dozens of foreign business schools have entered Dubai since 1993 to establish branch campuses. Academic capitalism and its market- and profit-oriented mantras have led to increasing risk taking by traditional universities—including non-profits—that currently seek new markets for expansion and profit. These actions have changed the nature of traditional non-profit, public-good institutions.

4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 On research philosophy

This chapter will briefly discuss the research philosophy that has guided certain schools of thought in higher education research. To do this, I will discuss ontology, the nature of reality, and epistemology – the nature of knowledge. I will then discuss the methodological design of the research articles in this thesis, followed by some examples of the methodological challenges to different phases of the review process for these articles.

When we examine existing research on higher education, it can be said that this body of work is rather heterogeneous with respect to research philosophy, methodological approaches and theoretical choices. This is natural because different research disciplines, such as sociology, history, economics, political science, psychology and even the law, which have contributed to higher education research (Tight 2012). Furthermore, the number of thematic categories (structures, knowledge aspects, processes and people, and organizational aspects) and possible levels of analysis (individual, course, department, institution, national, system, and international) are too vast and complex to utilize a fixed research design and approach to higher education research (Brennan & Teichler 2008). Thus, there is hardly any common and generally held idea of research philosophy that is subject to the purpose and the goals of these researchers, much less any unified role that theory and its utilization play in their research (Rubin & Rubin 2012). In fact, many higher education researchers do not engage explicitly with theory, and when scholars do engage with theory, it is often discussed briefly and in passing (Tight 2012). It is more typical to refer to grand theories or narratives that operate at the macro, meso or micro levels. Naturally, because higher education research is an interdisciplinary field of study, each school of thought has its own grand theories that have been applied (Tight 2012).

The mix of methods and methodologies in contemporary higher education research typically involves the use of documentary analysis, interviews, surveys,

multivariate analysis and observational studies as the main methods (Tight 2012). According to Tight (2012), methodologies such as case studies, evaluation, action research and ethnography are the most widely used approaches. The use of various methods and methodologies is not precise, and they often overlap. Both qualitative and quantitative research approaches possess advantages and disadvantages. For example, studies focusing on higher education structures (access, admission, patterns of institutions and programs, student enrollment and student flows, graduation and employment) typically employ quantitative approaches. Studies focusing on knowledge aspects (e.g., research, curriculum, quality issues and relevance), processes and people (teaching and learning aspects in higher education and professions) and organizational aspects of higher education (e.g., management, institutional settings, governance and funding aspects) may find qualitative research strategies suitable (Brennan & Teichler 2008). Whereas quantitative research is often considered more rigorous because it offers valid, measurable and demonstrable results that can be applied more generally, qualitative research suits research that aims to explore a particular phenomenon in depth and in context (Tight 2012). This present study utilizes a qualitative approach because of these particular interests.

The major schools of thought that have interested me in the course of this research have involved studies that have focused on how and why education systems change, thus those belonging to the *organizational aspects of higher education* thematic category. Although researchers focused on this theme have typically been motivated by the tensions between institutional durability and change, this is not a focus comprising only one school of thought. There are at least two groups of scholars—sociologists and historians—that have contributed to the existing research. Although it is understandable that both of these groups utilized different ontological and epistemological starting points in their studies, it appears that neither group has established a commonly held research paradigm.

With respect to ontology, there have traditionally been two opposing views of reality—objectivism and subjectivism—which in turn make different assumptions related to their ontology, human nature, epistemology and methodological choices (Morgan & Smircich 1980). To understand the different fundamentals of these two apparently opposing points of view, one must understand the concepts of “subject” and “object.” A “subject” is often considered a reflective individual, whereas an “object” is something to be perceived and concretized, such as an artifact, a symbol, a text, a universal truth, a law or a principle thought to be a durable, universal fact perceived independently of different human perceptions (Cunliffe 2011, p. 651). The objectivist views reality as a concrete structure that can be studied through the nature of relationships among the elements that constitute that specific structure (Morgan & Smircich 1980). Moreover, objectivism holds that phenomena and objects can be studied out of context to build “generalized knowledge about systems, mechanisms, processes, patterns of behavior, and

processes" (Cunliffe 2011, p. 653). This "objective" form of knowledge is thus associated with positivist epistemology.

Positivists build their reasoning around the idea that absolute truth is always there to be discovered by researchers who utilize scientific means, often through quantitative methods or standardized instruments (Djelic 2008b). Positivists regard the researcher as a neutral and objective analyst and the truth as a single, objective reality such as a concrete process or structure that can be observed and measured without bias (Morgan & Smircich 1980, Rubin & Rubin 2012, Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill 2009). For example, objectivist research on organizations typically involves studying them at the structural, strategic and societal levels by utilizing a macro perspective, and the outcome often results in generalizations about group and individual behavior (Cunliffe 2011).

Whereas objectivists typically build their ideas for reasoning around universal laws and natural sciences (Saunders et al. 2009), subjectivists hold a view of reality as constructed by human beings as reflective individuals. According to subjectivism, there is no single truth because human beings produce their own truths through acts of knowing (Cunliffe 2011). The truth can unfold as "a symbolic discourse," an outcome of "social construction" or "a projection of human imagination" (Morgan & Smircich 1980, p. 492), which has been labeled interpretivism. Moreover, this reality is formulated through the construction of social processes so complex that they are not easily explained or captured through rigorous theoretical models or universal explanations (Johnson & Christensen 2010). Subjectivism rejects the possibility of objective research because the construction of reality is always subject to some level of interpretation by the researcher and thus results in fallible and impartial depictions of that reality.

Unlike the positivist view, interpretivism views truth as always context-dependent; people construct the truth by viewing it through the lens of their previous experiences, knowledge and expectations (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, Rubin & Rubin 2012). Human beings are viewed as value- or theory-laden subjects because they construct reality from partial and positioned perspectives; therefore, the "truth" is always subjective. Instead of seeking absolute truth, the focus of subjectivism/interpretivism is to find (micro-level) patterns and regularities that contribute to sense-making (Djelic 2008b). To accomplish this goal, qualitative methods are often more suitable than rigorous quantitative methods. The scientific value of the qualitative research that utilizes interpretivism is found in its ability to produce fresh knowledge such as new themes and explanations (Rubin & Rubin 2012). However, the results are often not generalizable, and this type of research is typically considered methodologically less rigorous and scientific (Cunliffe 2011). Consequently, qualitative researchers that utilize subjectivist perspectives often find it difficult to scientifically prove that their research has value beyond producing rich descriptions of complex patterns (Djelic 2008b).

The traditional subjective-objective dichotomy and the different assumptions of ontology, based largely on the influential 1980 article "The Case

for Qualitative Research” by Morgan and Smircich, has been one of the most-used methods in qualitative research for constructing a philosophical stance. Most researchers seem to accept the primary argument that although human perceptions may result in different interpretations, objects remain unchanged. However, recent research (e.g., Cunliffe 2011) has questioned the traditional subjective-objective distinction. Cunliffe (2011) has argued that recent developments in qualitative research and theorizing methods, including different meta-theoretical perspectives and research methods, have become more complex and thus require more flexibility to provide grounds for building persuasive, consistent and credible research. This flexibility, in her opinion, is necessary because the concepts of “subject” and “object” are often intertwined, with each influencing the other by producing enabling and constraining conditions; both subjects and objects exhibit an “agency” that is not explicable in purely subjective or objective terms. To overcome this problem, Cunliffe (2011) has suggested replacing the traditional subjectivism-objectivism continuum with a more flexible set of three “knowledge problems” that consist of intersubjectivism, subjectivism and objectivism. Cunliffe has promoted the idea that researchers can (and should) be more open to crossing traditional boundaries of what is considered proper research in each research tradition and to utilizing a mixture of methods to create new ways of studying and new forms of knowledge. To quote her work,

“Beauty and rigor lie in crafting our research carefully and persuasively, being open and responsive to the possibilities of experience, people, ideas, materials and processes, and understanding and enacting the relationship between our metatheoretical position, our methods, our theorizing, and their practical consequences” (Cunliffe 2011, p. 667).

By embracing different theoretical aspects, this phenomenon and different methods can also explain why in past studies, positive and interpretive schools of thought and their variations seem to be different, even among historians and sociologists. Although some historians seek objective truth according to the logic of positivism, others find it equally valuable to construct the truth by constructing and interpreting narratives. Similarly, whereas some sociologists are driven by positivism and aim to search for and demonstrate absolute truth by showing a causal pattern of behavior, other sociologists use a more interpretive approach in explaining and analyzing the truth through social constructions such as narratives and discourse analysis methods. Whether a researcher chooses to utilize a more positivist or interpretivist approach depends on the type of result that the researcher seeks to achieve, i.e., whether the purpose is to test hypotheses and find generalizations or to use data and theory to explain and make sense of complex systems (Rubin & Rubin 2012).

4.2 Higher education crossing the traditional boundaries in research philosophy

Based on the previous discussion, it is quite natural and logical to cross traditional philosophical boundaries, particularly in cross-disciplinary research such as research on higher education and business schools. To understand where questions and problems arise, the approach to and value placed on historical accounts explains both the phenomenon and the thinkable and non-thinkable approaches (Lather 2006). It is easier to subdivide the major schools of thought based on their philosophical stance and whether they utilize more positivist or interpretivist approaches in their work. I do not attempt to further subdivide the positive-interpretive analysis into that of historians and sociologists because this division is not always clear-cut and even unnecessary because many contemporary researchers have successfully crossed these boundaries (e.g., Khurana 2007).

Research on higher education, especially research focusing on education policy or comparative higher education, tends to exhibit a rather positivist approach. This is evident in the epistemology of these studies, the basis of their knowledge and the aims of their research. For example, education policy research is often motivated by attempts to establish and measure the relationship between educational achievement and socioeconomic development. It is typical to use hypotheses in attempts to justify educational reforms. Consequently, these research examples are often rather positivistic. Moreover, quantitative methods are often used in comparative education research because mathematics is considered a universal rather than culture-specific method; numbers are considered to have universal and applicable meaning, particularly in comparing aspects of education in different countries (Holmes 1981).

In addition to research on education policy or comparative higher education, other groups of education scholars focus on the inherently changing nature of higher education. First, there is the *evolutionary* or *modernization* school of thought (Djelic 2008b), such as studies focused on educational lending and borrowing, which is a subset of comparative education research often referred to as *cultural borrowing* (Holmes 1981). Although the terminology and focus of these studies often vary, this school of thought has deep roots in explaining changing educational systems as a result of the conscious borrowing (i.e., imitating or copying) of certain foreign ideas (e.g., teaching methods) as the basis of domestic educational reforms to improve the system (Dolowitz & Marsh 2000). The focus can be either past or present. Based on these cultural borrowing ideas, governments typically send administrators to study foreign systems firsthand through visits and observation, selecting certain desirable features of foreign education systems that can be transplanted to their local system to improve it (Holmes 1981). Consequently, these administrators prepare documents to make recommendations for reforms based on whatever

they thought would improve their domestic system (ibid). Thus, this research typically exhibits a rather normative undertone.

This process of implementing borrowed ideas into local systems has undergone significant research, particularly among political scientists (e.g., Dolowitz & March 2000). It is typical for this research to describe the policies borrowed by and implemented in the local system, and some studies even attempt to analyze and explain the transfer process by analyzing its different stages and mechanics. However, it is very rare for most scholars of educational lending and borrowing to place the process within a broader conceptual framework because their focus remains at a local or national level and does not consider the process-related elements that stem from regional or even global influences. Instead, these researchers often focus on the concept of “policy transfer” in their analyses, depicting how one or several carefully selected borrowed foreign ideas are transplanted to local systems.

Because the presumption is that foreign elements are only borrowed if they are considered desirable and fit for transfer (typically considered as “universal” or “one-size-fits-all” practices or models), consequently it is assumed that the implementation of those elements in domestic system is (or has been) successful (Dolowitz & March 2000). If the domestication of a borrowed practice is not successful, it is modified to fit the local context, thus resulting in successful implementation, and the “cycle” of the policy transfer is complete (Phillips 2006, Phillips & Ochs 2003, 2004). In constructing policy borrowing analyses, researchers in this school of thought have often utilized historical analysis to construct an objective reality of the transfer process by subdividing the facts (often based on observation) into different time phases and categorizing them into easily compared analytical tables to deduce principles and define rules either to predict the success of the implemented policy or to validate its implementation (Holmes 1981). Thus, these studies typically hold a rather positivist and normative undertone.

Although educational lending and borrowing primarily focuses on the “receiver” side of the transfer, there is also a vast amount of research focusing on the other side of the coin—that of the “sender.” This school of thought focuses on explaining the *diffusion* of typically more complex or abstract ideas or practices that emerge in some contexts (but not necessarily others) and are then explicitly or implicitly absorbed into local systems¹ (Djelic 2008b). Diffusion studies often focus on developing knowledge about the deeper aspects of the outcomes of the diffusion of foreign ideas that change domestic systems. This diffusion school of thought has benefited from the world-systems theory that is widely popular among sociologists because its exploratory and explanatory logic relies on social change. According to this theory, studying change requires more subtle methods and approaches to understanding the past (Djelic 2008b). Thus, compared to educational lending and borrowing, the diffusion argument has a different nuance in explaining why and how certain

¹ It must be noted that educational lending and borrowing also sometimes uses the word “diffusion” (Dolowitz & March 2000).

ideas and practices travel across borders and does not typically aim to predict the outcomes to a particular audience (e.g., policy makers).

The positivist approach is less suitable for these attempts. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the diffusionist school of thought often tends to utilize a more *interpretive* line of reasoning because there is rarely one truth to be discovered, and even if it existed, it would be difficult to capture scientifically. In general, more interpretive reasoning holds that no theory should be used to predict events unless it is accompanied by a careful and detailed analysis of the initial special conditions and the unique national circumstances (Holmes 1981). However, the diffusionist school of thought can also encompass some rather positivist presumptions that are largely the same as those of the evolutionary or modernization schools of thought. For example, both schools of thought share similar epistemological starting points because they consider the forms of "knowledge" (=truth) produced in one context that others emulate. It is taken for granted that knowledge is produced at the "core" or by "role models" and that this knowledge then tends to travel (diffuse) to other countries that are sometimes referred to as the "semi-periphery" or the "periphery." Thus, the diffusionist school of thought explicitly or implicitly states that a borrower nation is not as advanced as the "producer" or "sender" of knowledge. However, when compared to the modernization school of thought, diffusion researchers seem to agree that the local adoption of a diffused practice typically leads to some type of local adaptation and that wholesale adoption of foreign ideas and practices rarely occurs (Ansari et al. 2010, Kieser 2004, Kipping et al. 2004, Klingler - Vidra & Schleifer 2014, Pedersen & Dobbin 2006).

In fact, the positivist approach to research epistemology, especially in many studies belonging to both the diffusion and the evolutionary/modernization schools of thought, seems to assume that the flow of ideas is a one-way process from the core to the (semi-) periphery. Thus, many of these studies tend to embrace a rather functionalist connotation. Studies that focus on the evolutionary/modernization school of thought seem to particularly and exclusively focus on cases that have resulted in the successful implementation of the borrowed idea or practice while largely refuting the idea that some borrowed ideas may never lead to "domestication" due to cultural resistance. In addition, the selective borrowing of foreign elements is rarely questioned in terms of whether the practice is theoretically justified or even practically feasible (Holmes 1981). This rather positivist epistemology of research on the development and convergence of education systems may result from the fact that education has always been a political tool subject to cultural legacies. For example, colonizers typically have implemented their education systems in their colonies and have underrated local education models. Thus, a post-colonialist discourse has been utilized to explain educational lending and borrowing in formerly colonized nations (Spring 2009). This school of thought naturally benefits from more positivist reasoning because it relies on historical archives, artifacts and other relics of the past to construct a factual historical narrative (Djelic 2008b).

None of these approaches are typical of studies leaning toward interpretivism, the rather vague approach to a rigid theoretical model that is considered to lead to inelegant, atheoretical, plain storytelling without academic rigor (Thelen & Steinmo 1992). Consequently, due to the lack of any common theoretical, methodological or epistemological grounding, research on higher education and business schools has largely resulted in exploratory, highly descriptive (often country-specific) analyses of systems (or individual schools) and their development. In contrast, evaluative analyses or explanatory research in higher education remain scarce (Boffo & Moscati 2011, Holmes 1981).

4.3 Reflecting on the problems of research design

To study the complex and multi-faceted phenomenon of the changing nature of higher education and a given nation's current educational policies, one must place that phenomenon into a global context (Apple 2000, Spring 2009). One of the major problems of this approach is striking a balance between local specificity and global interconnection (Peck & Tickell 2002). Although articles II-IV are empirically (partly) situated in the UAE, the phenomenon of market logic addressed in those articles has a global reach. However, previous research has shown that the roots of the phenomena that currently influence business schools worldwide are actually found in the US. Therefore, I believe that to understand business schools in the UAE (and elsewhere), one should begin by gaining an understanding of the development path of American business schools and how their development trajectory reflects the entry and increasing influence of market forces.

Based on the previous discussion of research philosophy related to contemporary higher education research and our research positioning, it is hardly surprising that designing this research has been a rather complex matter, to say the least, because each article addresses a phenomenon that is highly debated but very novel and difficult to capture and prove scientifically. As a result, it has been difficult to convince more traditional researchers who may be more comfortable with the strict boundaries of research philosophies. Like most qualitative research in social sciences, especially that leaning toward interpretivism in constructing "reality," each article has received criticism based on its research approach. In fact, the choices made with respect to the methodological and theoretical positioning of our research received the most criticism in the peer-review process during its various phases of revisions. I will reflect on the challenges of research design in each of these articles by quoting some of these review comments and how we addressed them.

Article I: The Legitimacy Paradox of Business Schools: Losing by Gaining?

This article aimed to create a foundation for understanding how business schools have built and maintained their legitimacy over the decades as academic logic has been slowly eroded by market logic. We utilized

institutional theory as the background for theorizing organizational legitimacy and Suchman's (1995) analytical concepts of different legitimacy types. In crafting the essay, we conducted a literature review of previous research on business school legitimacy. We searched relevant academic journal articles from search engines (EBSCO and ProQuest) using the search terms "business school" and/or "management education" and "legitimacy." These keywords returned more than 2,000 hits. Because this sample was too broad for the scope of our research, we refined the search term "legitimacy" to focus only on its subtypes (sociopolitical legitimacy, cognitive legitimacy, moral legitimacy, pragmatic legitimacy, institutional legitimacy) and how these terms appeared in research on business schools or management education. All these legitimacy types except for "sociopolitical legitimacy" resulted in examples.

After narrowing the scope of the search, the initial sample was narrowed to 39 articles. We then analyzed the content of the articles based on the type of legitimacy addressed therein and categorized them accordingly. To make our literature review more specific to the paradoxical nature of legitimacy, we narrowed the sample even further by focusing only on those studies that addressed either how business schools increased their legitimacy and/or how business school legitimacy was jeopardized. Consequently, our sample of 39 studies was decreased to 14. Those 14 articles were then analyzed by concentrating on two aspects: the core message of the study (i.e., whether business schools are fully legitimate or whether the authors identified certain specific legitimacy threats) and what remedies the authors suggested for building, maintaining or repairing business school legitimacy. Studies that found a specific legitimacy threat were then problematized according to the type of legitimacy threat identified and its specific time in history.

This analysis provided the starting point for crafting an essay around the different phases of legitimacy building. We constructed the different "eras" of legitimacy building by following a periodization logic in which the historical development trajectory was divided into separately labeled time periods with distinguishable beginning and ending points (Hollander et al. 2005, Witkowski & Jones 2006). Because we placed the different legitimacy building processes into chronological order, we were able to define three distinct periods: scientification, politicization and corporatization. Periodization attempts to summarize and structure historical research by marking important turning points in time are problematic in practice because breaking history into segments can be somewhat artificial and involves a number of challenges and limitations (Hollander et al. 2005). To address this problem, we compromised the attempt to establish specific historical turning points and used more loosely defined decades as the basis for periodization. Moreover, we highlighted the fact that one period does not cease to exist when another one begins; time periods act as layers of sediment upon which subsequent periods are built. In each period, business schools applied practices, techniques and structures that contributed to their legitimacy in the eyes of a particular audience (e.g., academics, politicians, corporations and governments) that was different from

the key focus audience of the previous era. That understanding led us surmise that business schools' legitimacy building has been paradoxical by nature because each legitimacy-building phase, although successful in the eyes of a particular audience, represented a legitimacy threat to another audience.

This article underwent two review processes before it was accepted for publication. The first review round largely focused on a reviewer's misinterpretations of our message. His/her interpretation of our message was that we were claiming that business schools had lost their legitimacy, and he/she was upset that we had no data to prove that claim:

"Is there really a legitimacy crisis? If so, is it any bigger than the crises of the past? And most importantly, how would we know? That is, many claims are made about legitimacy crises at various points in time, but no hard data of any sort are presented to show differences in the crises across time, or that there actually IS a crisis of legitimacy right now. The fact that business schools are criticized, despite their apparent success, does not make for a "legitimacy crisis." Much more is needed to establish and support these claims."

We cited a number of scholars who claimed that business schools had lost their legitimacy or were suffering a severe crisis of legitimacy. However, the reviewer had interpreted those citations as if *we* were stating that business schools had lost their legitimacy. Moreover, because our research was designed as an essay based on the findings of a literature review and our consequent interpretation of the subtle nature of legitimacy, we never had any data of our own to prove or imply a legitimacy crisis. However, this misinterpretation was easily addressed; we better explained our research approach in the revised draft. Another issue noted by the reviewer was the time frame in which we analyzed business school legitimacy. According to him/her, we should have utilized the early history of modern business schools and other practical disciplines and how they initially gained legitimacy within academia. After we widened the scope of our analysis to consider those aspects, the article was accepted for publication.

Article II: Accelerating the Americanization of Management Education: Five Responses from Business Schools

This article was the most challenging of the four because of its research design utilizing a comparative case study approach. The reviewers' most significant concerns were the justification of the comparison and the case selection. We needed to convince readers both that the motive of the comparison was ultimately aimed at building theory (rather than testing it) and why our case countries are suitable for this purpose.

"It is far from obvious why these two countries should be compared, and you therefore need to provide more arguments for that. In so doing, it might be wise to focus on the differences between them in terms of the emergence of management education."

"I think that we need a stronger justification for why these two countries have been selected. I am not saying that there is no attempt to justify the choice. Indeed, there is. What I am suggesting is that we need a stronger a priori justification. Otherwise the paper runs the risk of being seen as having made a choice based on convenience, such as the authors' affiliations or personal experiences with the countries which are compared."

"Are these two countries 'unique' or could they be deemed as 'representative' of nations located in different positions in the 'world system' both before and after World War II? Locations in such terms may consider possible economic advancement or position within vertical stratification in the international science system. How representative is Finland of Europe at large, for example? Should it be treated as a 'peripheral' country, as some of the literature has deemed it to be? What does the UAE represent? How representative is it of countries, for example, which have moved toward creating a business school system long after the scientization (as well as the neo-liberal) turn in the US (and elsewhere)?"

"It is far from evident why Finland and UAE should be compared. You need to provide arguments. One reason could be that they differ in terms of the time of establishment: Finland being early and UAE being late. Another reason could be the political context of the two countries. Furthermore, UAE appears to be a very special case because it attracted so many foreign business schools that expected Dubai to become a financial center. By identifying these differences, you may even formulate hypotheses regarding the expected development in the two countries."

It is obviously important to pay special attention to arguing for and justifying the underlying motive for comparison. We attempted to provide a strong *a priori* justification and in the course of editing the essay, we improved our justification for why these two countries were relevant and interesting to compare. During the review process, and based on the reviewers' suggestions, we also more deeply examined the differences and similarities between the countries and discussed their implications for management education. In doing so, we learned that building a strong *a priori* justification in qualitative research utilizing a comparative case setting is often problematic because each school of thought has its preferences for building arguments and setting achievements for comparative settings.

We were not the only scholars who have struggled to find a strong *a priori* justification. These dilemmas are common for comparative education scholars who have used various justifications and purposes to frame their case selections (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Because comparative education research has gained the attention of sociologists, historians, political scientists, economists, psychologists and attorneys, there is no consensus on selecting the appropriate motives for justification (Holmes 1981, Tight 2012). Social scientists would naturally select the comparison cases according to the identification and description of certain relevant features of the societal context. Political scientists might find it more appropriate to ground their justification in the mechanics of the educational control or policy process. Economists, in turn, find their justifications from local or international businesses or relevant industries. Psychologists or sociologists might focus on more societal lines of reasoning, such as the expected linkage of high-quality education to social well being. Attorneys, however, would naturally draw their justification from legal systems

and frameworks. Therefore, developing a stronger *a priori* justification is problematic because different groups of scholars proffer various justifications (Holmes 1981, Tight 2012).

One reviewer also wanted us to identify the basis for comparison based on the type represented by each country. Yin (2003) was cautious in attempts to pose one case as representative because by their nature, case studies are not fit for this purpose because their findings are not fit for generalization—only analytical generalizations are appropriate in case studies (Yin 2003). We believed that a partial use of representativeness might be beneficial for further developing our *a priori* justification, but solely in a descriptive way. Simultaneously, we needed to be careful to avoid the stereotyping that is typical when drawing generalizations about representativeness (Holmes 1981).

Furthermore, some reviewers were not convinced of the scientific value of our choice of inductive theory building. Instead, as typical of more positivist researchers, we were urged to use the theory as a starting point that would then be tested using a hypothetic-deductive method (Sekaran & Bougie 2010). However, our aim was not to build positivistic research that could objectively “measure” Americanization by verifying or refuting it with numerical facts. We felt that building hypotheses would be problematic for four reasons. First, as typical in the social sciences, it is difficult (if not impossible) to specify all the conditions and features associated with building factual accounts of events (Holmes 1981)—in our case, Americanization. Therefore, our interpretation of Americanization in both countries would remain a partial explanation for why we are unable to include all the possible aspects (e.g., all the differences between the countries) that may have contributed to the process.

Second, because of the lack of commonly accepted standards of measurement (the criteria of evaluation) in the social sciences (Holmes 1981), it is very problematic to initially agree on what actually constitutes Americanization for the purpose of measuring it. Although we utilized a number of elements to represent practice-level aspects as signals of Americanization, these aspects cannot be numerically measured to factually validate or refute the hypotheses. For example, one of the sub-elements that we considered to depict Americanization was the use of American textbooks. However, nobody has established criteria related to how many books or what percentage of the total volume of textbooks need to be American for their existence to denote a reliable factor of Americanization.

The third problem was related to the use of the “ideal American type” itself, which was created in a very abstract manner. We had built its components from the most commonly used variables in comparative education: educational structures and organizations, administration, finances, curricula and teacher education (Holmes 1981); we modified the latter to include research and educational background. Because we reconstructed the meaning of the archetype as an “ideal” type, we had to consider it as an evolving rather than a static model. Moreover, because it is an “ideal type,” the characteristics that comprise the ideal type are not likely to be perceived by different people as

having a similar level of importance. For example, because of their Humboldtian heritage, it would be natural for Finnish universities to admire the research practices of American universities. In contrast, because the UAE established its higher education institutions with a more utilitarian purpose in mind and lacks research traditions, it can be expected to select other features of the American ideal type to achieve its objectives.

The fourth problem was that our case country selection was based on the argument that Finland and the UAE represented rather “extreme” cases with respect to Americanization. Whereas in Finland the higher education sector has been rather homogeneous (Alajoutsijärvi, Kettunen & Tikkanen 2012), in the UAE it is extremely diverse (Juusola 2011). Therefore, we believed that building hypotheses based on extreme cases in relation to an “ideal type” of American model would not provide reliable results. Therefore, we felt that using the word “ideal type” would not provide a suitable basis for developing hypotheses.

As Rubin and Rubin (2012) have stated, research design should enable the type of results the researcher wishes to achieve, whether the purpose is to test theories and find generalizations or to use the data and theory to explain and make sense of complex systems. Because the purpose of our study was to make sense of the complex systems and processes behind Americanization based on diffusion, we believed that narratives and more interpretive lines of reasoning would offer a more suitable approach. However, as is typical of a sociologist study, it is difficult to prove the scientific value of interpretivism.

Article III: Institutional logic of Business Bubbles: Lessons from the Dubai Business School Mania

We first submitted this article to the case study track. However, Academy of Management requirements considered our case study with an interpretivist approach to be scientifically insufficient. In addition, some reviewers considered our decision to utilize institutional theory combined with bubble theory as a metatheory to be confusing and not something they considered to be science, whereas other reviewers, especially the editor, saw the value of our eclectic approach in providing new knowledge.

“The authors seem to be trying to straddle the line between a narrative story, appropriate for a magazine like BizEd, and a scholarly study, aspiring to this journal. In its present form, the paper tends more towards the former, and I think it has more potential in this direction for a different outlet. However, to do even this, significantly more comprehensive fact-finding and cohesive storytelling would be required.”

This comment from the early review phase of Article III captures the essence of what is considered “science” and what is considered “craft” (Cunliffe 2011). In short, our starting point in this article was to combine institutional theory with bubble theory as a metatheory to explain our empirical observation of a factual encounter—an educational bubble and its bursting. This research-based essay

was built through the utilization of two analytic narratives (the Dubai case and the business school case) to construct explanations of empirical events (i.e., the bubble and its building phases) through those analyses. An educational bubble as a phenomenon was “highly improbable” (Taleb 2010) based on what we know about the nature of the higher education “industry.” From this extreme case, we aimed to develop a theory to better understand the institutional logics underpinning the educational bubble-building process.

To accomplish this goal, we incorporated the elements of deduction and induction to “overcome traditional distinctions between historical institutionalism’s characteristic focus on specific contextual conditions and rational choice’s characteristic search for generalizable features of political behavior rooted in the incentive structures that individuals face” (Thelen 1999, p. 370). We were able to find both specific contextual conditions and generalizable features of political behavior in the analytic narratives. The contextual conditions that have an impact on business schools were found in different phases of bubble building, including saturated home markets, MBAs as a tradable product, supply-demand imbalances in management education, the professionalization of management, the global mindset, internationalization arms and international branch campuses (IBCs). The political behavior affecting business schools, however, was found to be related to decreasing state funding, pressures to internationalize and political behavior fostering the internationalization mindset.

With respect to the other analytic narrative, that of Dubai’s globalization pathway, the aspects related to the contextual conditions promoting it were found in its energy resources, its large number of expatriates and its *laissez faire* government. That *laissez faire* political behavior, however, enabled the bubble to build further because the government utilized extreme forms of deregulation, established government-related enterprises to promote the building boom, granted more relaxed property and land rights and established education- and other targeted free zones. In retrospect, therefore, when analyzing our approach and the level and perspective of our analytic narratives, we were crossing between a rational choice perspective and historical institutionalism.

We were also asked in the review process to explain whether the findings of our research could be generalized. We acknowledge that the context in which we framed the phenomenon represents an extreme case, and the findings are therefore not generalizable. However, our aim was to use this example to demonstrate that educational bubbles are not improbable and that we should not only speculate about their possibility but also about their impact on the entire field of higher education. Although the process of bubble building can be generalized, as we were able to show, its elements differ. Our contribution was thus a novel approach to examine the institutional logic of educational bubbles.

Article IV: Academic Capitalism Hits the Fan: The Birth of Academic Capitalism

Because this article was written as a book chapter, it was not subjected to as rigorous a review process as the other articles described in this thesis. For example, the feedback on Article IV primarily concentrated on our use of a more deductive approach in which we utilized previous research on academic capitalism to identify the analytical concepts (corporatization, marketization and globalization) on which the empirical section was based. In addition, the lack of depth in our findings was noted. It was suggested that instead of using all three analytical concepts, we should narrow the focus to only one concept and examine it in greater depth. However, we felt that because the contribution of our study was conceptual, the use of three analytical concepts would make our discovery more reliable.

We designed this particular article to utilize a mixed approach. Although we considered institutional theory in the background when first drafting this research, in the later phase we began to rely more on the metatheory of academic capitalism. We used its analytical concepts to build three case narratives based on interviews and secondary data of actual encounters related to how extreme forms of academic capitalism work. An understandable drawback of this approach and of our contextual choice is that the findings are hardly generalizable. Our purpose in writing this critical research-based essay was to test the “theory” of academic capitalism in an extreme context to build understanding of how academic capitalism works in these settings. Academic capitalism was identified to represent an extreme type of academic capitalism that can occur when certain conditions are met: 1) a lack of deep academic roots and traits that act as a buffer for the most extreme market forces, and 2) the creation of a favorable institutional environment for market forces to operate without any state interference.

4.4 Data collection, handling, analysis and validation

This study utilized different approaches and methods for collecting and analyzing data. Whereas Article I was designed as a literature review, articles II-IV included also collection of empirical data that I will discuss in this chapter. Many of these empirical data were collected in the UAE by the present author. I began the data collection through observations in 2010 when working on my master’s thesis. I recognized different features of higher education in the UAE, which I intuitively felt did not match what I had considered to be part of traditional academia. Although I had no definition for what I had seen, I nevertheless saw that these developments were somehow interconnected and more widespread.

In 2010, I realized that there were few published academic articles on the UAE’s higher education landscape, and statistics were particularly scarce.

Although I had to accept that scarcity, I felt there was still an abundance of data, albeit in more non-traditional and non-academic formats. The data were everywhere. The data enveloped me when I visited different schools in the UAE and participated in their marketing campaigns, seminars, forums and education fairs; at these events, I also spoke with people involved in UAE's higher education system. The data were even posted on the windshield of my car while grocery shopping and were brought to my doorstep along with the advertisements. Ultimately, I collected so much data that most of it was unusable for my master's thesis because it had a more narrow scope. At first, I thought that many of the data were irrelevant for research articles. However, it is typical in the development of the research process that previously ignored material that was not considered relevant suddenly is seen to embody relevant meaning and evidence (Spencer 2010). As I began to assemble the big picture of this introductory essay by focusing on the market logic that would connect the themes of all four of the research articles, I realized that the pieces of the puzzle – in the form of my data – were finally coming together.

4.4.1 Data sources

Observation

The bulk of the data was obtained through interviews and field observations. Spencer (2010) has noted that observation is often based on a sense of puzzlement or curiosity about things happening around the researcher, from which different themes emerge in an intrinsic manner, often based on observations of everyday life. This thought guided my observation technique and built a strong basis for the themes of the research articles. In other words, the topics of the articles were not merely based on personal preference. During the last four years, I have spent at least six months per year in the UAE, thus providing me with the ability to collect data on a continuous basis. In addition, I collected an extensive amount of visual evidence during 2010-2014. The visual "data" consisted of photographed observations along with pictures and illustrations found in universities' marketing materials. I consider this visual evidence to be important because it embodies an immediate, authentic form of the reality that verbal accounts or other data are not fully able to express (Spencer 2010). Ultimately, the UAE's higher education system has witnessed a more profound reach of market logic than in any other nation to date. Different Emirates have bypassed the scope of the federal regulative framework and quality assurance methods by establishing free zones for educational institutions, thus creating truly free-market conditions that foreign universities have utilized. Obviously, not all of them are even legitimate institutions but instead simply represent the opportunistic aims of entrepreneurs to reap benefits from the market logic. Thus, this visual evidence explains the reality very clearly.

The message of different types of data often unfolds gradually over the course of research, and sense-making requires a balance between inductive reasoning that allows the data to speak for itself and deductive reasoning that

structures the data according to the ideas derived from theoretical models or concepts (Spencer 2010). Indeed, much of the data that I had gathered made little sense in the early phases of my research. Although initially, both the printed and visual sets of data were little more than a large pile of paper and images, to make sense of them, I began to categorize them according to the “evidence” of market logic that they represented. For example, I paid attention to university marketing campaigns that I felt were market oriented. I focused on the type of message included in the material, along with how schools branded themselves—and how and to whom they were selling their products. The following figures are examples of visual data (Spencer 2010) such as flyers and posters that I collected to illustrate market logic in the UAE’s higher education scene. These illustrative examples in turn inspired the decisions of the research article themes.



FIGURE 1 Marketing education as a lifestyle

As described by Starkey and Tiratsoo (2007), universities have engaged in an increasing number of creative marketing techniques. Because students’ expectations of the students have changed to favor service providers that can

offer them not just an education but an entire package, universities have often advertised education as a fun lifestyle. The figure above was taken from the *Dubai International Academic City* (DIAC) student magazine, which was distributed at the Getex education fair in 2013. DIAC is the free zone for education and a for-profit real estate manager; it also actively markets Dubai's education hub. It generates profits by renting premises to the universities that operate in the free zone. Thus, it seems to use selling-point arguments similar to those employed by universities that market education using words that appeal to consumer-students.



FIGURE 2 Test preparation agency advertisements



BARCLAYS

Barclays Education Loan

Learning just became easier

I = INSTALMENTS

Documents Required

- Completed application form
- Passport copy
- Valid residence visa copy
- Salary certificate
- Three months bank statements
- Acceptance letter from school/institute
- Two undated cheques
- Repayment cheques (for Non-Salary Transfer Loans and as per the repayment requirement)
- Salary Transfer Letter (in case of a Salary Transfer Loan)

Want to know more about Barclays Education Loan?
Call us on 04 428 6000 or log on to our website www.barclays.ae
We will be happy to assist you.

*Terms & Conditions apply.

Your feedback:
We want to hear from you if you feel unhappy with the service you have received from us. Letting us know your concerns gives us the opportunity to put matters right for you and improve our service to all our customers. You can complain in person at any of our branches, in writing, by email or by telephone. A leaflet detailing how we deal with complaints is available upon request in any of our branches and service centres, from the Barclays information line on 04 428 6000 or www.barclays.ae. Alternatively, you can write to feedback.uae@barclays.com.

Also, if you do not wish to receive any marketing promotional led offers in the future from Barclays Bank via an SMS, email or direct mail, please SMS "NO" to 3652 or call 04 428 6000.

BARCLAYS

Barclays Bank PLC is Registered in England. Registered No: 1026167.
Registered Office: 1 Churchill Place, London England E14 5HP.
©2008-2009 Barclays Bank PLC.

FIGURE 3 A private bank offering student loans

Figures 2 and 3 represent two businesses that have benefited from the expansive demand for higher education: test preparation agencies and private banks. Test preparation has become a multi-million dollar business because students wish to enhance their chances of admission to selective institutions (Donoghue 2008). Furthermore, many universities have made exclusive agreements with private banks that offer student loans. This Barclays flyer (Figure 2) was part of an information package provided to prospective students at a 2012 Heriot-Watt information session held at a 5-star hotel.

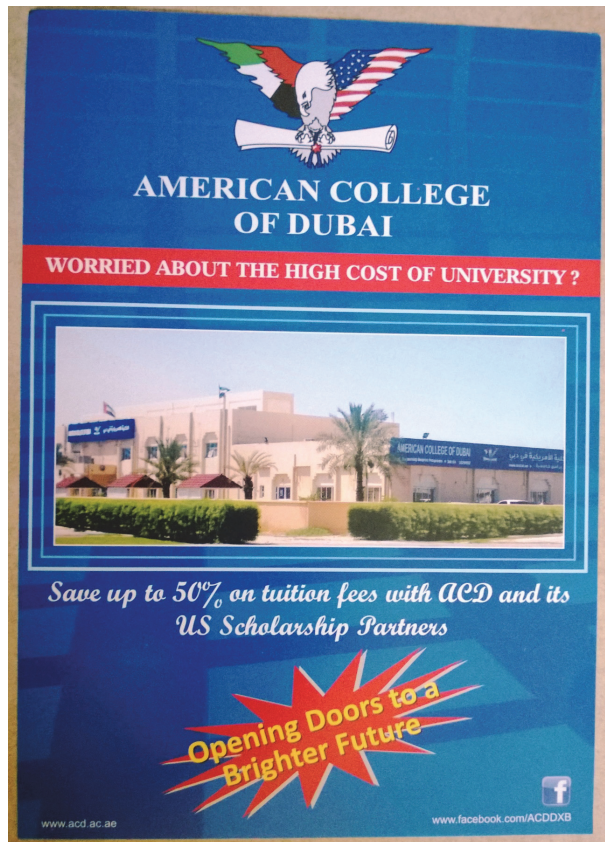


FIGURE 4 Discounts as recruiting tactics

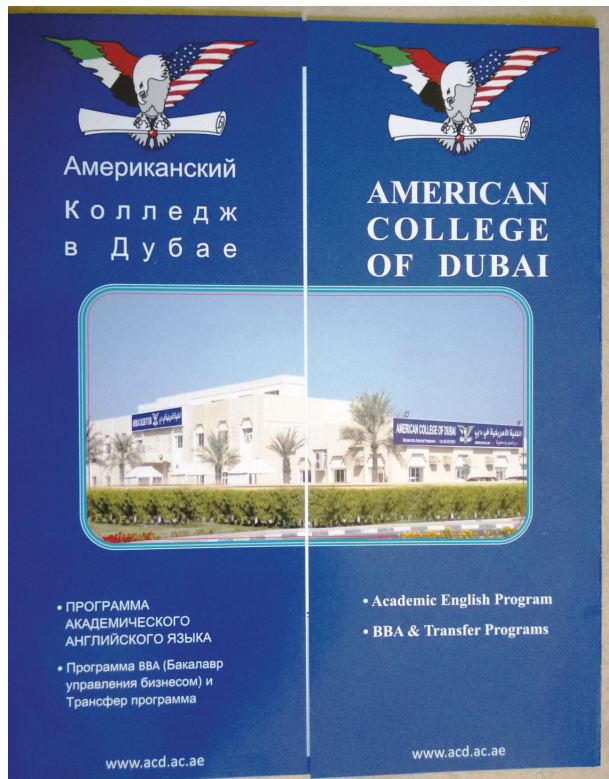


FIGURE 5 Recruiting tactics for wealthy niche market students

The American College of Dubai (ACU) is one of the local Emirati-founded institutions that included the word “American” in the name of its institution. ACU also utilizes an image of an eagle in its logo. Curiously, the eagle has a highly symbolic meaning in both the US and the UAE. This symbolic meaning is further illustrated in the logo, where the wings of the eagle are the two countries’ flags. Perhaps this logo aims to signal that the ACU is a purposeful collaboration between the UAE and the US. The primary target market of this institution is local Emirati students (Figure 4) that hold American degrees (even if they have not been conferred by an actual US university). ACU markets itself as an affordable option compared to other local schools. These low-cost operating strategies are quite popular in the UAE among non-elite institutions that depend on tuition fees as their primary income source. It appears that ACU is also interested in tapping the lucrative niche market of Russian-speaking expatriates (Figure 5) to generate additional income.



FIGURE 6 The selling and marketing of prestige

Figure 6 captures the essence of the role of rankings in the era of market logic. Rankings have indeed proliferated: there are even rankings for “student experience.” This plethora of available rankings is an advantage that many universities have used as marketing tools. Donoghue (2008, p. 88) has called this phenomenon “prestige envy” and the “marketing of prestige,” which is typical for consumer societies that are increasingly concerned with prestige and brands, whether assessing them, pricing them or acquiring them. Non-elite institutions cannot realistically compete with the prestige of the elite institutions. However, because there are so many ranking organizations available, non-elite institutions have found ways to use rankings as a marketing tool by establishing a relationship between their product and prestige.

BITS Pilani
Dubai Campus

Your Path Ahead

Graduates employed in
High Profile Companies and admitted in
Globally Reputed Universities.

Alumni Speak

“Campus placement program at BITS was a very good experience. Our focus changed from merely clearing Mechanical, Civil, and E. Electrical and so on. We were given job roles in Network, Core as well as Marketing. I got placed in an IT company. Thanks to BITS in opening my career in my area of interest.”

Buraj Prakash Khetani
Class of 2012, B.Tech. (Electronics & Communications)
Systems Engineer at Gulf Business Machines GBM

Employer Speak

“The quality of students we had for internship/ practical sessions is very good and they actively participate in the projects/ practical sessions. We have now recruited the BITS graduates as Management Interns as we see a significant potential in them to do well in the management very fast and become better leaders of tomorrow.”

Mr. Mudhi Goni
Operations
L&T Electrical & Automation P22, Dubai

Alumni Speak

“I was the first A.B. student at BITS from, Dubai Campus. The knowledge I gained here gave me the confidence to succeed in my career. I am grateful to all my professors, the director and all my colleagues for making BITS a great experience for me. I encourage all future A.B. to join BITS because not only do you get a great education, but also for a great job/ career experience.”

Ali Hassan Ezzouidine
Class of 2012, B.Tech. (Mechanical Engineering)
Systems Engineer at L&T Systems (Dubai) at Johnson Controls LLC, Dubai

Employer Speak

“The students are dynamic, enthusiastic and work with dedication in the assigned projects. They work fast with highest care related to their projects.”

Mr. Sumit Kumar Chordia
Business Head
Power Tools BOSCH (Central Market), Dubai

Alumni Speak


“BITS Dubai was my first option when I decided to continue my engineering degree in Biotechnology and I am immensely happy with my decision. The very faculty members, the infrastructure, state of the art, and the strong foundation provided by BITS helped me in my studies.”

Madhurekha Balasubramani
Class of 2012, B.Tech. (Biotechnology)
Marketing Executive
M&S, Research Institute in King's College London

Employer Logos: DELL, Honeywell, Microsoft, ORACLE, MAERSK, YATA CONSULTANCY SERVICES, WIPAC, Infosys, Emirates, Bosch Power Tools, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, NUS, Georgia Tech, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

FIGURE 7 Marketing education as a steppingstone to lucrative careers

Students in the era of market logic are more career-oriented than ever. As discussed earlier, higher education is an enormous investment, and those who are willing to make the investment expect returns. Therefore, universities are expected to demonstrate to their potential consumer-students that their degree will provide good prospects for lucrative careers after graduation. BITS Pilani explicitly used this marketing tactic at the 2014 Getex education fair.


**IMT** | Institute of Management Technology
Dubai


● ● ● ●
[AIM HIGH]


Apply and enroll on any of our programs during GETEX and receive:

- **AED6,000** Early Enrollment Grant
- **6 Weeks of Free Courses** (Academic Skills, Stress Management, Time Management, Teamwork, Optimize your use of LinkedIn)

Academic scholarships are also available for undergraduate studies across all curriculums.

**Bachelor of Science Business Administration**

**Executive MBA (1 Year)**

**MBA for fresh graduates (2 Years)**

*Applicants must pay a minimum tuition fee installment of AED6,000 to be eligible.

FIGURE 8 “Early decision” recruiting tactics

Visit our stand to collect a **FREE iPad2!*** Middlesex University Dubai

BLOCK YOUR CALENDAR
for Middlesex University Dubai's Grand Event at GETEX 2011
14th 15th 16th April 2011

*All applicants that apply and enroll will receive Middlesex University Dubai's Elite Starter Pack:

Middlesex University Dubai's Elite Starter's Pack WORTH AED 20,000				
iPad2	AED4,000 Early Enrollment Grant	Five Professional Development Courses	iTunes Voucher Worth AED100	Offer Letters ON THE SPOT

A chance to win a trip to London for 2 and a 50% Scholarship!

FIGURE 9 Recruiting tactics through freebies

Figures 8 and 9 represent typical recruiting and marketing strategies under market logic. Rather than marketing education based on academic information, education is marketed like any other product, often including lucrative freebies completely unrelated to education. The Institute of Management Technology (Figure 8) and Middlesex University (Figure 9) have clearly designed their marketing strategies to receive favorable reactions from consumer-students. In the case of Middlesex's "Elite Starter Pack," if a free iPad2 coupled with a complimentary iTunes voucher, in addition to free professional courses, early enrollment grants, a chance to win a trip to London and a chance to receive 50% off is not enough to seal the deal, perhaps an on-the-spot offer letter will do. These marketing tactics are used not only to encourage more applications but also as a strategic tool to ensure that those who apply will also enroll – thus, the "hard sell" and other marketing tactics that described earlier (see Slaughter & Rhoades 2011, Starkey & Tiratsoo 2007) are very commonly used in market logic conditions.

CLASSIFIEDS

Embarking on a musical journey
Page 3

GULF NEWS Wednesday, February 20, 2013 E-mail: classified@gulfnews.com Tel: 800-4125 www.gulfnews.com

TRAP PEST Control

Do You Have Any Problem With Pigeons ...?

WE CAN HELP

Toll Free: **800 2580**
600 520058
050-5528170

www.trap.ae

Dream business... Make it real with Flyingcolour

Company registration services with economic department & free zones (off shore UAE)

Call: **04 4342344**
055 4413844

www.flyingcolour.com

BHARATHIAR UNIVERSITY

State University - Re-Accredited with 'A' Grade by NAAC

MBA PROGRAMS

Marketing Management | Financial Management
International Business | Hospital Management
Project Management | Tourism & Hotel Management
Human Resource Management | Banking & Finance Management
Logistics & Supply Chain Management

FEW SEATS LEFT. SAVE 8 Months. ENROLL NOW!

UG- BBA, BBM, BSc., BCom., BA, BSW.
PG- MSc., MA, MCom, MSW.

ENLIGHTEN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FZC L.L.C.
M: 055 3028888 / 058 7318 318 | Email: info@enlightengulf.com
1800 365 444 836 (ENLIGHTEN) www.enlightengulf.com

ZABEEL INTERNATIONAL

INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT & TECHNOLOGY

BUK DUBAI | QUSAYIS | DEIRA | ABU DHABI | RAKEET | DUKKI

The Zabeel advantage now in Knowledge Village, Dubai

Zabeel has opened a branch in Knowledge Village, bringing its career oriented education advantage! Be it Management, Finance, Airline Industry, Engineering, Linguistic or more Zabeel has courses designed to meet international standards, with experienced faculty and international affiliations. Get touch with us to know more.

Dubai Knowledge Village: S02, Block # 19,
Above Middlesex University

600 52 4448
www.zabeelinsitute.ae
mail@zabeelinsitute.ae

AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA

@ ONLY \$208 / MONTH

Accredited by: AdvancEd, SACS-CASI, CHEA, NCA, NWAC, CIT, WASC & NEASC

- ▶ An Accredited "U.S. Diploma" for Grades 9-12.
- ▶ Proceed to any "Major You Desire": Medical, Engg. etc..
- ▶ Option to go to USA & Complete High School.
- ▶ Year-Round Enrolment and No Waiting List.
- ▶ Flexible Schedules & Payment Methods.
- ▶ Enroll into any University in the World.
- ▶ Extensive Academic Support & Award-Winning Curriculum.

Call: ACADEMIC COUNSELOR **055 3317687**

National High School
UG-13, M Floor, RAKIA, RAK
License #: 80 FZ3 Q3 10 2640

Dubai- 600544543
Sharjah - 600544544
Abu Dhabi - 026423330
www.nhsglobal.us

A S T COPY CENTER

10 FILS PHOTO COPYING

Digital Image Printing	Color Copy to Any size
Indoor & Outdoor Banner Printing	Photo Copy up to 160 length
Drawing Conversion	Lamination & Mounting A4 - 50"
Color Scanning A4 - 50"	Photocopier / Plotter on Rental
CAD & Microstation Plotting / Drafting	

Customer Satisfaction is our Motto

A S T COPY CENTER Tel: 04 - 3327454 / 04 - 3328211
E-mail: astcopy@emirates.net.ae, Visit us: www.astuae.com

Free Collection & Delivery

FIGURE 10 Education programs advertised in classified ads

Market logic has brought about curious features in the way that marketing is performed. The figure above was captured from the *Gulf News* classified ads section, which shows that education is sold like any other commodity or service, such as pest control. Although these education advertisements may seem attractive when one reads words such as "award-winning curriculum," none of these institutions are actual universities—they are for-profit organizations that sell degrees. For example, IIMTS (in the lower-left corner) was forced to close its Dubai campus in 2010 because it was deemed a bogus institution (George 2010). However, its marketing campaigns have continued.



FIGURE 11 A free zone business school

I discovered The Wisdom Business School (WBS) by coincidence. Compared to the Dubai free zones, where most universities actively market themselves, the Emirate of Ras al Khaimah hosts many institutions in its free zones that keep a rather low profile. For example, the free zone in which WBS operates primarily hosts industrial companies, but it turns out that the zone also hosts many “universities.” One must seriously consider the legitimacy of institutions that are not listed as education institutions and that typically rent a small office room with a piece of paper taped onto the door that states the name of the university and its contact details. A closer investigation of WBS revealed that it is not an actual university (or a business school); instead, it is the initiative of a

private organization called the Wisdom Group, led by founder-CEO Ahmed Ferry. The Wisdom Group is a consulting company that established the Wisdom Educational Group in 1991 (Wisdom Group 2014). It acts as a middleman for students and affiliated partner universities in India. Students enrolled at WBS actually study at affiliated institutions such as the University of Calicut. The Ras al Khaimah campus is not WBS's only office; it also operates under different names in the Emirates of Abu Dhabi and Dubai, where its trade license is registered as the Wisdom Educational Institute, and in Sharjah, where it operates as the Al Hikma Education Institute (al Hikma means wisdom in Arabic). Moreover, its website revealed that Wisdom Business School also has other "campuses" in Oman (since 2007), India (since 2011) and Saudi Arabia (since 2012) (Wisdom Group 2014).

WBS claims to be approved by the UAE Ministry of Education, but there is no indication of what this approval means. In general, when one refers to UAE Ministry of Education approval, it means that the institution is licensed by the Ministry to offer programs that have been locally accredited. Local accreditation is particularly important for local students because the degree is thus attested to by the UAE government. An attested degree is a prerequisite for the degree to qualify as genuine: it is necessary to apply for most jobs. Therefore, universities in the UAE that target Emirati students typically seek local accreditation. However, numerous institutions, including WBS, falsely claim to be approved by the local ministry of education. These claims can be easily verified by the Ministry of Higher Education's list of licensed and accredited universities, along with its lists of institutions that are being reviewed for accreditation, on probation, have been denied accreditation and have withdrawn from programs (CAA 2014). WBS appears on none of these lists.

Because market logic has enabled all types of education providers to operate and ultimately, market demand legitimizes a service provider, it is difficult to know whether a certain institution is genuine. This difficulty is even more problematic in the case of the UAE's free zones. Although Dubai has recently begun to re-regulate its free educational markets by establishing new coercive methods of quality assurance and thus has managed to establish certain minimum criteria for institutions operating in free zones, these quality criteria have thus far remained absent in smaller Emirates such as Ras al Khaimah. However, there have been recent attempts to establish certain quality criteria. These measurements are necessary if the UAE seriously wishes to establish itself as a global education hub. According to the ideas of neoliberalism that have been used to promote free markets, one prerequisite is that consumers have access to objective information about different options to make the decision to buy a particular product or service.

CHIFLEY BUSINESS SCHOOL

TOP RANKING AUSTRALIAN

MBA

ماجستير في إدارة الأعمال
Master of Business Administration

Register Now AED ~~2500~~ & Pay Only **1500 درهم**

AED 1500*

Why Choose CBS?
معتمدة بشكل كامل من قبل الحكومة الأسترالية.

- Fully Accredited by the Australian Government.
- Australia's largest MBA provider with 15,000 + Graduates from 51 different Countries.
يقع بين أفضل 20 مقدم MBA في أستراليا.
- Falls among the top 20 MBA Providers in Australia.
- Flexible and Most Affordable الأفضل سعرا
- Highly Qualified and competent faculties
- Workplace and industry relevant

Our Features

- Internationally Recognized
- Program Duration: 12 Months مدة البرنامج: 12 شهر فقط
- Most Affordable with a monthly payment الأقل تكلفه مع دفعة شهرية 2500 درهم فقط! of AED 2,500 only!
- Most Flexible Timings: الأكثر مرونة في التوقيت: Only Friday class once a week.
- State of the art University Campus in Ras Al Khaimah with excellent facilities.

مكان انعقاد المحاضرة المجانية
SEMINAR VENUE
Every Friday
2:00 pm
at RAK University
Campus

To register your interest, SMS
"MBA" and your Email ID to
056-6989855
07-2433055

www.chifley-uae.edu.au

FIGURE 12 Selling licensed programs of the Chifley Business School



FIGURE 13 Selling licensed programs of the Swiss Business School

Figures 12 and 13 are advertisements that sell licensed programs, although one cannot draw this conclusion easily from looking at them. A first glance at the flyer of the Chifley Business School (CBS) and a roadside billboard advertisement for the Swiss Business School (SBS) give the consumer the idea that the respective institutions have established branch campuses in the UAE. However, a close investigation of the flyer and the small print on its back side reveal that the CBS MBA program is actually provided in the UAE by Al Tareeqah Management Studies (ATMS), a private, for-profit organization run by its Indian founder-CEO, Dr. Hemant Kumar. Surprisingly, the SBS is also offered by ATMS. The mission of the institution, printed on the back side of the flyer, is to “provide World Class Education in our chosen fields.” According to academic logic, making this mission statement as an institution that is not even a university and has no programs of its own is absurd. However, according to market logic, provided the buyer believes that mission statement (and the university does not aim to be accredited by using such a mission statement), the statement makes perfect sense.

Market logic has opened up several opportunities for entrepreneurs to establish “educational institutions.” Furthermore, both CBS and SBS appear to be legitimate Western institutions that have licensed their programs to ATMS. In legal terms, there is nothing illegal about legitimate organizations licensing their programs. Unsurprisingly, however, licensing is often considered to dilute the brand of the licensor (Currie 2003, Wildavsky 2010) because the licensor has no control over how the licensed program is executed by the licensee.

University of Bolton

Earn a top notch accredited
UK Degree ONLINE

From **virtually anywhere!**

University of Bolton now offers the following programmes online:

- Master of Business Administration (MBA)
- B.A (Hons) in Business Management (Top Up)

▶ All degrees & transcripts will be issued by the University of Bolton, UK

▶ All assessment & academic support would be provided by the University of Bolton, RAK Campus

Admissions now open for Feb 2013 intake

Tel: + 971 (7) 2211124

online@wincedu.net

www.wincedu.net

WINC
WESTERN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE
(WINC) FZE
RAS AL KHAIMAH

This institution has no connection with any private or public education establishment within U.A.E and will not directly issue any certificate, degree or diploma of its own. All registrations, studies and examinations, certifications etc shall be directly conducted by the concerned Universities. The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research taken no responsibility for the programs offered by institution or for their equivalence.

هذه المؤسسة ليس لها علاقة بأي مؤسسة تعليمية خاصة أو عامة داخل دولة الإمارات العربية المتحدة و لن تقوم بإصدار أي شهادة أو دبلوم أو درجة من قبل المؤسسة. كل التسجيلات، الدراسات والامتحانات، الشهادات الخ يجب أن تتم مباشرة من قبل الجامعات المعنية. الوزارة لا تتحمل مسؤولية البرامج التي تقدمها المؤسسة أو عن تكافؤها.

FIGURE 14 Consumer information on non-locally accredited schools

The immediate years after the establishment of UAE's free zones enabled several bogus institutions to take advantage of the complete lack of regulation. However, in recent years free zone agencies and other authorities have begun to regulate the free zones to ensure a certain quality level of educational programs. Although the UAE's Ministry of Education still has no regulative authority to intervene in the free zones' provision of education, it has begun a campaign to increase consumer awareness that the degrees awarded by free zone institutions—particularly online degrees—will not be attested to by local authorities unless the institution is licensed and accredited by the Ministry. The above figure was captured from *Gulf News*.

MGU
Education for All
Mahatma Gandhi University
Meghalaya

2163

Get an MBA in Fast track mode...!

- UGC, AICTE, DEC Approved Indian University
- Upgrade your Qualification with IIMTS
- Discontinued & Failed Students can also apply...
- Re admission Courses

Number - 0527053482

IIMTS International Institute of Management & Technology Studies
Education FDE

LAKSHAN LALDAI

Call : 600 544 544

055-3254873

E-mail: info@iimts.com | www.iimts.com

FIGURE 15 Targeting discontinued and failed students

IIMTS Branches Sharjah Dubai Ras Al Khaimah Al Ain Abu Dhabi Fujairah Umm Al Quwain Ajman

Join one of the fastest growing Institute of UAE having collaboration with 6 Reputed International Universities

The IIMTS Education

Tie ups with 6 World Class Universities

More than 15 Admission centres in UAE
Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, India & Malaysia

Fully Accredited and well reputed Universities

More than 5000 students passed out in last 3 years

Fast Track Options

Weekend Classes

Affordable fees

Installment Payment

Credit Card Payment facility

Genius Group Global

The Genius Group Global has its headquarters in Dubai, UAE. The Group is an Umbrella Organization consisting of 15 operating companies with in the UAE. Genius Group Global has a serious commitment in the education sector with five of the group companies (3G E-learning, 3G University, IIMTS, Walter Rush, GAMAT) participating in parting education at different levels


International Institute of Management & Technology Studies (IIMTS)

IIMTS serves the society by providing world class educational opportunities to one and all.

IIMTS has new opportunities:

- To develop radical ideas and expert knowledge on which future society will depend while celebrating a liberal academic culture.
- To establish a democratic entitlement to life long participation in higher education while safeguarding high standards in teaching and research

- Exam every 3 months
- Fast track option
- 30% marks on internals
- 70% marks on externals



Dr. Sahid Cholavil, IIMTS MD with

FIGURE 16 Selling education by any possible means

Figures 15 and 16 reveal some of the most disturbing realities about what free markets in education can produce. Both Mahatma Gandhi University (MGU) and the International Institute of Management and Technology Studies (IIMTS) (not to be confused with the previously mentioned Institute of Management Technology) used to operate as international branch campuses in Dubai's education free zone. However, it was revealed in 2010 that both institutions were not actual branches but forgeries, and consequently they were forced to close (George 2010). Instead of leaving the UAE, these universities simply relocated to the Emirate of Ras al Khaimah, where they continued business as usual. However, their operations in Ras al Khaimah were not as successful as they had been in Dubai, due to a smaller student population and because their brand had apparently become tarnished by negative publicity after their Dubai closure was widely reported in the local newspapers. By the end of 2011, both campuses were closed. Therefore, at my visit to the November 2012 Getex educational exhibition, I was surprised to see that the institutions had been combined and continued to recruit students: they were operating as a provider

of distance learning education.

The disturbing aspect of these institutions' marketing campaigns is their use of dubious methods and false claims to lure students. One must question the legitimacy of an institution that uses slogans such as "Get an MBA in Fast Track Mode" and "Discontinued & Failed Students can also apply" in their marketing campaigns. Furthermore, IIMTS makes statements in their flyer that have little validity. For example, it claims to have collaborations with six "reputed international universities." When they made this claim in 2012, one of the six reputed partner universities was the University of Atlanta, whose reputation has been shown to be anything but reputable (Duggand 2000, Farooqui 2014). Nevertheless, IIMTS, like most other schools, claims to offer world-class education. As Donoghue (2008, p. 135) has noted, the all-purpose use of "excellence" and other similar words are the unavoidable byproducts of marketization.

Interviews

Whereas the observation and collection of visual evidence of market forces led to positioning the articles according to certain themes, I conducted interviews to obtain a more detailed set of data that was analyzed and utilized for articles II-IV. The interviews were recorded when permitted (12); however, the majority of the interviews (15) were not recorded. The set of recorded interviews that I conducted were designed as both unstructured and semi-structured interviews with university presidents, deans, vice chancellors, professors, administrators and students, along with non-university representatives (free zone and local think-tank representatives), to capture the phenomenological nature of the research questions and to hear several informants' sides of the story. The informants represented 17 different organizations. Because many of these institutions were rather small and the identities of the informants would be easy to discover, I decided to address the interviewees as informants to protect their anonymity. Each recorded interview lasted between 1 and 1.5 hours, with an average duration of 1 hour and 7 minutes.

TABLE 7 Interview summary

Date	Informant	Interview length
2/27/2012	University vice chancellor	1:24:34
2/27/2012	Dean	1:08:31
2/27/2012	Administrator	0:32:54
5/9/2012	Student	Non-recorded
11/7/2012	Administrator	Non-recorded
11/21/2012	Administrator	Non-recorded
11/21/2012	Administrator	Non-recorded
11/22/2012	Professor	Non-recorded
11/23/2012	Professor	Non-recorded
8/13/2013	Professor	Non-recorded
8/13/2013	Professor	Non-recorded

8/13/2013	Professor	Non-recorded
9/17/2013	Local think-tank representative	Non-recorded
9/18/2013	Student	Non-recorded
11/10/2013	Professor	Non-recorded
11/11/2013	Professor	Non-recorded
11/18/2013	Vice chancellor	Non-recorded
11/18/2013	Administrator	0:58:30
11/27/2013	University president	1:11:34
1/15/2014	Professor	1:19:03
1/19/2014	Professor	Non-recorded
1/20/2014	Free zone representative	Non-recorded
1/23/2014	Free zone representative	0:40:08
1/27/2014	Local think-tank representative	1:03:14
1/28/2014	Local think-tank representative	1:49:44
2/25/2014	Administrator	0:56:20
4/10/2014	Professor	Non-recorded
4/29/2014	Dean	0:45:30

Semi-structured or even unstructured interviews are often suggested as a usable interview method when the researcher aims to discuss a broad problem area (Sekaran & Bougie 2010). Thus, it was a natural approach for me to design the interviews in this manner. Instead of having a fixed set of questions for each interviewee, I began the interviews in an unstructured manner to establish knowledge of what type of information the interviewee had to offer. For example, it was expected that the deans could provide more in-depth knowledge of institutional and academic content, whereas administrators typically focused on more managerial aspects. The depth of information that they were able to provide varied considerably depending on their level of expertise. Therefore, some interviews, particularly with administrators (and students), remained unstructured throughout and the questions were developed in an *ad hoc* manner.

When interviewing professors and deans, I also began with broad unstructured questions before moving on to semi-structured ones. The semi-structured question categories were categorized according to the themes of the research articles, but to avoid interviewer bias, they were not addressed by the exact words used in the research. For example, I used “foreign influences” instead of the explicit term “Americanization” and discussed academic (or academic) capitalism through globalization and its implications for higher education’s market orientation. I prepared questions beforehand, but during the course of the interviews, I developed more detailed questions based on the discussions.

Many of the interviews were supported by guided campus tours that also enabled the use of more detailed observation techniques. These tours provided insights into how these institutions operated in practice; it is not often possible to grasp this solely from interviews. I had a chance to view their premises and to ask detailed questions of many faculty and administrative personnel. In addition, I also had an opportunity to chat with the students. These campus

visits were documented with field notes based on my observations and unofficial discussions. For example, I visit the universities' libraries. In some cases, the promised state-of-the-art library facility turned out to be a small storage room behind locked doors coupled with a hall of empty desks where students could hook up their computers. Students at even the most prestigious universities had rather limited access to library facilities, which usually closed their doors at 5 pm and were not open on weekends.

Events

In addition to interviews and campus tours, I participated in numerous education exhibitions, fairs and conferences during 2010-2014 in different Emirates and abroad. The majority of higher education institutions that operate in the UAE or that recruit students within the region participate in events such as the biannual Gulf Education and Training Exhibition (Getex) held in both Dubai and Abu Dhabi, the International Education Show in Sharjah and annual business school events such as the Access MBA Tour and the QS World MBA Tour in Dubai. In addition, I took part in several conferences as a presenter and participant. For example, I went to the 2012 International Conference on Excellence in Business, which was organized by the business school of the University of Sharjah, and the 2012 and 2013 Academy of Management Conferences. Additionally, I participated in the 2013 PRME MENA Regional conference and the 2013 and 2014 International Conferences in Higher Education organized by the Michigan State University Dubai campus. I also participated in annual education conferences organized by the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR), focusing each year on different aspects of the UAE's education scene. These events provided a good opportunity to talk about my research findings with numerous people playing different roles in the UAE's higher education landscape and to find informants who would agree to be interviewed in more detail.

In addition, many of the local conferences held in the UAE included high-profile keynote speakers. The conference agendas were typically posted online and in advance, and I familiarized myself with the key profile presenters and identified the most interesting topics for my research purposes. When attending the conference, I recorded the keynote and other speeches² that I considered the most relevant for my purposes (9 altogether) to analyze them more in depth. In addition, I took notes on the other 28 speeches, which covered certain market-oriented features. When analyzing these speeches, I paid attention to the type of message that the speakers were presenting relative to the current state and future of higher education in the UAE. I was able to determine numerous notions about market forces. For example, the managing director of Dubai's education free zones used the precise word "education industry" four times during his 20-minute speech. He also highlighted the role of higher education in the UAE as exclusively serving the needs of industry. The term "market forces"

² The exception was the ECSSR conferences, where local keynote speakers spoke in Arabic and simultaneous English interpretation was provided over headphones.

was used by one professor when discussing the movement of higher education in the UAE away from government interference and toward strong privatization. In fact, he stated that market forces had taken over higher education's development path. In addition, a cause of concern (and to some, a cause of excitement) to many speakers was increasing commercialization.

These informal events and conferences provided a good opportunity to speak with university representatives. The education exhibitions proved to be particularly fruitful for my research because I could obtain an authentic view of how different universities in the UAE marketed themselves when recruiting students. When participating in these events, I occasionally played a role of a prospective student interested in joining their programs. This approach proved to be more productive than introducing myself as a Ph.D. student studying the higher education field in the UAE because when I did so, many people suddenly became very cautious about what they said.

Having performed significant background research on these institutions before attending the education exhibitions, I was surprised to witness how much false information was fed to prospective students. For example, every year several universities participated in these events despite the fact that their programs had been banned by the authorities because their branch campuses were determined to be forgeries. However, their recruitment personnel were marketing them as legally operating institutions accredited by the UAE Ministry of Education, even though they had never been accredited.

Printed data

I collected different sets of printed data such as scientific publications and other studies on business education, along with biographies, documented and recorded speeches, public surveys, UAE government reports and studies (primarily conducted by the Ministry of Higher Education) and local newspaper reports that served as secondary data sources. In addition, I collected university-specific information such as yearbooks, student prospecti and other brochures. Most of these data were in printed form, but when they were unavailable, I downloaded relevant material from university websites. I used these data sources to develop school-specific knowledge.

I also made use of local newspapers. For example, the three largest local newspapers—the *Gulf News*, *The National* and the *Khaleej Times*—report education-related stories on a weekly basis. The purpose of collecting this type of secondary data was to obtain and maintain field-level general information about events in the UAE's education landscape. As a regular reader of these newspapers, I was able to grasp numerous broad education policy-level initiatives, together with school-specific information that I consequently brought up when conducting interviews. This method was also a means to break the ice in interviews, because I often approached the interviewees by commenting on something that had recently been reported about their institution in the newspaper and asked them for comment. I occasionally used

online archival searches to learn what had previously been published about a particular institution.

The National has a very good online archive system that I was able to utilize for this purpose. *The National* has a special education section that is published weekly. Using the newspaper's online research engine, a researcher can classify previous articles according to a desired date range, keywords or the author's name. One of the benefits of *The National's* reports is that most of its education reporters have worked there for years and are focused on education issues. I have systematically collected articles from *The National* (along with the *Gulf News* and *Khaleej Times*) focused on relevant aspects of this research. However, these data have not been analyzed because they served only a secondary role. Because the validity of media reports is rather controversial and their opinions are often biased (Sekaran & Bougie 2010), I tried to minimize the use of these secondary data sources unless I was able to triangulate the data by other means.

4.4.2 Data analysis, considerations on validity and reliability

Social scientists often use images to make sense of complex phenomena and to explore and understand theoretical ideas (Spencer 2010). In a similar manner, the visual images that I have collected since 2010 serve as a starting point to sketch the themes of the articles and theories. Ontologically, the use of observation techniques naturally calls for the researcher's interpretation and perception when constructing reality. Thus, I cannot claim that the use of this visual evidence produced an objective construction of market forces: through this biased lens, I purposefully collected only evidence that signaled evidence of market forces. In fact, this bias made that evidence usable for the purposes of designing the themes of the research articles. Spencer (2010) has recommended that observation techniques should primarily act as an element that supplements research (Spencer 2010). Therefore, although observation was important in the early phases of this research, later phases resulted in more detailed data sets that were properly gathered and analyzed. Therefore, the observational data were not directly analyzed and used in the research articles.

Therefore, the primary set of data for the articles, obtained through the interviews, was properly analyzed. The most relevant parts of the recorded interviews were transcribed. The transcribed texts were then analyzed to find the key categories of information based on the interview themes and to identify certain lines that could be used as direct quotations. Consequently, the categorized transcripts of each recorded interview were then gathered and listed in an Excel spreadsheet to build broader thematic categories. In combining the information data, it was important to ensure that each respondent could later be identified. Therefore, the interview transcripts were coded, with each interviewee assigned a numerical code. To ensure that the exact information could be double-checked from the tape, I added the minutes of the transcribed text to the Excel file.

To reflect on the findings from the data sets and to consider the validity and reliability of different findings, a researcher not only should report the found facts but also should construct interpretations of his or her experiences of the phenomenon and then question how those interpretations were concluded while assessing the “goodness” of the measures developed and their truthfulness (Sekaran & Bougie 2010, p. 157). Because the research articles were driven by inductive lines of reasoning—rather than deductive reasoning and testing theories the findings were not naturally fit for generalization. Therefore, increasing the validity and reliability of the findings by re-testing in a different setting was not likely to result in similar findings.

Instead, I attempted to consider the validity and reliability of the research articles in accordance with the research design. Because the research articles were based on different forms of qualitative approach, it was more appropriate to utilize inductive (not deductive) reasoning. Thus, when reflecting on the research design, I cannot consider my own approach as an objective researcher. I cannot claim that I have conceptualized the themes of the research or conducted data collection and analysis from a value-free point of view. Nor have I worked with value- or theory-free researchers.

Because I have spent considerable time in the UAE while conducting this research, thus exposing myself to local customs, I am not completely subjective. Because I have learned certain aspects of the UAE’s culture, I have developed an understanding of which topics it is sensible to study in that context, along with what type of data can be gathered and how. Furthermore, because I am familiar with the culture of the UAE, I have been able to adapt my own behavior in collecting and using the data. Therefore, I do not consider myself as much of an outsider as researchers who have very limited knowledge of the UAE. However, as a researcher, I cannot consider myself an authentic insider (Liamputtong 2010). Consequently, I would state that I have employed an intersubjective approach as a researcher.

Spencer (2010, p. 240) has stated that an intersubjective approach such as mine is often a more sensible way to conduct cross-cultural research and to construct reality because a researcher familiar with local traits is more able to avoid the “outsider arrogance” that can distort data. This approach helps a researcher to overcome both bias and the inability of many authentic insiders (i.e., locals) to develop a critical eye for details with which they are too familiar (Liamputtong 2010, Spencer 2010). The interviewees were often locals or other Arabs who had lived in the UAE for decades. When interviewing locals or other Arabs, I tried to design the interviews in a manner that would ensure the minimization of “outsider arrogance” by paying attention to the words that I chose, approaching culturally sensitive issues in an indirect manner and avoiding bringing my own “cultural baggage” and values to the discussion. Having briefly discussed the philosophical considerations guiding the research, I will reflect on whether and how the research articles were constructed in a manner that ensures validity and reliability.

In constructing the “research instruments” in the articles, we aimed to develop the instruments in a manner that ensures valid measurement. Developing the instruments began with intuition about suitable ways to build frameworks for the research, which we discussed among the research group. Consequently, we familiarized ourselves with relevant literature to construct a prototype for the research framework. We then conducted an initial round of reviews to test the prototype. For example, when designing the research for Article III, which focused on educational bubbles, we intuitively felt that the bubble theory fit the case.

We aimed to validate our intuition by conducting interviews. This validation was received when the interviewees, without the interviewer’s bias, used terminology associated with our framework’s terminology or phenomenon. For example, when interviewing people for Article III, many informants intuitively used terms such as “business cycles,” “saturated markets,” “oversupply” and “gold rush” when discussing the exponential growth in the number of business schools that entered the market during the boom years, and the word “shake-out” when referring to the burst of the bubble. The outcome after the burst of the bubble was expressed as the “market size that has halved.” Furthermore, the informants used words often found in critical higher education research on market forces, such as “mimicry,” “short-sighted” planning and “resource constraints,” and noted many of the Dubai-specific issues that may have caused the bubble to emerge, develop and burst. When the informants used similar concepts and terminology, this helped us to validate the research instrument.

When using interviews to validate the initial instrument of the study, we were cautious about the possible bias of interview data (Sekaran & Bougie 2010). To avoid bias in the interviews, I aimed to avoid influencing the informants’ opinions or word choices. I purposefully avoided using the exact wording that we had developed. For example, when conducting interviews for Article II, I explained to the interviewees that I was interested in foreign influences that shaped UAE’s higher education without implicating the identity of those foreign influences. If the interviewees were unsure of my meaning, I offered certain very well-known examples. Sometimes I noted that there seems to be entire institutions such as the American University of Sharjah that because of their names may have been influenced by foreign educational ideas. I then consequently asked the interviewee to describe whether there had been other notable foreign influences, what those influences were and to what extent they had shaped the institution with which the interviewee was familiar. Typically, the practical examples given by the interviewees were American. However, the interviewees did not necessarily consider a certain practice to be American but often referred to the more broad meanings of a “top university,” “world-class universities” or a “universal” practice without explicitly acknowledging that they might represent specifically American influences. However, when I asked the interviewees to provide opinions about what constitutes a top university or

world-class university, or where universal practices originate, they typically gave examples of American Ivy League universities.

Therefore, when constructing our research, the initial instrument was validated throughout the research process. Existing literature and its terminology served as the means of determining both content- and criterion-related validity (Sekaran & Bougie 2010). The supporting statements of the interviewees that were in line with our initial framework then fostered the validity of the instrument. More face validity (Sekaran & Bougie 2010) was gained as I conducted more interviews, and I presented the findings of the research in its different phases at several conferences where I had an opportunity to validate the findings by discussing them with local experts. I considered this important because the findings of the research articles were largely based on observation and thus involved a great deal of interpretation.

Because Article I was based on a literature review, the validity and reliability of the findings of this type of research were more difficult to demonstrate. We designed this research in a manner that did not attempt to make any claims on the actual state of business school legitimacy (e.g., whether there was a legitimacy crisis or whether business schools were fully legitimate). Instead, we collected scientific articles that expressed other researchers' opinions. In this way, we aimed to gather a set of articles that would provide a valid set of data. Therefore, we did not include opinion pieces about business school legitimacy published in periodicals, newspapers, or other commercial outlets, nor did we include anything published on the Internet. After collecting the set of articles, we carefully chose how to position the research so that we could discuss the legitimacy paradox by using our set of scientific articles.

Another important issue for the validity and reliability of the research findings was based on the fact that the research articles were produced in collaboration rather than by single authors. Thus, the starting point for designing each of the research articles involved more than one set of personal experiences; instead, they involved the use of interpretation and rationalization from different angles when designing the research and analyzing the results. Furthermore, when analyzing the interviews, I was able to discuss their findings with my co-authors, therefore reducing bias and ensuring consistency. Consequently, I believe that the research design, approach and findings of each article can be considered sufficiently valid and reliable.

With respect to the use of data, the use of interviews and observation naturally caused certain challenges for proving validity and reliability. First, I was not always able to reach people who I had identified as the most suitable to be interviewed. It proved to be very difficult in the UAE to interview people who were hesitant to talk to outsiders, especially if those people were in managerial positions. Thus, although I wanted access to high-level people, I had to accept the fact that for various reasons, they either were not reachable or did not want to be interviewed. Therefore, I had to rely more on interviewing professors and administrators. Second, some of the interviewees were new to the UAE and were unable to comment on the past events that I had been

hoping to discuss with them. Third, many of the reviewers were rather hesitant to discuss some of the themes of my inquiry, and our coverage of the topic often remained more general. On some occasions, the interviewees were only willing to market their institutions. This type of behavior was particularly evident when interviewing some of the administrators.

The use of different sets of data can be expected to help validate those data, though it does not automatically confer greater validity (Spencer 2010). Therefore, triangulation was required. For example, I aimed to discuss key findings of newspaper articles with the interviewees that either validated or corrected the accuracy of the information contained therein. Similarly, I visited the interviewees' websites and used search engines to investigate less biased information to validate the information that I had constructed from the visual data (e.g., flyers) that were supported by a more detailed study of the institution in question. For example, if the institution marketed itself as an AACSB-accredited institution, I checked the AACSB website to verify that information.

Triangulation also played a key role in incorporating the four articles' conclusions into the introductory essay. I aimed to build the argument for the emergence, institutionalization and increasing influence of market logic, as suggested by Peck (2010): begin by building an understanding of how neoliberal ideas promoting market logic were historically constructed by triangulating among their ideological, ideational and institutional currents and among their philosophy, politics and practice. The following table summarizes both triangulation and how the four research articles examined market logic.

TABLE 8 Aspects of market logic studied in the research articles

Aspect	Article I	Article II	Article III	Article IV
Movements		x	x	x
Ideology	x		x	x
Ideas	x	x	x	x
Institutional currents	x	x	x	x
Philosophy	x	x		x
Politics	x	x	x	x
Practice	x	x	x	x

Although the articles did not address all the aspects of market logic, they nevertheless aimed to build a coherent understanding of the phenomenon through triangulation in the introductory essay. Furthermore, throughout the research process, I took the opportunity to discuss my research topics and key findings with numerous higher-education experts in the UAE; these discussions helped to validate each of the research articles. These fruitful conversations also guided my thoughts and occasionally corrected some of my misinterpretations. To improve the overall validity and reliability of the findings of the articles and the theme of the introductory essay, I conducted a round of follow-up interviews with seven informants during the spring of 2014. To do so, I

approached the interviewees and asked if they would be interested in reading the research articles and discussing them with me. Prior to the interview, I sent the research articles to the interviewees so that they had time to read them in advance. In the actual interview, I summarized the themes and findings of each of the articles and how I felt their themes related to market logic. I then took the opportunity to discuss these findings with the informants to hear their comments and whether they agreed or disagreed with the findings. This round of interviews provided some of the most profound discussions of the research process.

To summarize, the manner by which the research has been designed, conducted and analyzed makes it reasonable to expect that the results can be considered valid and reliable.

PART II: ORIGINAL ARTICLES

I

THE LEGITIMACY PARADOX OF BUSINESS SCHOOLS: LOSING BY GAINING?

by

Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Katariina Juusola & Marjo Siltaoja, 2014

Academy of Management Learning and Education (forthcoming)

Reproduced with kind permission by Academy of Management.

II

ACCELERATING THE AMERICANIZATION OF MANAGEMENT EDUCATION: FIVE RESPONSES FROM BUSINESS SCHOOLS

by

Katariina Juusola, Kerttu Kettunen & Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, 2014

Journal of Management Inquiry (accepted for publication)

Reproduced with kind permission by SAGE Publications.

**ACCELERATING THE AMERICANIZATION OF
MANAGEMENT EDUCATION:
FIVE RESPONSES FROM BUSINESS SCHOOLS**

Katariina Juusola, Kerttu Kettunen & Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, 2014
Journal of Management Inquiry (accepted with revision)

ABSTRACT

The Journal of Management Inquiry astutely predicted in 2004 that the Americanization of business education would not just continue but increase. Ten years later, it is arguable that the acceleration of the Americanization of management education has exceeded all expectations. To theoretically build toward understanding how and why the American business education model has been adopted to different extents, this comparative study builds on the institutional logics perspective, arguing that different institutional logics can potentially explain the various forms and patterns of Americanization and how they are manifested in the world's business schools.

INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, the United States became a leading industrial power and an economic model for the rest of the western world. As a result, American management ideas and practices were commonly believed to be universal and transferable, and American business schools became important enablers of and participants in the American economic model (Engwall, 2007; Locke, 1989, 1996; Locke & Spender, 2011; Üsdiken, 2007). Consequently, American business education served as a point of reference for the remainder of the world, reflecting the history, norms, and values of the US academic system and economy.

A decade ago, the Journal of Management Inquiry made a significant contribution to the literature by publishing historical and comparative perspectives on the Americanization of management education (Engwall, 2004; Kieser, 2004; Kipping, Üsdiken & Puig, 2004; Tiratsoo, 2004; Üsdiken, 2004). Americanization was understood as one of the key trends in management education and it was predicted that the Americanization of management education would actually increase as a result of the proliferation of a variety of US practices and norms related to business programs, accreditations, and rankings.

Ten years later, the American business school model has undoubtedly gained an even more dominant position than anticipated. We argue that due to the absence of a theoretical understanding of Americanization, how and why business schools in non-American countries adopt the American business school model to different extents and why there are differences in Americanization levels within specific countries is vaguely understood. As a result of this gap in the literature, researchers studying country-specific Americanization have largely ignored these questions (Dameron & Durand, 2008; Fauri, 1998; Gemelli, 1996; Gutiérrez & Ortega, 2008; Kieser, 2004; Kipping, 1998; Meyer, 1998; Neal & Finlay, 2008; Tiratsoo, 1998, 2004).

Following Kieser (2004), this paper defines Americanization as an open-ended, complex, and selective process of acculturation through which non-American business schools adopt the American business school model. As Djelic and Amdam (2007, p. 488) state, "Americanization happens through a series of successive and complementary phases that follow upon and articulate with each other during the second half of the twentieth century." Thus, Americanization can be understood as one type of imitation of ideas and practices across time and space (Greve, 1998).

Based on previous research, we know Americanization is not a simple process of transferring a practice or a model directly from the US to another context; instead, Americanization is a process of translation, selective emulation, custom adaptation, and hybridization, which emphasizes the complex influence of national institutions on the Americanization of management education in different countries (e.g., Kieser, 2004; Kipping et al., 2004; Locke 1989, 1996; Locke & Spender, 2011; Srinivas, 2008). Furthermore, Americanization occurs through a diffusion process and responds to isomorphic pressures among business schools worldwide. For instance, Engwall (2000) noted that in small countries where only a few institutions have historically dominated higher education, these leading domestic institutions are likely to adopt models from countries with which they have a high level of cultural affinity. Furthermore, because of the common legal framework and mimetic pressures, other schools that are established later tend to imitate these domestic higher education leaders (Engwall 2000, p. 3).

Although the diffusion of role models explains the historical development of business schools in a number of countries, the acceleration of Americanization during the last decade, which has been propelled by the increasing globalization of management education, is less understood. Little empirical evidence exists of how Americanization has occurred in this new era, during which business education systems as we have come to know them since the early twentieth century have been increasingly shaped by marketization and corporatization accompanied by the all-permeating commodification of higher education (Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola & Lamberg, 2014). Although it is obvious that understanding Americanization in different parts of the world calls for contextual sensitivity, we maintain that by polarizing the business education between what we now consider 'traditional business schools' and market-oriented management education providers allows us to distinguish the variety of patterns that business schools follow in their translations of the 'American model'.

In institutional terms, the abovementioned, interrelated mechanisms that move higher education towards the market can be described as an *institutional logic* shift from *academic logic* to *market logic* (see e.g., Gumpert, 2000; Popp Berman, 2011; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). In general, institutional logics are defined as socially and historically constructed patterns of practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules that shape the rational, mindful behavior of individuals and organizations (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Jackall, 1988; Popp Berman, 2011; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, 2008). Whereas research universities have traditionally operated under academic logic, dedicating themselves to a value-free search for truth, the emergence of market logic commodifies academic research and education to produce measurable outputs with direct market value (Bok, 2003; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011), eventually chang-

ing the basis of 'appropriate' individual and organizational behavior within the field of higher education (Popp Berman 2011).

This study examines the Americanization of business school systems within two institutional logics: academic logic via a Finnish case study and market logic via a case study of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Whereas Finland is a northern European, stable welfare state with centuries-old traditions in higher education, the volume and quality of which is regulated by the state, the UAE is an Arab, Middle Eastern country that has risen from poverty within the past three decades to become one of the richest nations in the world. Simultaneously, the UAE has established its decentralized higher education system entirely within the frameworks of globalization and neoliberalism and even built a global market-oriented educational hub with dozens of foreign institutions (Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola & Siltaoja, 2013; Alajoutsijärvi, et al., 2014). As a response, in terms of management education and its emergence in these two countries, it is reasonable to expect that the developments should be different. In a country such as Finland, the first business schools were established in the beginning of the last century, meaning that the management education system in Finland is strongly influenced by the traditional Humboldtian idea of a research university (Kettunen 2013). In a country such as the UAE, management education is a far more recent phenomenon that emerged in an era of a more practical, utilitarian, and economic growth-driven university environment of ideas and higher education policies. Therefore, the development of, for instance, financial services in Dubai in the mid-2000s played an important role in the expansion of business schools in the UAE.

The fact that the business education systems in Finland and the UAE emerged at different times in history has implications for their Americanization as well. Whereas Finnish business schools were early and, together with their European siblings, had to struggle their way to becoming accepted academic institutions, the emergence of UAE business schools was a part of a much later, worldwide expansion of management education. Indeed, the American model was gradually incorporated into the Finnish business education during the latter half of the twentieth century (Alajoutsijärvi, Kettunen & Tikkanen, 2012), whereas in the UAE, the US-based business school model was imported much rapidly, more or less during the course of the 2000s, during which the institutional logic of the higher education field had already developed more favorably towards market-oriented solutions in organizing business education. As a corollary of this, the institutional logics that are socially and historically constructed in the business school systems in the two case countries are inherently very different. Owing to the fundamental nature of institutional logics in governing the actions of business schools, comparing Finland's and the UAE's business education systems from the institutional logics perspective has potential to shed new, interesting light on the various forms and patterns of Americanization and how they are manifested in the world's business schools.

On a conceptual level, owing largely to the differences in the age and development trajectories of their management education systems, Finland and the UAE represent two rather extreme cases that illustrate the aforementioned partially conflicting institutional logics of academia and the market, under which worldwide business schools operate (Popp Berman, 2011, p. 9). In line with Eisenhardt and Graebner

(2007), comparing the two institutional logics is particularly suitable for theoretical sampling purposes to illuminate and extend the understanding of complex phenomena, such as Americanization, to build theory. Therefore, the case countries were selected for the likelihood that because their education systems represent different institutional logics, the theoretical insights drawn from their comparison can go beyond what a single case study could provide (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Having said this, we propose that although there are some inherent and obvious risks in simplifying, typecasting, and contrasting, at the same time, this exaggeration may be valuable in that it helps us to reflect the complexity of social reality – that is, the various forms of Americanization – that exists between the two extremes.

A framework for analyzing the Americanization of business education

We argue that the Americanization of business education is a highly complex and under-theorized phenomenon that calls for a more systematic and conceptual framework. The management education system in the United States consists of a wide spectrum of different types of business schools that vary from purely teaching-focused institutions, such as community colleges to high-profile, prestigious research institutions. Whereas contemporary research on the Americanization of management education acknowledges the difficulty in characterizing the “American business school model” (see, e.g., Korpiaho, Päiviö & Räsänen, 2007, p. 36), there is a wide-ranging consensus among management education scholars that the dominant point of reference for most of the world’s business schools is the research university model of the top US business schools: Harvard, Wharton, Stanford, and Duke (see, for instance, Augier & March, 2011, p. 147; Wedlin, 2011, p. 212). In fact, owing to their international recognition and reputation, these schools have formed an exclusive group of world-class universities that has created a universal benchmark for other institutions across the world that aspire to their ranks (Salmi, 2009).

Although the emulation of American universities began after WWII, the US education system has gone through significant changes, particularly since the 1970s, when even the traditional research universities were exposed to and were changed by the increasing pressures of market logic. These macro-trends have transformed the university structure and ethos in the US, slowly eroding the traditional academic logic in favor of a more market-based ideology and gradually changing the dominant legitimating idea of public higher education from a social institution to an industry (Gumport 2000; Popp Berman, 2011; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011). Therefore, the American business school model that is referred to elsewhere represents an ideal type that is based on a handful of top-tier, US-based research institutions that are not static but constantly reforming due to national education policies and global competition.

Building on the aforementioned top-tier research university model, this study elaborates on the previously vague notions of the American business school model by developing a systematic framework that enables the analysis of management education Americanization on three key dimensions: the superstructure, research, and education that capture the patterns of practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules that shape the mindful behavior of business school organizations and their in-

dividual actors, such as researchers, teachers, students, and administrators. Although these selected dimensions are not completely independent of one another, they represent key concepts for the analysis because acceptance of the US educational model and ethos implies the acceptance of certain ideas regarding business practices, business education, the necessary facilities of an academic institution, academic governance, financial resources and faculty. In other words, institutional logic (whether academic or market) manifests itself in the array of business school practices in relation to which the Americanization of a business education system can be analyzed (see Table 1).

Table 1
Constructing the American business school ideal

Dimensions of Americanization	Business school practices	The American business school ideal
Superstructure	Governance logic (public or private, power position in the university, source of funding)	Wealthy and reputable business schools as a part of non-profit, private or public universities Primary funding sources include governmentally supported tuition fees, large endowments, capital gains, and state support Increasingly powerful board of trustees
	Reputation sources (brand recognition, rankings, accreditations)	Strong international brand Leading position in business school rankings Self-evidently AACSB accredited
Research	Faculty (educational background, career path)	Educational background in the US Research merits in top American publications Tenure-track system
	Research and teaching activities (research vs. teaching emphasis)	Emphasis on publications in A-level journals Low teaching loads
Education	Students (admission, motivation)	Highly selective student admission policies Career-oriented students
	Curriculum (primary degree granted, contents, learning methods)	Two-tiered degree structure Emphasis on highly rated two-year MBA programs Textbooks with American management ideology Case studies as a primary teaching method

Superstructure. The top schools that are the foundation of the American model are typically non-profit private or public institutions. Their primary funding sources are large endowments, capital gains, tuition fees, and governmental support. A primary feature of the governance structure of these universities is an increasingly powerful board of trustees (Ginsberg, 2011; Tuchman, 2009). These top business schools often have renowned faculty and generate substantial income for their universities (Korpiaho et al., 2007; Wilson & McKiernan, 2011). Moreover, these top business schools are highly reputable institutions whose brands are internationally well known and valued, and most of these schools also have branch campuses (AACSB, 2011). These schools are highly ranked and serve as benchmarks for accreditation agencies such as the AACSB (Altbach, 2003; Wedlin, 2010, 2011). In general, the governance structure of top American business schools has shifted towards a greater market orientation and greater corporatization (Khurana, 2007; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011; Tuchman, 2009). What is more, these business schools have a neoliberal-politicized ethos that responds to the growing belief that neoclassical economics is a foundational discipline of management education (Khurana & Penrice, 2011).

Research. The faculty members at top schools typically were educated in the US and have published in top American journals. They earn promotions through open

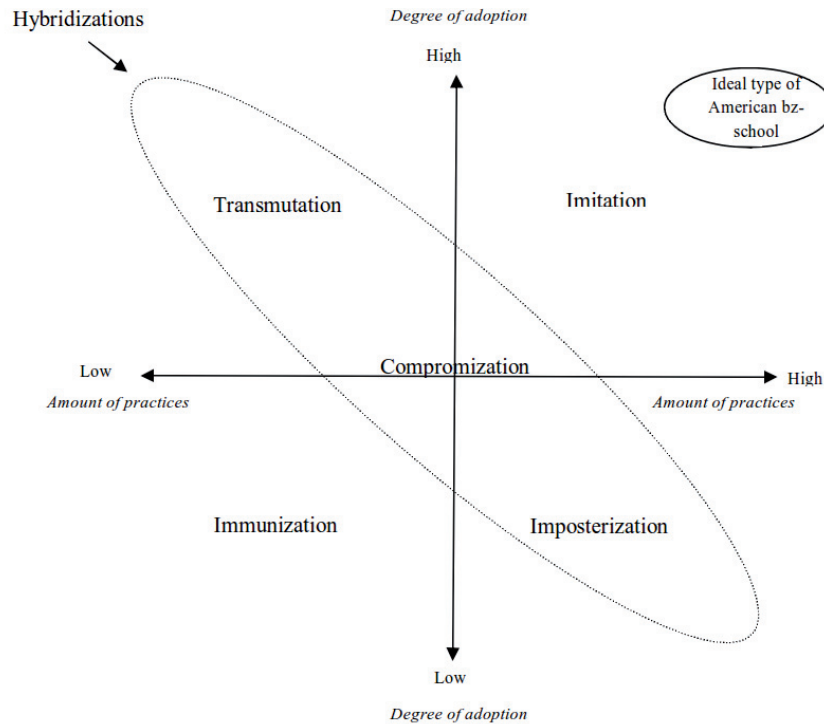
competition, and most prominent professors are tenured. The teaching load at top schools is low, and professors focus on producing publications for A-level journals (Schultz, 2010). Faculty members at top schools also tend to exclusively cite publications in A-level journals by their American colleagues (Engwall, 2000). In fact, top American business schools have “invented” the criteria for academically rigorous research by adapting the model used in the natural sciences (Schultz, 2010).

Education. Top schools can afford to be extremely selective in admitting students to their programs. These students are career-oriented “customers” who have invested in their degree so that they can acquire an executive position through the credentials and prestige that the degree will provide (Vaara & Fay, 2011). American business education has a two-tiered degree structure that includes a more general bachelor’s degree and a master’s degree, most typically from a highly rated MBA program, whereas MSc, DBA, and PhD degrees are rare (Antunes & Thomas, 2007). The curricula of the top schools are supposed to be demanding, and the course literature is mostly based on books with an American management ideology (Engwall, 2004). Programs typically include modular courses that address a wide array of managerial tools, and especially in MBA programs, teaching is typically case based.

Based on the ethos and practices of the “ideal type” of American business school, we can summarize the main dimensions of business education: the *superstructure*, which includes the governance structure and reputation sources; *research*, which comprises faculty research and teaching activities; and *education*, which connects the students, degrees, and curricula.

Relying on the notion that Americanization is essentially institutional isomorphism that responds to the global diffusion of US-based business school practices, we claim that Americanization response variations can be best understood by observing the practice-level adoption of the US model. To explain the variation in the ways in which American business school practices are implemented by non-US business schools, we can reference two fundamental continuums (see Figure 1). A school’s position on the horizontal axis reflects the number of practices (low-high) that the school has adopted related to its superstructure and research and the education that it provides. More specifically, the American business school model can be adopted either selectively or across the entire system. A school’s position on the vertical axis, in turn, reflects the degree to which the school has adopted each of these practices (low-high). This continuum is therefore related to how closely an adopted practice resembles the American practice. In conclusion, the amount of adopted practices and degree of adoption result in different Americanization response types, which may vary from imitation to immunization, and different hybridization forms, namely, transmutation, compromization, and imposterization (see Figure 1).

Figure 1



In the *imitation* (see Strandgaard Petersen & Dobbin, 2006) corner of the presented framework, a non-American business school implements the practices of the American business school model broadly and profoundly throughout the system. By contrast, an educational system that identifies but rejects foreign practices and persists in using its own traditional practices occupies the *immunization* (see Strandgaard Petersen & Dobbin, 2006) corner of the framework.

Although prior research describes Americanization simply as a hybridization process, we follow Pache and Santos (2013) and distinguish among various forms of Americanization using the concept of hybridization as an umbrella term for transmutation, compromization, and imposterization. A non-American business school that fully adopts one or more elements of the American model and implements them profoundly within its system, typically over a longer period of time, occupies the *transmutation* (see Strandgaard Petersen & Dobbin, 2006) corner of the framework. *Compromization* (see Pache & Santos, 2013) is the form of Americanization in which a non-US business school partially blends national or original practices with American ones, resulting in a business school that resides somewhere between its “parent models.” Thus, through compromization, a business school tries to find acceptable balance between potentially conflicting American and national or original practices.

Finally, based on the market demand for American-style higher education, we introduce a new form of Americanization that we refer to as *imposterization*. Impos-

terization is a market- and demand-driven approach to selling American-style education in which a school superficially implements an extensive number of American business school practices to appear “American”. For instance, a business school can, symbolically or marketing-wise, endorse American practices without intending to implement the whole package that is associated with reputable American institutions. These schools typically lack the resources required to build prestige to transform into traditional research universities as represented by top-tier US business schools (Altbach, 2009).

OUR RESEARCH SETTING

This study examines the Americanization of business education in Finland and in the UAE after the Second World War. The origins of the research project lie in our interest in studying the internationalization of management education, although we narrowed this focus to the American influence on business education in different countries. In comparing the internationalization of management education in different parts of the world, we noticed that business education in both Finland and the UAE has been strongly influenced by the American model.

Although Finland and the UAE differ geopolitically and politically, these two countries provide a useful basis for comparison because they share certain interesting similarities that likely reflect their responses to the dominant US business school model. First, both Finland and the UAE were once occupied by other countries, which may have influenced to which countries they looked to for their business school models. Second, in both countries, considerable internationalization of domestic businesses occurred in the 1990s, creating incentives to develop management education. Third, there is strong state interference in the provision of higher education in both countries. Fourth, business education in both countries has a history of being dominated by a few pioneering institutions, namely, the Helsinki School of Economics (HSE) and the Swedish school of Economics (Hanken) in Finland and the United Arab Emirates University (UAEU) in the UAE. However, these pioneering institutions in Finland were gradually influenced by the American model (Engwall, 2004, 2007), whereas the American model was implemented more recently and directly in the UAE.

In the Finnish context, all ten business schools at universities were included in the study¹ (see also Appendix A). In the UAE, although the higher education landscape includes dozens of business schools from federal, private and international branch campuses (IBCs), only 20 of them are local Emirati schools and thus, they are the focus of our study² (see also Appendix A). The empirical data concerning business education in the two countries were collected by the authors beginning in 2007. In the first phase of the analysis, we separately examined interview data, school his-

¹The total number of schools in Finland is determined based on the state-granted right to award BSc, MSc, and DSc degrees in business. MBA programs, on the other hand, are considered as non-degree programs in Finnish legislation, and MBA degrees are therefore not the primary degrees granted by business schools. MBA programs are typically offered by business schools or continuing education centers located within multidisciplinary universities.

²The total number of business schools in the UAE is determined based on the federal and/or individual Emirate level-granted right to award BBA, MSc, MBA, and DBA degrees.

tories, and other published material collected from spring 2007 to fall 2010 concerning Finland and the UAE, and we identified key events in the development of business education in these countries. We found that the key events highlighted in both the printed sources and the stories told by interviewees were often closely linked to some type of foreign influence that had entered the system and changed it.

Because the primary foreign influence that seemed to have altered both systems was the American model, we continued our data collection with another round of interviews in 2010-2011. These interviews with current and former rectors, deans, and senior managers, as well as professors and other faculty members (referred to in the analysis section as “informants” to preserve anonymity), had a more specific focus on the “internationalization” and “American influence” of business education. The third round of interviews, which was conducted in 2011-2014, consisted of interviews with current and former rectors, deans, and faculty members at all of the major business schools in Finland and the UAE. These interviews were intended to provide a micro perspective concerning the school-specific variations in Americanization and to analyze the institutional decisions driving these developments. The interviews were analyzed following the discussion of Americanization to identify implicit references by the interviewees to, for instance, “internationalization”, the “universal model”, or the concept of a “top university”. Finally, we constructed the two narrative accounts that address Americanization in terms of superstructure, faculty and education. These narratives depict the essential periods in the Americanization of business education in these two countries and inform the theoretical discussion in the comparative analysis and our conclusions.

Reporting on business education in Finland is more transparent than such reporting is in the UAE and is organized by the state and by professional associations of business graduates (e.g., reports by the Association of Finnish Business School Graduates and the Ministry of Education were utilized in this research). Reporting in the UAE, by contrast, is less centralized and less systematic, which poses certain challenges for data collection. Due to these challenges and the large number of UAE schools, it was partially beyond this study’s scope to elaborate on each UAE school in detail in our analysis. During the data collection process for the UAE, we relied slightly more on interviews and business school visits. Overall, we held 30 interviews and informal discussions for Finland and 34 for the UAE.

The Americanization of business education in Finland

Imitation of German business education and the emerging American influence 1945-1960

The first business schools in Finland were founded in the early twentieth century: the Swedish School of Economics (the Hanken School of Economics) in 1909 and the Helsinki School of Economics (the HSE, known since 2010 as the Aalto University School of Business) in 1911. At the time, the German research-based university system was in many respects the envied and imitated model for universities around the world, including those in the US (Altbach, 2011; Augier & March, 2011). German

universities in the nineteenth century differed from their counterparts in countries such as France and Britain, in that German universities were devoted to *Wissenschaft* (science) and the non-utilitarian Humboldtian tradition; they placed a relatively high value on scientific research and were therefore reluctant to accept applied business studies within their realm in the beginning (Locke, 1989). As a response, the stand-alone *Handelshochschule* was adopted as the primary organizational form first in Germany, and later among its followers in Northern European countries (Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2012). In the field of business education, conformity to the *Wissenschaft* tradition meant establishing “business science”, *Betriebswirtschaftslehre* (BWL), which was practiced in *Handelshochschulen* (business schools), where ambitious individuals were expected to prove their research competence by completing a doctoral thesis and a professorial thesis or *Habilitationsschrift* (Locke, 1989).

Owing to their close cultural, political, and economic proximity to Germany, northern European countries such as Finland imitated the stand-alone *Handelshochschule* model as the organizational superstructure for their first business schools (see Engwall, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2009). Because the prevailing Finnish university system was already based on the Humboldtian tradition, adopting many German-based business school practices, both by transferring them to the Finnish system (e.g., school mission statement, professorial thesis) and by adjusting them to Finnish contextual realities, such as financial constraints (e.g., curriculum, estimated cost structure), was a rather natural development trajectory. Adopting these practices had a profound influence on Finnish business education for several decades, making those practices relatively immune to subsequent American influences. For instance, Hanken and HSE, and later, the Turku School of Economics (TSE) in 1950, were established as stand-alone business schools and have been until recently labeled in Finnish and Swedish as “*kauppakorkeakoulu*” or “*handelshögskolan*”, which are direct translations of the word “*Handelshochschule*,” and the students study “*liiketaloustiede*”, a translation of *Betriebswirtschaftslehre* (BWL). To fulfill their educational mission, the initial curricula of the first schools and their core textbooks were adopted from business schools in Cologne, Berlin, and Frankfurt (Järvinen, 1907). Likewise, three out of five doctoral dissertations on business prior to the Second World War were written in German, and they tended to be strongly based on the German accounting tradition.

As in many Nordic countries after the Second World War, the German influence on the Finnish academic system was diluted by Germany’s post-war recovery and the increasing political, economic, and cultural influence of the United States. As Vironmäki (2007, p. 114) argues, the emerging post-war distrust of Germany was countered by the benevolent view of the United States, which at the time seemed to be “a homeland of everything that was new, big, fine, and good.”

Nevertheless, during the Cold War, war-impoverished Finland found itself caught in a politically delicate position between the western world and the Soviet Union. For instance, owing to Soviet pressure, unlike for many other European countries, it was not politically expedient for Finland to accelerate its social recovery by accepting direct monetary aid under the Marshall Plan. However, more indirect forms of support, such as library endowments, were allowed. Consequently, Finland

started to use donations referred to as ASLA (AmerikanSuomenlainanapuraha) to procure American literature. The ASLA donations were made using the loan that Finland had accepted from the US after the Second World War. Based on a decision by the US Congress, the interest and amortization of the loan were paid to a fund that disbursed the money to university libraries in Finland (Mäkinen, 2000; United States Public Law no 265, 81st Congress, cited in Jokinen&Suominen, 2010).³

Until the late 1950s, the dominant language used in Finnish business schools' textbooks and doctoral dissertations was Finnish, Swedish or German, whereas English was less common. In the post-war recovery period, Finnish university libraries, including business school libraries, suffered from a lack of contemporary literature: although their connections to the outside world were now re-established, there was no money for them to acquire foreign publications (Mäkinen, 2000). Therefore, the ASLA donations played a significant role in rebuilding business school activities in Finland. For instance, the newly founded TSE received USD 1,500 (currently worth approximately USD 15,000) "for the purchase of American scientific, technical and scholarly books and books of American literature for higher educational and research institutions in Finland" (Jokinen & Suominen, 2010, p. 9). Illustrating the long-term influence of the program to TSE, for instance, the endowments continued from the date on which the school was established until 1965 (Jokinen & Suominen, 2010, p. 10).

Owing to the nature of the ASLA program, the literature acquired using the endowment money was required to be American. In fact, the books that were acquired in this manner were identified with a specific ex libris that stated, "This book has been presented to Finland through ASLA funds by the Government of the United States of America as an expression of Friendship and Goodwill which the people of the United States hold for The People of Finland." Mäkinen (2000, p. 14, 17) notes that although the ASLA endowments could easily have been perceived as a part of the Cold War political game, avoiding Americanization would have left the academic system and the entire country in miserable conditions. According to the senior librarian at the University of Helsinki, who acted as a primary coordinator of the book donations in Finland, "[if] it is propaganda, then it is welcome and healthy propaganda" (Lauri O. Th. Tudeer, Senior Librarian 1884-1954, University of Helsinki, cited in Mäkinen 2000, p. 14).

Compromising German traditions with American practices, 1960-1990

The 1960s and 1970s significantly expanded business education in Finland, as several new business schools were established within the existing universities in different parts of the country. The development of business education was accompanied by increasing governmental influence, and eventually, the entire business school sector, which had previously only been partly state funded, became state controlled. Although several inherently German academic structures and practices, such as administrative structures (the Handelshochschule model) and faculty promotions that were dependent on completing a Habilitationsschrift, persisted in the Finnish

³ Furthermore, ASLA offers a scholarship program to study and research in the US to Finnish researchers, teachers, and doctoral students.

system, changes to how business schools approached research in the 1960s had a particular influence on research for doctoral dissertations. Whereas doctoral dissertations written prior to the 1960s followed the BWL tradition and were typically based on studies analyzing theoretical concepts, new approaches focused on empirical and often quantitative research. Transmutation to the new American style of empirical studies indicated a relatively rapid change in research activities, and many doctoral students had to change their methodological approach or even their topic during their doctoral research (Kettunen, 1986).

The Anglo-American influence entered Finnish business education in the 1960s. The change partially reflected the events of the year 1959 in the United States. It was at that time that the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation published a report concerning business education in the US. The report was exceptionally critical and demanded the scientification of educational content. In a world that was internationalizing and where scientific orientation was generally and increasingly directed towards the US, young researchers started to focus on American research. The requirements for doctoral dissertations changed as well and emphasized empirical, quantitative research. Problems emerged because many young researchers had to change the topics and the methods of their research projects from German-style conceptual research to quantitative research. It happened to me as well. (Informant A, 2012)

In response to Fulbright and ASLA scholarship programs and Ford Foundation grants, Finnish business school professors and doctoral students also started to visit the US more frequently. One doctoral student remembered the following:

I graduated with a bachelor's degree in spring 1961. In the same spring, I received an ASLA scholarship and left for the US, the University of California, Berkeley campus, to take a look at business studies there. The year was great both personally and professionally. Familiarizing myself with the American accounting education and research at Berkeley left me with the impression that it wasn't so exceptionally extraordinary or more difficult than it was in Finland. Altogether there were half a dozen Finnish scholarship students at Berkeley campus. (Informant A, 2012)

Simultaneously, visiting teachers from the US made important contributions to the course portfolios of business schools, which suffered from a shortage of qualified professors at that time (e.g., Perälä, 1975; Saarsalmi, 1961; Sandström, 1977). For instance, marketing professor John R. Darling initially came to the HSE in 1974-75, then lectured at several business schools and consulted with numerous firms during the next thirty years.

Executive education programs, organized primarily by the Finnish Institute of Management (LIFIM), began in 1964. LIFIM was administered jointly by Hanken, HSE, and the Helsinki University of Technology (Kässi, 1978). The objective of the institute was to imitate the Harvard Business School model in Finnish executive education. LIFIM was established as a result of a few enthusiastic professors' visits to the US, where they were inspired by American management training programs (Fellman, 2007). LIFIM's expensive one-year courses proved tremendously popular and gained elite status among Finnish corporate management. More than 6,000 top managers had completed the course by the late 1990s (Fellman, 2007). In the Finnish context, the establishment of LIFIM indicated the first steps towards the introduction

of market logic in higher education. In 1960, Finnish business scholar Leo Ahlstedt wrote the following:

Additionally, in our country, technological development, structural changes in society and tightening competition are posing already now but in the future even more wide-ranging demands for the efficiency of corporate management in rapidly changing circumstances. This will result in a long-term demand for training that one should prepare for in time. The experiences and objectives of the Americans do not always fit us as such, but supposedly give us a plenty of valuable food for thought as we are planning Finnish executive education.

In the 1980s, Finnish business schools began to focus on their core activities, especially on developing their research. In previous decades, international cooperation had been sporadic; for instance, lectures were mostly given in Finnish, publication in international journals was very rare, and international student and faculty exchange was the exception rather than the rule. Finnish researchers had already begun to participate in international conferences in the 1970s, but those activities very seldom resulted in publication in refereed journals. In fact, the Habilitationsschrift persisted as a key criterion in professorial appointments and was not replaced with a focus on international publications until the 1990s. Even then, in practice, candidates had rarely published enough journal articles, and the positions were occupied by a group of acting professors.

The HSE became a national forerunner in the development of American-imported MBA and BBA programs, which it established in 1984 and 1989, respectively (Urmas, 2010). The programs were taught fully in English and mainly by American professors (Urmas, 2010). International student exchange started in the early 1980s as well, but because of the lack of established exchange programs and relationships with foreign business schools, student exchange had to be organized by the students themselves (Airila, 2010). The MBA program at HSE expanded international student exchange by increasing the number of courses offered in English (Airila, 2010).

In the 1980s, Finnish business schools started to show signs of integrating with the international research community; however, the number of internationally refereed publications at the HSE was still less than ten per year (Ratilainen, 2010). The growing research orientation further increased Finnish business schools' interest in the US as increasingly more American textbooks were used (Seeck & Laakso, 2010; see also Engwall, 2004). The new international research focus was demonstrated already in 1973, when Jaakko Honko, the Rector of HSE, wrote the following in the school's annual report:

Also our internationalisation has its own development aspects. In the early days and until the Second World War, we had our most intense relationships with the Scandinavian countries and continental Europe, primarily Germany. After the Second World War, the artery of our international development divided into several channels and their coverage, our area of operations, has in this regards become wider. In addition to our earlier connections, Anglo-Saxon countries—both Great Britain and especially the United States—have clearly become among our closest relationships.

Dominating American influence, 1990–The Present

Although internationalization in its different forms had been on the Finnish business school agenda for several decades, in the 1990s, another development occurred that increased the competition between different schools and provided the foundation for greater heterogenization within the system: the newer generation of business school faculty that had received professional experience or education in the US started to gain leading academic and administrative positions in business schools and to promote the American business school ethos.

Well, it was the time when I and probably many others got a strong feeling that if you wanted to pursue a career in academia, you had to study abroad, in America in practice. Then, I looked at all kinds of places, and when the opportunity opened up, I went to Harvard Business School. And that was, of course, a revolutionary experience, a very big eye-opener when you see what the top university system really is about. So because of that, when I came here [HSE], I had two ideas. First, I had seen how this kind of top university works and what university education and research look like at their best. And, two, I had been exposed to shareholder value, which was not really out there in Finland. So, I had introduced myself to this way of thinking there [at HBS] and to how you can apply these ideas of modern finance or management control here [in Finland]. So, these were the kinds of things I brought with me when I came back. (Informant B, 2012)

The growing competition within the national system was fueled by emerging ideas of new public management that strengthened its position in Finnish university governance following the deep economic recession of the early 1990s. The reform led to increasing performance pressure on all Finnish universities, which forced them to acquire increasing amounts of external funding and to apply more corporate-style performance measures at both the institutional and the individual level.

Internationally, but especially in America, they had this system where you could negotiate your own salary, and you had a set of strict performance objectives, especially in the arena of publishing, but where it specifically came from, well, it was this new public management. It was said that Reagan and Thatcher's era was the era of this new public management, which included profitability, performance evaluation and so on. (Informant C, 2012)

After Finland joined the EU in 1995, the international comparability of degree structures became an issue in the Finnish university sector. The Bologna Declaration was intended to standardize the European higher education system and increase its competitiveness against the presumably superior American education system. Beginning in 2005, Finnish universities attempted to imitate a US-style two-tiered degree structure. However, thus far, the majority of university students still tend to prefer a master's degree to a bachelor's degree.

Starting in the late 1990s, rankings and accreditation became a topic of discussion in Finnish business schools. Of the Finnish schools, only the HSE was ranked among the top 75 schools in the recent European business school rankings (Financial Times, 2011). Hanken has held EQUIS accreditation since 2000 and AMBA accreditation since 2008, whereas the HSE now holds both AACSB accreditation (since 2007) and EQUIS accreditation (since 1998) as well as AMBA accreditation (since 1997). From other Finnish schools, the University of Oulu business school (Oulu Business

School) gained AACSB accreditation in 2013. To date, the remaining schools have gained program-specific accreditations, such as AMBA and EPAS, and are increasingly seeking access to the EQUIS and AACSB accreditation processes. In fact, the AACSB's member statistics (AACSB International, 2014) indicate a significant increase in the Finnish business schools' activity towards the accreditation agencies. Whereas a couple of years ago there were only two member schools (HSE and Hanken) from Finland, today there are eight member schools, including seven university-based business schools and one university of applied sciences. Although some of these member schools have already applied for AACSB and/or EQUIS accreditation, they may encounter increasing competition from within the national system and may find it difficult to become accredited because both accreditation agencies eventually tend to exclude the majority of the business schools in a certain country.

International rankings and accreditations have encouraged the leading domestic business schools to adopt a wider variety of practices of top American business schools, such as measuring individual performance according to the number of publications that a person has achieved in A-level journals, using a highly competitive tenure track system, extensively recruiting international faculty, and favoring research groups with narrow specializations.

Furthermore, international competitive pressures drove universities, including business schools, to form larger, more cost-effective university consortia, resulting in the partial dissolution of the traditional *Handelshochschule* model, as exemplified by the HSE's becoming part of Aalto University and by TSE's merging with the University of Turku in 2010.

It is indeed challenging. In Aalto, compared to, let's say, what we had five years ago, we have gone so much deeper in that anything other than the A-level journal is nothing, which means that one's research focus has to be very narrow and very deep in one's field for one to achieve excellence in something. And, it is really the only measure that counts for young researchers and for anyone else who wants to have a career. It is the A-level journal, and there's no mercy. If you don't have A-level journal publications, you aren't a proper researcher, and that's it. (Informant B, 2012)

Regardless of their numerous accreditation initiatives, Finnish business schools do not necessarily view their focus on accreditation as a process of Americanization; rather, they view accreditation as a part of their normal agenda of internationalizing and improving the quality of the system.

If you think about the system [the AACSB], it has its clear origins in the mission [...] I'm not afraid of the AACSB because you define what you want to do or what you do and what your vision is, and then, on that basis, the AACSB will look at whether the activities meet the set conditions [...] It sort of supports regular activities, and we just write the AACSB text in such a way that it shows what we would have done anyway [...] I'm not afraid of the Finnish or, let's say, the Nordic business school profile somehow changing because of this; I don't think it will. (Informant D, 2012)

Finnish business school responses to Americanization: imitation, transmutation, and compromization

Our interpretation is that in their responses to Americanization, Finnish business schools fall into three groups (indicated as Tier 1, 2, and 3 schools; see Table 2) that are distinguished by how broadly and profoundly they have adopted and applied American business school practices. Thus, the responses of the different business school groups differ from one another and can therefore be characterized as imitation, transmutation, and compromization.

Table 2
Americanization under academic logic: Finland

FINLAND	Tier 1	Tier 2	Tier 3
Example schools	ASB	Hanken, OBS	LUT, JSBE, TSE, ÅA, UV, UEF, UTA
Superstructure			
<i>Governance logic</i>	Wealthy and reputable 'national flagship' business school located in the capital city: ASB at Aalto University	Stable business schools with distinguishable national status and mission	Stable business schools at regional universities
	Primary funding sources include state budget funding, large industrial endowments, MBA program tuition fees	Primary funding source state budget funding	Primary funding source is state budget funding
	Powerful board of trustees chaired by internationally known business leaders	Increasingly powerful board of trustees of local business people and civil servants	Increasingly powerful board of trustees of local business people and civil servants
<i>Reputation sources</i>	Increasing resources allocated to international brand-building	Serious attempts to become known internationally	Attempts to become known internationally
	ASB 'triple crown' accredited, and ranked in <i>FT</i> top 75 list in Europe	Hanken holds EQUIS, OBS holds AACSB	Some have program-based accreditations (e.g., EPAS, AMBA). Some are AACSB-members, some in the process of gaining AACSB/ EQUIS accreditation
Research			
	Increasing recruitment of faculty with top business school educational background	Increasing attempts to recruit international faculty	Attempts to recruit international faculty
<i>Faculty</i>	Research merits primarily in A-level American journals	Research merits in A- and B-level American and European journals	Research merits in A- and B-level American and European journals
	Highly demanding tenure-track system Strict emphasis on A-level publications with the "help" of newly hired foreign faculty	Tenure-track system development in progress Both A- and B-level publications are valid	Tenure-track system development in progress Both A- and B-level publications are valid
<i>Research vs. teaching activities</i>	Low teaching loads for the faculty members that are on tenure-track	Relatively low teaching loads for tenured faculty	Relatively low teaching loads for tenured faculty
Education			
	Highly selective national and international student admission and recruitment of master's students from regional universities	Relatively selective national student admission, challenges in attracting and retaining the most talented and brand-conscious business school students	Relatively selective national student admission, challenges in attracting and retaining the most talented and brand-conscious business school students
<i>Students</i>	Career-oriented students increasingly conscious of the ASB brand	Students seek admission to universities in cities that are considered attractive places to live and study	Students seek admission to universities in cities that are considered attractive places to live and study
	Full implementation of a two-tiered	Superficial implementation of a two-	Superficial implementation of a two-

	degree structure, emphasis on the two-year master's program	tiered degree structure	tiered degree structure
<i>Curriculum</i>	American textbooks and A-level journals as the primary course material	American textbooks and European and American journal articles as the primary course material	American textbooks and European and American journal articles as the primary course material

Because the business school system in Finland tends to be highly homogeneous due to the strict, unifying state regulations (governance logic) that all of the university-level institutions in the country have been exposed to for a number of decades, the main factor that generates differences in the Tier 1, 2, and 3 business schools' Americanization responses seems to be the schools' efforts to build their reputations among international audiences (reputation sources). In building international brand and reputation, accreditation in particular can be viewed as a necessary first step that many Finnish business schools have either taken or aspire to take. However, although by definition superstructure-level elements are a part of the longer timeframe, accreditation is highly dependent on the Americanization of business schools' research and education-related practices. Therefore, the AACSB accreditation in particular has a powerful influence on the schools' faculty recruitment and promotion criteria (faculty, research and teaching activities) as well as the study program structures and assurance of student learning (students, curriculum) during the accreditation process, particularly after the quality label has been awarded.

First, as also indicated by its accreditation activity, we define Aalto University School of Business (ASB, formerly the Helsinki School of Economics) as a Tier 1 school. The "triple-crown" accredited ASB has imitated the American business school model in a very pedantic and enthusiastic manner. As the Finnish predecessor of business education, ASB also made the decision for its domestic imitators to a certain extent. This type of behavior has been resulted in an incorporated American practice that then gradually gained symbolic and substantive acceptance across Finland. Similar to a Tier 1 school at the super-structural level, Aalto University was declared a national flagship project for developing a world-class research university in a short period of time. The new Universities Act propelled by the Government and the Finnish Confederation of Industries created vast global reputation-building pressures (Aula & Tienari, 2011), thus accelerating the Americanization process. Furthermore, the new private form, exceptionally large endowments and public capitalizing enhanced ASB's opportunities to strengthen its ranking position and brand, hire new world-class faculty and truly start a global campaign for climbing to the "top," looking to Harvard Business School and MIT as its primary role models. In terms of research, the new tenure track system formed the core of reforms. As a response, the renewal of contracts and promotions was based on publications primarily in American A-journals. Finally, along with superstructure and research reforms, the new educational agenda included the true implementation of the two-tier degree structure, a greater emphasis on master's level education and a clearer course material focus on A-level American journals.

In contrast to the Tier 1 institution (ASB), the Tier 2 schools appear slightly more resistant to imitation of American business school practices. Hanken, for instance, has maintained its stand-alone governance structure and a tenure-track and faculty promotion system with less American influence. The recently AACSB-accredited Oulu Business School (OBS) may also be classified as a Tier 2 school, alt-

though its response to Americanization represents a somewhat clearer form of transmutation than that of Hanken. However, as the second AACSB-accredited school in the country, and similar to ASB, OBS has adopted and implemented a US-based quality assurance system that is likely to spread the American influence across the remainder of the institutional superstructure, and research and education-based practices.

In addition to the Tier 1 and Tier 2 schools that appear as forerunners of Americanization, other non-accredited business schools across the country are referred to as Tier 3 schools. These latecomers to Americanization – two capital city-based business schools (ASB and Hanken)– have not received much government funding or industrial endowments, and neither school has compensated for this disadvantage by acquiring external project funding to complete the expensive accreditation process (OBS). This resource and endowment imbalance will likely further expand the gap between the different business school groups. Although it is still difficult to say how many Tier 3 schools (some of which are currently undergoing the AACSB accreditation process) will eventually be granted an AACSB quality label, as of now, these institutions appear to be following compromise-based Americanization approaches. Thus, their practices are blended versions that combine features from the traditional Finnish system and the American business school model translated by national forerunners, primarily ASB.

The Americanization of business education in the UAE

The establishment of the higher education system and the import of Western university practices, 1970–1995

When the UAE federation was formed in 1971, there was not a single university, and university-level education therefore had to be sought abroad (Mahani & Molki, 2011; Wilkins, 2010). Students typically went to neighboring Arab countries, where since the 1960s, universities had offered US-style business education with American curricula delivered by US-educated Egyptian-Iraqi academics (Ali & Camp, 1995; Findlow, 2005). Europe and the US were also popular destinations. Returning students who had been exposed to American-style academic education tended to be employed in the public sector. In particular, several key Emirati officials went to Egypt to study, including a Cairo University alumnus, Abdulla Omar bin Taryam, who became the UAE's first Minister of Education in 1972 (Findlow, 2005).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Gulf states began academic cooperation projects that involved initiatives such as international exchanges of professors and consultants, and there were even plans to establish joint Gulf Cooperation Council universities. However, these attempts decreased as the nationalist movements in the Gulf states arose. Consequently, these states started to establish national flagship universities in the 1970s to promote their national identities. Because of the lack of a university system, the newly established UAE suffered from a lack of knowledge about academic administration, and there was no strictly indigenous model or even infrastructure for modern higher education. Because the colonial experiences of the UAE were rather shallow and the nation had been exposed to many foreign, not only British, in-

fluences during the British supremacy period, it considered foreign influences to be mainly positive for its development. Therefore, the UAE looked to educational models from abroad in seeking to establish its first university. Unlike many other fully colonized nations, UAE did not inherit the British education model, and because of its vast oil wealth, development aid did not play a role in the building of its educational system (Burden-Leahy, 2009). Thus, the UAE's socio-economic status enabled it to freely choose elements for its education models.

Despite the ideal of promoting Arab national identity, the education system in the UAE was first planned around the British model. However, certain features of the French system were also considered (Findlow, 2006). When designing its first university in the 1970s, the UAE invited consultants from prestigious British universities such as Oxford and from the British Council to take part in the planning (Kirk & Napier, 2009). However, despite the strong British influence during the planning stage, the influence of the American model soon predominated due to regional pressures because the US model was already being used in neighboring Arab countries (Findlow, 2005) and the fact that many key Emiratis had obtained their PhDs in the US.

UAE nationals went to the US for higher education and to get their PhDs [in the past]. I think this could be one of the reasons why they implemented the American system here. Also, Americans are known for their business schools. They invented this science. (Informant E, 2011)

The first university, the United Arab Emirates University (UAEU), opened in 1976 with six schools, one of which was a business school. The UAEU was founded with the aim of developing a federal institution with an Arab-Islamic identity and a focus on intellect and science that would contribute significantly to the development of the modern UAE and that would utilize national resources—"the people, the heritage, Islamic values, as well as economic resources of the United Arab Emirates" (United Arab Emirates University, 2011). Thus, the original mission of promoting local Emirati values was strong.

Because of the lack of domestic professors, the UAEU was largely staffed by expatriate professors from other Arab countries who had consistently produced a surplus of PhD graduates (Bahgat, 1999; Findlow, 2005). For example, four of the UAEU's former seven vice chancellors were of Egyptian origin. Initially, the university only enrolled men, but a female-only campus was opened soon after (Burden-Leahy, 2009). Thus, the UAEU initially resembled the old Arab universities, such as those found in Egypt and Kuwait, featuring traditional Islamic norms such as gender-segregated campuses, which are still used at the undergraduate level. In addition, as late as the 1980s, all of the teaching conducted at the university was still in Arabic. Therefore, although the university had adopted certain elements of the UK and US educational systems, namely in substance and organizational form, the Western influence was initially superficial and low.

The UAE system was indirectly influenced by the American model via other Arab states that had already adopted US curricula, which were considered superior as a basis for business education at the time. Thus, imitating foreign models was considered part of educational modernization and was therefore politically accepta-

ble (Burden-Leahy, 2009; Findlow, 2006). In fact, the American system was perceived as “the epitome of modernism and globalism”, which the UAE government regarded as a good direction for the future (Findlow, 2005, p. 298). Advanced and middle income developing countries seek out foreign educational models intentionally, often through the use of foreign experts or consultants (Johnson, 2006). In a similar manner, the UAE government has used the expertise of American consulting agencies and foreign educational advisors to modernize the country’s education at all levels, especially during the past two decades (Warnica, 2011).

The UAEU system is based on the American system, one hundred per cent, but not from the very beginning. That happened only in the early nineties. The whole system [suddenly] transitioned to an American model, more or less. (Informant F, 2011).

The 1990s were a turning point in the UAE’s socioeconomic development in many ways. The First Gulf War strengthened the political and economic ties between the UAE and the US. Furthermore, economic growth and increasing demand for professional degrees required the expansion of higher education in the UAE. As a result, a second federal institution, the Higher Colleges of Technology (HCT), was established (Witte, 2010). Currently, the HCT includes 16 campuses around the UAE, and it now holds university status.

Until the 1990s, the Ministry of Education was largely staffed by Egyptians who favored more traditional Arab-style education (Findlow, 2005). After the establishment of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MoHESR) under the Ministry of Education in 1991, the education system was reformed. The influence of the more traditional Arab countries with established university systems was replaced by the influence of models found in the US, Canada, UK, Australia, and other Gulf states (Findlow, 2005), which affected the curriculum and teaching methods. One of the outcomes of this reform was a shift in the language of instruction from Arabic to English in certain fields. Although more traditional programs such as Sharia law and Islamic studies were still taught in Arabic by Arab professors, ‘modern’ subjects such as business studies were taught in English by western-educated Arab expatriates or by westerners.

Because of the shift to English [as the language] of instruction, the UAEU was in a position to bring in American professors who didn’t speak Arabic or spoke only English. This created a whole different demographic within the university as far as professors are concerned. (Informant F, 2012)

Adopting English as a teaching language was more difficult in some of the more traditional universities, such as the UAEU, which were the institutions of choice for traditionally minded students and their families. In institutions such as the HCT, English was used almost exclusively from the beginning. Zayed University initially planned to teach equally in Arabic and English, but in practice, only a minority of subjects was taught in Arabic, as English had gained popularity. Furthermore, in business studies, adopting English-language instruction was even easier because English had become the lingua franca for business. The transition from Arabic to English instruction in business education in the UAE was therefore relatively rapid.

Attempts to imitate the American business school model, 1995–2005

The increasing number of students seeking admission to universities in the UAE created new challenges for the higher education system from the mid-1990s onward. Despite the opening of a third federal university, Zayed University, in 1998, capacity was substantially lower than demand. In addition, although expatriates represented the majority of the population, federal institutions were only allowed to enroll UAE citizens. The solution was to open the market to foreign universities and allow the foundation of private institutions. The UAE became the first Gulf country to authorize private higher education (Coffman, 2003).

The American business school model became a more dominant model for new business schools in the UAE from the mid-1990s onward. This was a straightforward, state-driven decision (but led by foreign advisors; see Warnica 2011). For instance, at Zayed University, an American curriculum was used from the beginning (Mills, 2008). Moreover, several private universities, such as American University in Dubai and the American University of Sharjah (AUS), were established according to the American model, the latter as an affiliate of the American University in Washington via the American University of Beirut. In fact, between 1995 and 2000, five of the six new universities were established on an American model⁴, two of them even explicitly named as “American” universities. These “American” universities are local, privately owned coeducational universities that have grown in number ever since. They follow US curricula and teaching standards, use primarily English as the language of instruction, and have loose ties to the US; some are even AACSB accredited. It is also typical for AACSB-accredited institutions to recruit North American faculty with PhDs from AACSB-accredited universities. For these “American” universities, Americanization involved an explicit decision to adopt most of the features of the US model in terms of the superstructure and education. However, research activities have played a secondary role in these teaching-oriented institutions.

For example, the American University of Sharjah has an American system. They brought in the whole [US] system and then just implemented it. There was really not [any gradual] evolution as occurred at the UAE University [in terms of Americanization]. (Informant G, 2011).

However, despite the adoption of the entire US model at these “American” universities, in practice, the extensiveness of the adoption of the American model and ethos varies. Although some of the most prestigious local American universities in the UAE have broadly and profoundly imitated elements of the American system in superstructure and education, the level of adoption in other institutions is lower. In those schools, restrained by resources, the American practices are mainly limited to the substance of education (curricula, the language of instruction), but not to the superstructure or research.

Towards the late 1990s, despite the resistance of large proportions of Egyptian and Saudi staff, local institutions increasingly began to reflect western educational principles. Several public and private local higher education institutions established

⁴The exception is the University of Sharjah, which was established according to traditional Arabic educational values.

high-profile partnerships with overseas institutions and commercial corporations. For instance, the HCT established affiliations with universities in the UK, Canada, France, Australia, and the US (Findlow, 2005). One major reason for this international cooperation was the drive for international accreditation, especially accreditation by American institutions, which further drove the Americanization process.

The UAE University became accredited by AACSB. This is one of the means for [the university] to become an internationally recognized institution. [The university is] also forming partnerships with foreign universities, most recently with Cambridge University. They have joint programs that they offer together. And, of course, [the university hires] international faculty. Currently, international faculty members make up the largest portion of the faculty. Regarding students, because this is a federal university, it mainly serves UAE nationals, but it still accepts international students. Actually, that is one of the requirements for accreditation by AACSB [having international students, instructors and professors]. (Informant H, 2011).

At the turn of the millennium, superstructure-level Americanization, manifested in university rankings, reputation and accreditation issues, became increasingly important for universities in the UAE. All three federal institutions started to seek accreditation, first from US regional accrediting bodies such as the North Central Accreditation body and later from international accrediting bodies, mainly the AACSB (Godwin, 2006; Findlow, 2005; Wilkins, 2010). AACSB accreditation was suddenly more achievable because the organization changed its evaluation criteria after 1992 as it went international, changing the evaluation of institutions based on their mission (Durand & McGuire, 2005). The first business school in the UAE to receive AACSB accreditation was the College of Business and Economics at the UAEU in 2000 as a teaching-oriented institution, according to its mission. Moreover, American quality assurance bodies were used as benchmarks for developing national quality assurance bodies under the Ministry of Education, thus revealing a wholesale use of the American accreditation standards as models for higher education institutions.

Dominating American influence, 2005- The Present

After 2003, the number of new business schools in the UAE grew rapidly because of changes in Dubai's economic policy and the establishment of free zones for the education and financial sectors (Lane, 2011). Newly established education-free zones were occupied largely by new entrants that were primarily foreign business schools. After the establishment of the Dubai International Financial Centre (DIFC) free zone in 2005, the growth in the UAE's financial sector has been very rapid, creating a massive demand for US-style MBA graduates, especially in the fields of banking and finance. Essentially, the purpose of DIFC was to make Dubai the central trading hub in the Middle East and to set up the Dubai Financial Exchange (Nasra & Dacin, 2010).

The nearly exponential growth in the number of business schools between 2005 and 2008 (see Appendix A) is consistent with the overall economic growth of in the UAE (Alajoutsijärvi et al., 2014). During this time, the UAE witnessed an educational gold rush as dozens of foreign universities, mainly business schools, entered the country, making it the world's largest host of foreign branch campuses (Lane, 2011). Consequently, the local American-inspired business school system now operates

alongside non-American, world-class business schools, such as the London Business School, INSEAD and the Cass Business School as well as numerous other foreign universities and business schools that have opened branch campuses in the country.

Curiously, as the UAE education landscape has expanded largely via non-American branch campuses, local universities have begun to implement more American practices. Since the 1990s, Western-educated academics have increasingly filled the faculty positions at federal universities, and the proportion of Emiratis in academic faculty positions other than administrative positions is small (Mills, 2008). Furthermore, federal universities have experienced pressure to Americanize as foreign branch campuses increasingly appeal to UAE nationals as well as to expatriates.

The dominant education model here is the American model; that's for sure. But then we have a little bit of everything else [as well], and then there is [for example] the American University in Dubai, but that's more of a local university with ties to the USA. There's no ban on using the word 'American' there. (Informant F, 2012)

Part of the explanation for a more profound adaptation of the American model was related to external evaluations, namely the release of the World Economic Forum's 2007 Global Competitiveness Report, which revealed the poor educational performance of Arab countries. After this report was released, to improve their quality, gaining international accreditation was made a mandate for local business schools by the UAE Ministry of Education (Mills, 2008). The UAE wanted to simultaneously establish itself as a knowledge-based economy, and focused extensively on turning the flagship institution, the UAEU, into a world-class university. These modernization attempts to increase the overall quality of UAE's higher education, coupled with their attempt to compete on a global scale and appear in global rankings, increased the recruitment of Western (mostly American) faculty and deans with professional experience at AACSB-accredited business schools. In addition, American corporate consultants were utilized in the re-structuring of UAEU and Zayed University in system-wide development, such as the implementation of more efficient management systems, the restructuring of the disciplinary departments and also in adopting an outcomes-based academic program model.

"The university hired outside consultants, but they were not consultants specializing in academic structures. Additionally, for example in the Chancellor's office, they have advisers also. Most of these advisers are not local people. They are either hired from outside or they promote a [foreign] faculty member to become an advisor". (Informant I, 2014).

Currently, two local business schools appear in the QS World University rankings among the top 400 universities: UAEU and AUS, holding positions 385 and 390, respectively. Furthermore, four local business schools in the UAE hold AACSB accreditation: UAEU (in Business, since 2000; in Accounting, since 2014), the University of Dubai (in Business, since 2009; in Accounting, since 2014), AUS (in Business, since 2011), and Zayed University (in Business, since 2013) (AACSB International, 2014). In addition, a vast majority of local business schools (9) are non-accredited AACSB International members (ibid.). As more institutions have gained AACSB accreditation,

or if they plan to pursue the accreditation, they have begun endorsing the American model and its American standards.

There are currently attempts to assess the success of implementation of foreign educational models in the UAE and finding a balance with the requirements of modernization through foreign influences while maintaining traditional Islamic values, which has sparked academic discussion on the current state of the education landscape.

Nobody has reviewed this objectively [whether the American education model is performing well]; the thing is that when you provide a [foreign] curriculum, you have to make changes in society to accommodate it. They should review [the American model] now and see whether it is working or not. (Informant F, 2012).

UAE business school responses to Americanization: imitation, compromization, transmutation, and imposterization

Compared to academic logic higher education systems, such as that in Finland, where we defined three tiers of business schools in terms of their Americanization, the business schools in the UAE can be divided into four groups (Tiers 1-4, see Table 3) based on different business school responses: imitation, transmutation, compromization, and imposterization.

Table 3
Americanization under market logic: The UAE

UAE	Tier 1	Tier 2	Tier 3	Tier 4
Example schools	UAEU	AUS, Zayed University, University of Dubai	Abu Dhabi University, University of Sharjah, British University in Dubai, Canadian University	Examples: American University in the Emirates, Al Hosn University
Superstructure				
<i>Governance logic</i>	Federally sponsored wealthy flagship institution Powerful board of trustees of ministers, deans, professors and local businessmen	Zayed University is a federal university, AUS and U of Dubai are semi-federal universities Funding from the federal government, local ruler or industry. Powerful board of trustees of local businessmen and civil servants	Private local universities Self-funded on tuition fees, sometimes supported by industry Powerful board of trustees of local businessmen and civil servants	Private local universities Self-funded on tuition fees Powerful board of trustees of local businessmen and civil servants
<i>Reputation sources</i>	Increasing resource allocation for international brand-building and increasing research focus Ranked among the top 370-440 universities in the QS World University Rankings. Accredited by AACSB	Mainly national or regional reputation across the GCC Accredited by AACSB	Mainly national reputation Some institutions are non-accredited members of AACSB	Local Emirate-level reputation Some have membership of AACSB but applying for accreditation is unlikely
Research				
<i>Faculty</i>	Preference to recruit native English speaking faculty from AACSB accredited institutions. Competitive faculty salaries.	International faculty, preference to recruit native English speaking faculty from AACSB accredited institutions.	Faculty mainly from MENA region and Indian subcontinent.	Faculty mainly from MENA region and Indian subcontinent.

	<p>Recruitment of experienced Emiratis, particularly in higher management positions.</p> <p>Tenure track only for applicable Emiratis. Expatriate professors typically have four-year contracts.</p>	<p>No tenure track except for Emiratis. Expatriates are typically on three-year contracts or their contracts are renewed each academic year.</p>	<p>No tenure track except for Emiratis. Expatriates are typically on three-year contracts or their contracts are renewed each academic year.</p>	<p>Mostly short contracts</p>
<i>Research vs. teaching activities</i>	<p>Research published in international journals is merited. Research intensive faculty spend less time on teaching compared to non-research faculty</p>	<p>Although these institutions are teaching oriented, there is some amount of research activities. Research is mainly practically oriented to serve the local business community</p>	<p>Focus is on providing undergraduate and graduate education, typically less research outputs</p>	<p>Teaching-focus on offering vocationally-oriented programs. Minimal research activities</p>
Education				
<i>Students</i>	<p>Educating local students, but MBA and DBA programs also accept international students</p> <p>This university is the first-choice option for most conservative students and their family. Tuition and boarding are free of cost. Very selective admission process based on scores in English proficiency tests such as TOEFL and IELTS as well as GPA.</p> <p>Post-graduate level students are very career-oriented and increasingly conscious of their empowerment and the value of the MBA/DBA degree.</p>	<p>Federal schools in this category primarily cater to Emirati students. Emirati students apply to private schools if they are not admitted to their first-choice federal school or if they want an "American" degree. Non-Emirati students choose these institutions because of their national and regional reputation</p> <p>Selective admission process based on scores in English proficiency tests such as TOEFL and IELTS as well as GPA.</p>	<p>Recruitment of domestic and international students.</p> <p>Criteria for entry a combination of sufficient level of performance in English proficiency tests such as TOEFL and IELTS as well as GPA. Most students are eligible for applying for financial aid from the institution</p>	<p>Recruitment of domestic and international students.</p> <p>Lax student admission with low minimum criteria for eligibility. Test scores of English proficiency tests such as TOEFL and IELTS are often more important criteria for entry than GPA.</p>
<i>Curriculum</i>	<p>Full implementation of a two-tiered degree structure and US semester system.</p> <p>American textbooks and cases as the primary course material. Learning is measured by AACSB instruments</p>	<p>Degree structure varies among different schools. Most of the schools follow a two-tiered degree structure and US semester system</p> <p>Emphasis on vocationally oriented degrees, particularly BBA and MBA degrees</p> <p>American textbooks and cases as the primary course material</p>	<p>Degree structure varies among different schools. Most of the schools follow a two-tiered degree structure and US semester system</p> <p>Emphasis on vocationally oriented degrees, particularly BBA and MBA degrees</p> <p>American textbooks and cases as the primary course material. Learning is not measured by any rigor measurements.</p>	<p>Most of the schools follow a two-tiered degree structure and US semester system</p> <p>Emphasis on vocationally oriented undergraduate degrees programs, particularly BBA</p> <p>American textbooks and cases as the primary course material. Learning is not measured by any rigor measurements.</p>

As a result of the market logic, the entire education system in the UAE has become more responsive to socio-economic development and needs due to the education system's relative youth and the absence of long traditions; thus, it has produced mainly vocationally oriented degree programs, primarily in business. The entire higher education system in the UAE has been established completely within global markets and neoliberal frameworks (Warnica, 2011, p.186) that have been fruitful settings for different forms of Americanization. The UAE business school system currently consists of local universities and foreign business schools. The presence of foreign institutions has undeniably accelerated the rate of Americanization in local institutions.

Because the business school system in the UAE is highly heterogeneous, owing largely to the decentralized governance logic of higher education, which has enabled Emirate-specific legislation guiding the provision of higher education, the differences among the Tier 1, 2, 3 and 4 business schools are notable. Americanization responses seem to be defined largely by the resources of a given institution as well as its level of prestige (reputation sources) among internal audiences. The resources of an institution seem to determine whether a given institution is teaching or research-oriented and set boundaries for prestige building. Leading wealthy domestic business schools have been able to build their prestige further through international accreditations and media rankings.

The characteristics of Tier 1 schools, occupied by the national flagship institution, UAEU, are found on a superstructure-level. UAEU, financed entirely by the UAE government, aims to become a world-class, research-intensive institution closely imitating the ideal type of US business school model. The school's Americanized practices were previously only visible in the superstructure and education practice categories but the institution is building its research activities to improve its rankings, a prerequisite for becoming a world-class institution.

Compared to Tier 1, Tier 2 business schools, through their superstructure, are more strained in their Americanization, resource-wise. Tier 2 is occupied by nationally prestigious, AACSB-accredited business schools: AUS, University of Dubai and Zayed University. AUS is partly funded by the Ruler of Sharjah and the University of Dubai is partly funded by the Dubai Chamber of Commerce. Although Zayed University is a federal institution and fully funded by the UAE government, it is a liberal arts university and thus is not expected to compete in the global prestige race in the same manner as the domestic flagship school, UAEU. Thus, Zayed University is not as generously funded as UAEU. Due to limited resources, Tier 2 schools have not been able to implement all of the characteristics of the American ideal model. Instead, they have selectively focused on achieving the most prestigious signal of the American model: AACSB accreditation. This, in turn, has naturally required structural changes to the American model in the practice categories of research (preference for faculty members recruited from AACSB schools that have proven research merits). However, as part of the market logic, these institutions are not research-focused. Thus, their response to Americanization is in line with transmutation.

Tier 3 "Compromization" is rather similar to the transmutation response of Americanization. However, whereas Tier 2 schools are regarded as prestigious institutions because they are partly funded by highly legitimate sources, Tier 3 schools are largely self-funded, although sometimes supported by local industry or wealthy businessmen. Furthermore, these business schools are compromises between local and foreign educational models. For example, British University in Dubai is a compromise with Emirati and British educational values and Canadian University of Dubai is a compromise between Emirati and Canadian educational values. The other schools in this category are compromises between Emirati and American models, which is visible in these business schools' interest in becoming AACSB members (see Appendix A) and in the fact that their programs are often developed in conjunction with North American Universities. Thus, Tier 3 business schools have adopted certain American practices that are feasible, but which either resource-wise or govern-

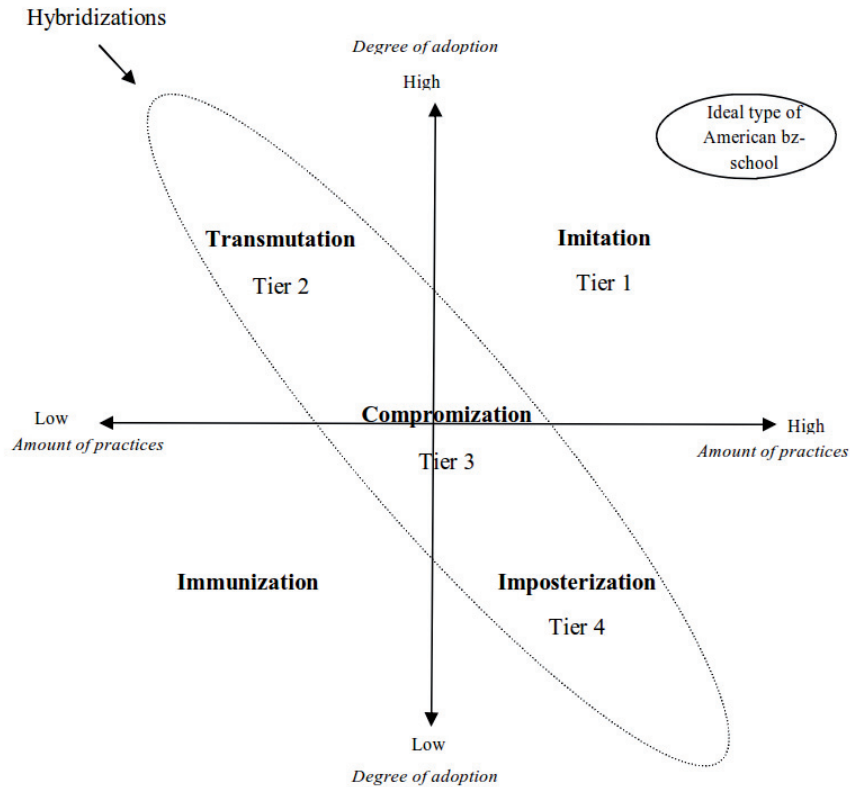
ance logic-wise have not implemented them as profoundly as the ones in the transmutation corner of the figure. They have mainly applied American practices in their curriculum, emphasizing American-style education and degrees (i.e., BBA, MBA).

Tier 4 consists of those local schools that have superficially implemented a large number of American practices, but because they are usually small, newly established schools with modest resources and local reputations, their response to Americanization has been superficial. An example is the American University in the Emirates, established in 2010. The schools in this category are teaching-oriented institutions with vocationally oriented, marketable undergraduate degree programs, mainly the BBA (Randall, 2011). The imposterization response is a result of borrowing American practices to appear “American” for marketing purposes. American-style education is in high demand among locals because many Emiratis hold a tremendous positive opinion of the American educational system. Thus, adoption of a large number of American practices, even naming the institution as an “American University,” is used as a selling point to signal modernity and a certain level of quality, and is used to appeal to students whom prefer American degrees. However, this type of Americanization, although broad in the number of adopted elements, does not resemble the ideal type of US business school but rather a teaching-oriented US trade school. These schools often engage in “pre-packaged” education, such as a fixed set of learning materials (occasionally even franchised from prestigious Western business schools) and standardized programs according to American curriculums.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

The selected case countries and their higher education systems represent two competing institutional logics: academic logic and market logic. Through our analysis of the two cases, we conceptualized how higher education systems built on these different institutional logics produce a variety of responses to Americanization. We were able to identify five different business school responses to Americanization based on previous literature on Americanization and our comparative analysis: imitation, transmutation, compromization, imposterization, and immunization. Due to the global spread of the US management education model, the immunization form of Americanization hardly exists, whereas imitation, transmutation and compromization are typical responses. Although an exact measurement of the Americanization of business schools in Finland and the UAE is not possible or even necessary, Figure 2 illustrates how different Tiers of business schools tend to respond to Americanization.

Figure 2



Imitation

Both countries' national flagship institutions (Tier 1), which are typically leading research universities (Altbach, 2009) are often the first to adopt international practices and currently resemble imitation (see Figure 2). Education systems under academic logic, as illustrated by the Finnish case, tend to use top research-oriented American business schools as their primary role model. In both Finland and the UAE, the most recent state-created momentum for Americanization was created by the governments as they work towards transforming the national flagships universities into world class universities. The aim of establishing world class institutions typically requires vast resources and legal changes (Salmi, 2009). Curiously, even though both Aalto University and UAEU aim to become world-class institutions, they have different conceptions of how to do so. This is explained by the dominant institutional logic. Enabled by university legislation changes and an exceptional increase in resources, Aalto University was benchmarked against and developed in line with major US research universities, particularly Harvard and MIT (Aula & Tienari 2011, p.17). The euphoria surrounding Aalto University appears to have even created an opportunity for a "symbolic break with the past" (see Aula & Tienari, 2011, p.13) and the development of a new American *modus operandi*. However, UAEU has made providing high quality undergraduate education geared towards "preparing graduates to be pioneers and leaders in their areas of specialization", its main tactic for

achieving world-class institution (United Arab Emirates University, 2014). Research activities come second in the order of importance and are focused “in the areas of national and regional importance” (ibid).

Thus, there is a clear difference between business schools in these two countries relates to their research emphases, which affects teaching loads and promotion practices. In market-oriented logic, such as in the UAE, teaching-oriented American universities or even community colleges are the primary role models. For instance, compared to any Finnish business school, the business schools in the UAE, including those calling themselves “research-intensive”, are still primarily focused on teaching. This difference reflects the Humboldtian origin of the Finnish higher education system and the Finnish interpretation of the US business education model.

Transmutation, Compromization, and Imposterization

We argue that the academic logic that defines the original purpose and integrity of a university and its business school forms a buffer that will likely generate resistance to foreign influences on national university traditions; in contrast, market logic is inherently more open to all types of foreign influences aligned with profit-making. Depending on the institutional logic, adoption outcomes may vary from transmutation to compromization and to imposterization. Furthermore, although imitation, compromization, and transmutation responses occur both in Finland and the UAE, differences in these responses exist at the level of the adopted business school practices.

Typically, Tier 2 schools consciously imitate the practices of domestic Tier 1 schools and are also often fascinated with the concept of world-class institutions in their mission statements but are often in a poorer position in terms of their resources and prestige, which keeps them from reaching the same level of emulation as the Tier 1. Tiers 3 and 4 also imitate domestic Tier 1, but with even fewer resources and prestige, their realistic approach to Americanization is more superficial and narrower in terms of superstructure, research and education, thus low. Thus, depending on the amount and depth of adopted American practices, they resemble the compromization type of Americanization, and in the UAE, imposterization as well (see Figure 2).

The findings of our comparative study aimed to develop theory on Americanization. First, we reviewed the extant literature to develop a systematic framework for conceptualizing responses to Americanization. The framework aimed to conceptualize Americanization in different institutional logics in academic systems. Empirical evidence on Americanization in two conflicting institutional logics was found in both case constructs through the historical narratives of Finland and the UAE. The case narratives were analyzed through the framework to understand how and why business schools in non-American countries adopt the American business school model. The ultimate motives for Americanization were found in education policies and global competition for prestige that business schools, within the boundaries of their resources, aim to achieve. We also aimed to understand why differences in Americanization levels within specific countries exist. As the case narratives were translated through the framework, we were able to identify certain tiers of business schools with distinct responses to Americanization.

These findings supported our initial proposition that Americanization in different institutional logics has manifested at different rates, and the responses of business schools explain why there is significant variation within a country in the amount of Americanization that has been adopted. Additionally, the findings revealed an unusual and previously unidentified approach to Americanization: Imposition, which is a natural response in market logic systems as a marketing strategy and a response to high demand for “American” education. However, we argue that such a type of Americanization is unlikely to emerge in education systems with academic logic. In countries with academic logic, institutions decoupling their true organizational practices from their façades would be short-lived due to the scrutiny of external referents.

REFERENCES

- AACSB (2011). *Globalization of management education: Changing international structures, adaptive strategies, and the impact of institutions*. UK: Emerald.
- AACSB International (2014). *Membership listings*. Retrieved from: <http://www.aacsb.edu/en/membership/listings/all-educational-members/>. Cited 15.6.2014.
- Airila, T. (2010). Kansainvälisiä opintoja – opiskelijat liikkeessä. In E. Pöykkö & V. Åberg (Eds.), *Tulkintoja, tosiasiota, tarinoita: Helsingin Kauppakorkeakoulun historiaa* (pp. 82–85). Helsinki: Aalto-yliopisto, Kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola, K. & Lamberg, J.-A. (2014). Institutional Logic of Business Bubbles: Lessons from the Dubai Business School Mania. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 13, 5–25.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola, K. & Siltaoja, M. (2013). Academic capitalism hits the fan: The birth of academic capitalism. In: Malin, V., Murphy, J. & Siltaoja, M. (Eds.), *Dialogues in critical management studies*. Emerald UK.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola, K. & Siltaoja, M. (2014). The legitimacy paradox of business schools: losing by gaining? *Academy of Management Learning & Education*. Published online before print February 18, 2014, doi: 10.5465/amle.2013.0106.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Kettunen, K. & Tikkanen, H. (2012). The Evolution of Business Schools as an Institution in Finland 1909-2009. *Management & Organizational History*, 7, 337–367.
- Friedland, R. & Alford, R. R. (1991). Bringing society back in: Symbols, practices, and institutional contradictions. In: W. W. Powel, & P.J. DiMaggio (Eds.). *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (pp. 232-263). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ali, A. J. & Camp, R. C. (1995). Teaching management in the Arab World: Confronting illusions. *The International Journal of Educational Management*, 9, 10-17.
- Altbach, P. G. (2003). American accreditation of foreign universities: Colonialism in action. Retrieved February 20 from <http://www.universite-toplum.org/summary.php3?id=171>.

- Altbach, P. G. (2009). Peripheries and centers: research universities in developing countries. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 10, 15-27.
- Altbach, P.G. (2011). Patterns of Higher Education. In: P.G. Altbach, P. J. Gumport & R.O. Berdahl (Eds.) *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: Social, Political, and Economic Challenges* (pp. 15-36). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Antunes, D. & Thomas, H. (2007). The competitive (dis) advantages of European business schools. *Long Range Planning*, 40, 382-404.
- Augier, M. & March, J. G. (2011). *The Roots, Rituals, and Rhetorics of Change: North American Business Schools After the Second World War*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Aula, H. M. & Tienari, J. (2011). Becoming "world-class"? Reputation-building in a university merger. *Critical Perspectives on International Business*, 7, 7-29.
- Bahgat, G. (1999). Education in the Gulf Monarchies: Retrospect and Prospect. *International Review of Education*, 45, 127-136.
- Bok, D. (2003). *Universities in the market place: The commercialization of higher education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Burden-Leahy, S. M. (2009). Globalisation and education in the postcolonial world: the conundrum of the higher education system of the United Arab Emirates. *Comparative Education*, 4, 525-544.
- Coffman, J. (2003). Higher education in the Gulf: Privatization and Americanization. In: P.G. Altbach & D.C. Levy (Eds.) *Private Higher Education: A Global Revolution* (pp. 255-260). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Dameron, S. & Durand, T. (2008). Management education and research in France. In T. Durand & S. Dameron (Eds.), *The future of business schools: Scenarios and strategies for 2020* (pp. 162-185). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Djelic, M.-L. & Amdam, R. P. (2007). Americanization in comparative perspective: The managerial revolution in France and Norway, 1940-1990. *Business History*, 49, 483-505.
- Durand, R., & McGuire, J. (2005). Legitimizing agencies in the face of selection: The case of AACSB. *Organization Studies*, 26, 165-196.
- Eisenhardt, K. M. & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory building from cases: opportunities and challenges. *Academy of management journal*, 50, 25-32.
- Engwall, L. (2000). Foreign role models and standardisation in Nordic business education. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 16, 1-24.
- Engwall, L. (2004). The Americanization of Nordic management education. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 13, 109-117.
- Engwall, L. (2007). The anatomy of management education. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 23, 4-35.
- Engwall, L. (2009). *Mercury meets Minerva. Business studies and higher education. The Swedish case.* (2nd extended ed.). Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd.
- Fauri, F. (1998). British and Italian management education before the Second World War: A comparative analysis. In L. Engwall & V. Zamagni (Eds.), *Management education in historical perspective* (pp. 34-49). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Fellman, S. (2007). From consolidation to competition – The development of modern management education in Finland, 1958-2000. *Nordiske Organisasjonsstudier*, 9, 13.
- Financial Times. (2011). European Business school rankings. Retrieved 18 March, 2011 from <http://rankings.ft.com/exportranking/european-business-school-rankings/pdf>.
- Findlow, S. (2005). International Networking in the United Arab Emirates Higher Education System: Global-Local Tensions. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 35, 285-302.
- Findlow, S. (2006). Higher education and linguistic dualism in the Arab Gulf. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27, 19-36.
- Gemelli, G. (1996). American influence on European management education: The role of Ford Foundation. In R. P. Amdam (Ed.), *Management, education and competitiveness: Europe, Japan and the United States* (pp. 38-68). London: Routledge.
- Ghoshal, S. (2005). Bad management theories are destroying good management practices. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 4, 75-91.
- Ginsberg, B. (2011). *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and Why It Matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Godwin, S. M. (2006). Globalization, Education and Emiratisation: A Study of the United Arab Emirates. *The Electronic Journal on Information Systems in Developing Countries*, 27, 1-14.
- Greve, H. R. (1998). Managerial Cognition and the Mimetic Adoption of Market Positions: What you see is what you do. *Strategic Management Journal*, 19, 967-988.
- Gumport, P. (2000). Academic Restructuring: Organizational Change and Institutional Imperatives, *Higher Education*. *The International Journal of Higher Education and Educational Planning*, 39, 67-91.
- Gutiérrez, I. & Ortega, J. (2008). Higher education in business: the case of Spain. In T. Durand & S. Dameron (Eds.), *The future of business schools: scenarios and strategies for 2020* (pp. 186-214). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jackall, R. (1988). *Moral Mazes: The World of Corporate Managers*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, D. (2006). Comparing the trajectories of educational change and policy transfer in developing countries. *Oxford Review of Education*, 32, 679-696.
- Jokinen, M. & Suominen, O. (2010). *Turun kauppakorkeakoulun kirjasto 1950–2005. Historiaa ja muistelmia*. Series C-1.
- Järvinen, K. (1907). *Yhteiskuntataloudellisia kirjoituksia IV: Kauppakorkeakoulukysymys ja sen ratkaisu Suomessa*. Helsinki: OsakeyhtiöKauppakirjapaino.
- Kettunen, K. (2013). *Management education in a historical perspective: The business school question and its solution in Finland*. Doctoral dissertation, *Acta Societatis Oeconomorum*.
- Kettunen, P. (1986). *Muinaisuuden myyttisistä hahmoista pienten valkoisten kääpiöiden aikaan – teoria ja käytäntö suomalaisen liiketaloustieteen historiassa*. Teesi 2/86 keskusteluakappatieteistä. Helsinki: Kauppätieteellinen yhdistys ry.

- Khurana, R. (2007). *From higher aims to hired hands: The social transformation of American business schools and the unfulfilled promise of management as a profession*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Khurana, R. & Penrice, D. (2011). Business education: The American Trajectory. In: M. Morsing & A. S. Rovira (Eds.), *Business Schools and their Contribution to Society* (pp. 3-15). London: Sage.
- Kieser, A. (2004). The Americanization of academic management education in Germany. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 13, 90-97.
- Kipping, M. (1998). The hidden business schools: Management training in Germany since 1945. In L. Engwall, & V. Zamagni (Eds.), *Management education in historical perspective* (pp. 95-110). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Kipping, M., Üsdiken, B. & Puig, N. (2004). Imitation, tension and hybridization: Multiple 'Americanizations' of management education in Mediterranean Europe. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 98-108.
- Kirk, D. & Napier, D. (2009). The transformation of higher education in the United Arab Emirates: Issues, implications, and intercultural dimensions. In J. Zajda, H. Daun & L. J. Saha (Eds.), *Nation-building, identity and citizenship education: Cross cultural perspectives* (pp. 131-142). Springer Science + Business Media B.V.
- Korpiaho, K., Päiviö, H. & Räsänen, K. (2007). Anglo-American forms of management education: a practice-theoretical perspective. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 23, 36-65.
- Kässi, T. (1978). *Liikkeenjohdon instituutti LIFIM: 20 vuotta liikkeenjohdon koulutusta Suomessa*. Jyväskylä: K. J. Gummerus Osakeyhtiö.
- Lane, J.E. (2011). Importing private higher education: International branch campuses. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 13, 367-381.
- Locke, R. (1989). *Management and higher education since 1940: The influence of America and Japan on West Germany, Great Britain, and France*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Locke, R. (1996). *Collapse of the American management mystique*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Locke, R. & Spender, J-C. (2011). *Confronting managerialism: How the business elite and their schools threw our lives out of balance*. London & New York: Zed Books.
- Mahani, S. & Molki, A. (2011). *Globalization of Higher Education in the United Arab Emirates*. Conference papers: The 2011 New Orleans International Academic Conference. New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Meyer, H.-D. (1998). The German Handelshochschulen 1898-1933. In L. Engwall, & V. Zamagni (Eds.), *Management education in historical perspective* (pp. 19-33). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Mills, A. (2008). Emirates look to the west for prestige. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 55, A1-A8.
- Mäkinen, I. (2000). ASLA-kirjat 50 vuotta. *Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston tiedotuslehti*, 3, 13-17.

- Nasra, R. & Dacin, M. T. (2010). Institutional arrangements and institutional entrepreneurship: The state as institutional entrepreneur. *Entrepreneurship Theory & Practice*, 34, 538–609.
- Neal, M. & Finlay, J. L. (2008). American hegemony and business education in the Arab world. *Journal of Management Education*, 32, 38–83.
- Pache, A.C. & Santos, F. (2013). Inside the hybrid organization: Selective coupling as a response to competing institutional logics. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56, 972–1001
- Perälä, T. (1975). *Turun Kauppakorkeakoulu 1950–1975*. Turku: Turun Kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Popp Berman, E. (2011). *Creating the Market University: How Academic Science Became an Economic Engine*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Randall, M. (2011). Global Trends and their Impact on Higher Education in the UAE. In J. Al-Suwaidi (Ed.), *Education in the UAE: Current Status and Future Developments* (pp. 183-205). Abu Dhabi: The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research.
- Ratilainen, T. (2010). Sata vuotta tutkimustoimintaa. In E. Pöykkö & V. Åberg (Eds.), *Tulkintoja, tosiasiota, tarinoita: Helsingin Kauppakorkeakoulun historiaa* (pp. 65–76). Helsinki: Aalto-yliopisto, Kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Saarsalmi, M. (1961). *Kauppakorkeakoulu 1911–1961: historiikki*. Kauppakorkeakoulu 1911–1961: historiikki, opettaja- ja virkailijamatrikkeli. Helsinki: OyWeilin & Göös Ab.
- Salmi, J. (2009). *The challenge of establishing world-class universities*. World Bank Publications.
- Sandström, H. (1977). *Handelshögskolan vid ÅboAkademi 1927–1977*. SkriftserietgivenavHandelshögskolan vid ÅboAkademi, serie A:18. Åbo: Handelshögskolan vid ÅboAkademi.
- Schultz, M. (2010). Reconciling pragmatism and scientific rigor. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 19, 274–277.
- Seeck, H. & Laakso, A. (2010). Adoption of managerial ideologies in Finnish academic management education 1960–2007. *Management & Organizational History*, 5, 37–64.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. (2011). Markets in Higher Education: Trends in Academic Capitalism. In P.G. Altbach, P.J. Gumport & R.O. Berdahl (Eds.), *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 433-463). Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Srinivas, N. (2008). Mimicry and Revival: The Transfer and Transformation of Management Knowledge to India, 1959–1990. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 38, 38–57.
- Strandgaard Petersen, J. & Dobbin, F. (2006). In Search of Identity and Legitimation: Bridging Organizational Culture and Neoinstitutionalism. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49, 879-907.
- Thornton, P. & Ocasio, W. (1999). Institutional Logics and the Historical Contingency of Power in Organizations: Executive Succession in the Higher Education Publishing Industry, 1958-1990. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, 801-843.

- Thornton, P. H. & Ocasio, W. (2008). Institutional Logics. In: R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby & K. Sahlin (Eds.), *Handbook of organizational institutionalism*, (pp. 99-129). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tiratsoo, N. (1998). Management education in postwar Britain. In L. Engwall, & V. Zamagni (Eds.), *Management education in historical perspective* (pp. 111-126). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Tiratsoo, N. (2004). The 'Americanization' of management education in Britain. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 13, 118-126.
- Tuchman, G. (2009). *Wannabe U: inside the corporate university*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- United Arab Emirates University.(2011). About the UAEU.Retrieved from:<http://www.uaue.ac.ae/about/>.Cited 3.6.2014.
- United Arab Emirates University. (2014). Strategic Plan 2014-2016. Retrieved from <http://www.uaeu.ac.ae/en/about/pdf/pages%20from%20plan%202014-2016-1%20.pdf>.Cited 3.6.2014
- Urmans, H. (2010). BBA-ohjelma – kansainvälistä kauppatieteiden opetusta. In E. Pöykkö & V. Åberg (Eds.), *Tulkintoja, tosiasioita, tarinoita: Helsingin Kauppakorkeakoulun historiaa* (pp. 53-56). Helsinki: Aalto-yliopisto, Kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Üsdiken, B. (2004). Americanization of European management education in historical and comparative perspective: a symposium. *Journal of management inquiry*, 13, 87-89.
- Üsdiken, B. (2007). Commentary: management education between logics and locations. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 23, 84-94.
- Vaara, E. & Fay, E. (2011). How can a Bourdieusian perspective aid analysis of MBA Education? *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 10, 27-39.
- Vironmäki, E. (2007). Academic marketing in Finland: Living up to conflicting expectations. PhD diss., Åbo Akademi University. *Acta Societatis Oeconomorum*, 2. Helsinki, Suomen Ekonomiliitto.Ph.D.thesis.
- Warnica, E.J. (2011). The Dilemma of Foreign Advisors in the UAE Education Sector. In J. Al-Suwaidi (Ed.), *Education in the UAE: Current Status and Future Developments* (pp. 171-182). Abu Dhabi: The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research.
- Wedlin, L. (2010). Going global: Rankings as rhetorical devices to construct an international field of management education.*Management Learning* 42 (2), 119-218.
- Wedlin, L. (2011). Crafting competition: Media rankings and the forming of a global market for business schools. *Education Inquiry*, 2, 563-579.
- Wilkins, S. (2010). Higher Education in the United Arab Emirates: An Analysis of the Outcomes of Significant Increases in Supply and Competition. *Journal of Higher Education Policy & Management*, 32, 389-400.
- Wilson, D. & McKiernan, P. (2011). Global Mimicry: Putting Strategic Choice Back on the Business School Agenda. *British Journal of Management*, 22, 457-469.
- Witte, S. (2010). Different emirates, different models: Creating global institutions in the Gulf states. In D. Obst & D. Kirk (Eds.), *Innovation through education:*

Building the knowledge economy in the Middle East (pp. 7-25). New York: Institute of International Education, AIFS Foundation.

III

INSTITUTIONAL LOGIC OF BUSINESS BUBBLES: LESSONS FROM THE DUBAI BUSINESS SCHOOL MANIA

by

Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Katariina Juusola & Juha-Antti Lamberg, 2014

Academy of Management Learning and Education, 13 (2): 5-25

Reproduced with kind permission by Academy of Management.

IV

ACADEMIC CAPITALISM HITS THE FAN: THE BIRTH OF ACAMANIC CAPITALISM

by

Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Katariina Juusola & Marjo Siltaoja, 2013

Dialogues in Critical Management Studies (2), 91-121.

Reproduced with kind permission by Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

**ACADEMIC CAPITALISM HITS THE FAN:
THE BIRTH OF ACAMANIC CAPITALISM**

Kimmo Alajoutsijärvi, Katariina Juusola, and Marjo Siltaoja (2013)

In: Virpi Malin, Jonathan Murphy, Marjo Siltaoja (Eds.), *Getting Things Done: Dialogues in Critical Management Studies*, Volume 2, pp. 91-121. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

We would like to thank our colleagues Ilkka Kauppinen and Juha-Antti Lamberg from University of Jyväskylä for their insightful comments and advices when writing this article.

ABSTRACT

The term 'academic capitalism' has gained research attention in the past 15 years. Research has focused on how traditional research universities, rooted in Humboldtian thinking, respond to and actively spread neoliberal tendencies and treat higher education policy as a subset of economic policy. However, these examinations have occurred in the context of a long tradition of educational regulation and a long academic heritage. We further develop the theory of academic capitalism by focusing on rarely examined forerunners of academic capitalism: namely, business schools. Our examples illustrate the existence of academic capitalism during the education gold rush in Dubai markets. We argue that as a result of free educational markets, a more extreme form of academic capitalism was developed, which we label *Acamanic Capitalism*. We illustrate three mutually reinforcing forces that are relevant to both academic capitalism and acamanic capitalism – corporatization, marketization, and globalization – and we discuss the content of both phenomena. We conclude by calling for critically oriented researchers to acknowledge acamanic capitalism and its role in the future of critical management education.

INTRODUCTION

"The faculty is feeling disempowered, that it has no voice in what is going on"

- Professor from Yale (Lewin, 2012)

"I was stunned by the announcement that we'd hooked up with this university. My first question was, 'Who's "we" – and why are "we" involved in developing a campus paid for by a national government that is not the United States?'"

- Professor from Yale (Lewin, 2012)

In 2011, Yale University announced that it was creating the "first new college to bear the Yale name in 300 years" at the National University of Singapore. This announcement surprised the members of the faculty, who expressed concern about the possibility that the plan would jeopardize the institution's legitimacy. The Yale faculty was never given the opportunity to vote on the plan, and they raised concerns about collaborating with an institution within an autocratic city-state in which drug offenses are punishable with the death penalty and homosexuality is illegal. The university's president responded to these critiques by explaining that the faculty was not given a vote on the project because it would not affect the university. The decision was approved by the Yale Corporation and its governing board (Dessoiff, 2011).

This example illustrates how academic missions have changed and how traditional constituent groups (faculty and students at the home campus) are being neglected in decision-making processes. These practices are part of a more profound transformation process and paradigm shift that is occurring in higher education (Singh, 2002), even at the most prestigious research universities. The concept of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; 2001, Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000) captures the essence of this transformation. In academic capitalism, traditional research universities apply neoliberal principles to higher education policy, treating it as a subset of economic policy (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000).

Academic capitalism encourages market-like behavior, with business schools a representative example of this approach. Although business schools are relative late-comers to academia, they currently represent the largest proportion of schools within academia. This dominance has given business schools the power to change the academy through bandwagons that spread to academia from the corporate world and business schools. A method of cherry-picking 'the best and easiest' tools from markets has transferred issues that used to be confined to markets to academia itself. Top-down management, constant efforts to intensify the flexibility of the work force, the abolition of tenure, the creation of empowered consumer-students, the use of predominantly market-driven research, and educational bubbles and bursts are becoming realities in business schools worldwide. Business school deans behave increasingly like CEOs, and professors have become managed service workers who interact on the front lines with empowered consumer-students. Academia is losing touch with its roots as corporate values and practices inexorably replace the values and logic that once defined the world's Humboldtian-style academic institutions. In the

short run, sensemaking *about* business schools will be much more meaningful than sensemaking *in* business schools.

However, events have occurred in the field of higher education that cannot be fully explained by the concept of academic capitalism. One of these examples is the 21st-century educational gold rush in Dubai that was led by foreign business schools (see Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola, & Lamberg, 2013). This endeavor was not about the transformation of prestigious research universities; rather, it provides an example of how higher education markets generate opportunities for business schools that these schools have not enjoyed in their home countries. We argue that academic capitalism can lead to *acamanic capitalism* – an extreme form of academic capitalism – in contexts that feature an insufficient academic heritage, few educational regulations, and low quality control.

To strengthen our argument, we discuss the unique case of Dubai, which created ‘truly free markets’ for foreign business schools. We focus on the difference between academic capitalism and acamanic capitalism by considering three organizational practices that are relevant to both: *corporatization*, *marketization*, and *globalization*. The worst of these three organizational practices emerges in acamanic capitalism, and we argue that these practices expand the corrosive effects of academic capitalism to all of academia.

We proceed as follows. First, we briefly discuss the Humboldtian origins of academia and the intended function of universities and business schools in the academic and practical world. We then illustrate the difference between the Humboldtian origins of university institutions and practices driven by academic capitalism in university institutions (see Table 1), and we discuss whether these approaches can ‘get things done’ from a CMS perspective. Next, we characterize the three organizational practices (*corporatization*, *marketization*, and *globalization*) in more detail and examine how they are linked to both academic capitalism and acamanic capitalism. We provide an example of acamanic capitalism in examining the events in Dubai (see Boxes 1-3). Our discussion of acamanic capitalism, academic capitalism, and the future of critical management education concludes the article.

From Humboldtian origins to academic capitalism

Medieval universities were intended to serve the goals of the church, but Immanuel Kant’s plan (1798) for the modern university was designed to serve the needs of emerging nation states. His plan was implemented in 1810 by Wilhelm von Humboldt University in Berlin. German higher education was financed by the state, which was responsible for research and played a key role in defining the ideology of new German society. For the first time, highly autonomous academic research became an integral part of the university. Later, the model was imported to America, where American reformers democratized the German chair system through the establishment of academic departments (Taylor, 2010; Altbach, 2011).

For Kant, the university was intended to serve two main goals: first, it was intended to produce educated bureaucrats and businessmen for the benefit of society; and second, it was intended to conduct independent research with the goal of producing new knowledge under conditions of academic freedom. By distinguishing the responsibilities of professional schools from those of faculties of arts and sciences, Kant created a permanent tension within universities by differentiating between types of knowledge that he characterized as practical and impractical. For business schools, this has meant a 100-year-long debate between practice and theory, relevance and rigor (Khurana, 2007; Mintzberg, 2004; Pfeffer & Fong, 2002; Simon, 1967), the professional and the scientific (Bennis & O'Toole, 2005), and the experiential and the academic (Augier & March, 2011). These juxtapositions and the balance between preserving autonomy and serving the interests of outsiders are common to professional schools. However, the recent development of academic capitalism has created a new type of conflict between profitable and unprofitable activities.

Despite the current primacy of American-style management education, the roots of the university-based business school are in Europe, where business was taught at different types of vocationally oriented commercial schools before its incorporation into the university system (Alajoutsijärvi, Kettunen, & Tikkanen, 2012; Durand & Dameron, 2008; Spender, 2008; Thomas & Wilson, 2011). Although business studies as an academic discipline did not emerge until the late nineteenth century, economics had been introduced to universities a century earlier in Germany (Engwall, 2007).

The decades from approximately 1890 to 1910 were the most active for the establishment of business schools in Europe and the United States. The founding of the Wharton School in 1888, was followed by the creation of similar schools in California (1898), Chicago (1898), and New York (1900) and at Columbia and Harvard (1908) (Khurana, 2007). The aim was to create a new, enlightened class of business leaders to enhance nation building and the welfare of societies (Khurana & Penrice, 2011).

The real expansion of management education, however, occurred only after World War II (Engwall, 2007; Khurana, 2007). Although the changes in the higher education system in the US and the UK have received significant attention, change has also occurred elsewhere, including Germany, the source of Humboldtian thinking. As Engwall (1997) and Muller-Camen and Salzgeber (2005) have emphasized, the changes that first affected academics have come to affect other European countries.

It seems, however, that those who participate in the university reform discourse often idealize and essentialize the previous 'public good' models of business schools and demonize the current academic shift in higher education (Bok, 2003; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The current teaching in business schools tends to marginalize those who are already marginalized; however, from a CMS perspective, the 'Humboldtian era' was not very different. For example, Humboldtian thinking did not promote the study of the plight of marginalized women in working life and in society more generally. Diversity was

not an issue that was emphasized before it was invented as a business case. In the Humboldtian era, poverty was not considered the fault of business or a problem that business was obliged to solve. Today, the Humboldtian model would not meet the CMS challenge of promoting an inclusive and just society and economy; it would not 'get things done'.

When academic institutions become corporate-like organizations, higher education is increasingly viewed as a site for commercial investment. The new corporate university reflects the hallmark values of the neoliberal corporate ethics (Giroux, 2002). The reasoning underlying this development has been called the education gospel (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005). The knowledge revolution, this theory claims, has changed the nature of work, which has shifted from industrial production to occupations associated with knowledge. No country can afford to lose in the global market; therefore, every country must increase its commitment to its educational system. Because the expansion of the higher education system is a costly operation that tax payers are not willing to finance, universities must be corporatized for efficient management.

Critics argue that although this ethos empowers consumer-students and investors, it undermines education's moral, civic, and intellectual purpose (Grubb & Lazerson, 2005). Reich (2008) calls this development supercapitalism, suggesting that consumers and investors reap the benefits of lower prices and higher returns on investments while citizens suffer because democratic processes have been overwhelmed by corporate lobbyists and the ubiquitous influence of money.

The logic of investor capitalism has penetrated not only the curriculum but also business schools' self-perceptions (Khurana & Penrice, 2011; Marens, 2013). This change can be described as the transition from academic education to academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), in which an institution becomes an enterprise. We argue that this transition is due particularly to the corrosive application of neoliberalism to academia, which has generated three partly overlapping phenomena: corporatization, marketization, and globalization. As a result of these phenomena, a new vocabulary and practices whose meaning was originally developed in the corporate world have now entered higher education (see Table 1).

Slaughter and Leslie (2001) see academic capitalism as a phenomenon that may offer a new theoretical basis for explaining the irregular moves toward the market by public research universities. The same phenomenon is captured by terms such as *enterprise university* (Marginson & Considine, 2000), *University Inc.* (Washburn, 2005), *academic labour* (Willmott, 1995), *knowledge factory* (Aronowitz, 2000), *the prostitution of Academia* (Suzuki, 1989), and *McUniversity* (Pritchard & Willmott, 1997; Ritzer, 1996). The phenomenon has previously been explained with reference to theories of marketization, managerialism, institutional theory, and institutional isomorphism. However, Slaughter and Rhoades (2001) argue that the concept of academic capitalism more fully explains the transition. According to these authors, theorizing about academic capitalism can help us to identify which units are likely to engage the markets, facilitating the identifica-

tion of strategic points of change around which resistance can be mobilized. We suggest that according to this argument, the theory of academic capitalism allows us to examine the variance in power with which public research universities are constantly engaged at the meso level (in organizations) and the macro level (in the larger political economy).

Most research on the spread of academic capitalism in higher education has been conducted in the US, Australia, and the UK, where the issue has been discussed and debated by critical scholars (Jary & Parker 1998; Prichard & Saravanamuthu & Tinker, 2002; Willmott 1997). In general, CMS scholars have not praised the transition to academic capitalism. In this modus operandi, the type of research that produces the greatest cash flow, whether critical or not, is the best type of research. The challenge, of course, is that 'quality systems', standards, and top-tier journals have not traditionally favored those who are already in marginal positions. An illustrative example can be found in the comments our colleague received about a conference submissions several years ago. The reviewer had written, "If you try to come here [to a strategy conference] with this Marxist paper of yours, we will reject it with a laugh". This type of world existed before academic capitalism. However, in academic capitalism, many of the criteria that are used to define what is "academic" seem to force CMS scholars who wish to continue to produce their ideas either to sell their ideology to mainstream their research (and themselves) or to accept that their type of work will never be published in prestigious journals or provide them with tenure at an Ivy League school. Whether the latter is desirable is another issue. Academic capitalism accomplishes a number of things, some of which we will identify next.

Table 1. Humboldtian style vs. academic capitalism

	Humboldtian style	Academic capitalism
	Governance	
Ethos	To serve society, 'higher aims'	To serve individuals and companies, 'hired hands'
Scientific connections	Part of social sciences	More independent
Board of trustees	Collegial / mostly internal	Active board of outsiders
Chain of command	Collegial decision-making	Top-down
Basic organizational unit	Department	Profit center
Dean	Slot administrator	Wannabe CEO
Focus	Learning, research	Cash flows, profitability
Power in business school	Faculty	Dean, administrators, students
Personnel	Tenured faculty	Adjunct / part-time faculty
Salary differences	Modest	Huge
Corporate connections	Distant, endowments	Close, unholy alliances
Administrative language	Bureaucratic terms	Business fads
Investment policy	Prudent strategy	Risky investments
Quality control	Synthetic social evaluation	Analytical expert evaluation

Role	Student interface Students as active input for learning	Empowered customers demanding entertainment
Prepares students for	Critical thinking, democratic citizenship, civic society	Job training, market values, corporate culture
Important for students	Established historical reputation, heritage, traditions	Rankings, branding, parties
Campus	Modest places for studying and living	Luxury resorts with the latest student-friendly frills
View of students	Younger colleagues that 'work' for the schools	Captive markets that can be exploited with product offerings
Admission	Best applicants	Hard selling
Student intake	Steady	Cycles, booms, busts
Tuition fees	No	High
Origin	Cross-border activities Dates back to teachers and students in ancient cultures; now selectively foreign students & faculty	Dates back to Western colonialism, the collapse of communism, the educational gold rush, and distance learning
Impetus	The advancement of human knowledge, the bonds of humanity	Profit and belief in a single world market
Primary forms	Cooperation, collaboration, sharing, altruism	Competition, combat, confrontation, exploitation, survival of the fittest
Benefits	Mutual advantages	One-sided economic benefits
Mobility	Two/multi-way	Students: South → North Programs: North → South
Quality regulation	Tight quality control	Largely unregulated

From academic capitalism to acamanic capitalism

We have previously shown that traditional Humboldtian-style business schools are transforming into institutions driven by academic capitalism. However, we argue that academic capitalism has more faces than has been reported in the previous literature. Those studies have focused on the transformation of research universities in educationally regulated contexts, leaving one important question unanswered: what is academic capitalism like when the context lacks an academic heritage and/or educational regulations but is a sudden target of business schools seeking cash flows? We examine an unregulated educational hub with no academic heritage and demonstrate how academic capitalism has taken the form of acamanic capitalism in the Dubai business school context (see Boxes 1-3).

A few years ago, Dubai was an extreme example of a free educational market. The first university in Dubai opened in the 1990s. Before then, students seeking a university-level education had to go to the neighboring Emirate of Abu Dhabi or had to enroll in a university abroad. However, by the mid-2000s, Dubai had created a global educational hub and a regional financial hub that produced an enormous need for business education programs. The demand for business education was primarily filled by expanding private for-profit institutions, which typically used foreign education models, and by importing foreign business schools. Importing foreign education models has never been an issue in Dubai, which lacks a local academic heritage for its universities due to its massive poverty and underdevelopment before oil was discovered there. By the 1990s, when Dubai began to develop its educational landscape, foreign – and especially American – models were already an institutionalized foundation for universities around the world.

Corporatization of Business Schools

Corporatization, the new governance logic for universities, does not view higher education as a social institution; rather, it views it as an industry. Corporatization is characterized by *a main focus on profitability and the top-down governance of institutions*, which has led to *the emergence of corporate universities*. These changes have occurred throughout higher education, but business schools were the forerunners of this change due to the neoliberal ethos that they adopted in the 1980s. Business schools have begun acting like for-profit companies, fuelled by (and fuelling) growing global education markets. Presumably as a result of the corporatization process, many business schools are perceived as more effective, more innovative, and of higher management quality. However, the reality may be very different when academic and educational quality are considered. If we allow corporate logic to prevail and determine what business schools should offer, the result may be a tipping point at which corporate logic becomes the enemy of the core educational mission and of excellence in research.

Especially in the US, decreasing state funding beginning in the 1980s required a focus on the bottom line. In extreme cases, universities with large endowments have become similar to hedge funds: *“They use their accumulated capital to make money through the shrewd buying selling of capital funds”* (Zemsky, 2009: 21). This approach was effective the years before the global financial crisis, but the double-digit numbers turned from gains to losses. As Thelin (2011: xv) puts it, *“What is ironic in terms of sound academic values is that [...] it is imprudent for a university to spend 10 percent or 15 percent per year on academic improvement enhancements to assure quality and affordability for students. Evidently, however, it is all right – or, at least, understandable and forgivable – for the same institution to lose 10 percent to 30 percent on its endowment through risky investment strategies”*.

Even worse, the distinguished and influential professors of finance at the finest business schools often advocated these arrogant and destructive practices and theories (see Marens, 2013; Taylor, 2010; Thelin, 2011). Meanwhile, the salaries of those responsible for endowment management have skyrocketed. For

instance, one high-ranked individual received compensation of \$17 million from Harvard University in 2003 for managing one tranche of the endowments; he was paid 1,000 times more than the university's lowest-paid worker (Bousquet, 2008: 8). These enormous salary gaps exist even now that the financial crisis has exposed the negative outcomes of these practices (Tellus Institute, 2011).

Top management and boards of trustees have changed universities and business schools, which are now supposed to be more agile and tolerant of risk. The latter change is due to new incentive systems introduced by university presidents and deans that mimic corporate equivalents. Furthermore, the presidential recruitment process is now controlled by trustees, and business school deans are appointed by the president with varying degrees of faculty influence (Ginsberg, 2011). The role of the business school dean used to be a temporary appointment, but it has now become a lucrative career. The corporatization of governance also includes a more active role for boards of trustees and individual members. Formerly, these individuals took a less active role, but now they often participate in micromanagement. Typically, university presidents have exercised real influence on trustees' decision making, but chairmen have begun to control the highest levels of university administration (Tuchman, 2009).

The professionalization of university administration more generally and business school administration more specifically has included the hire of increasing numbers of non-faculty professionals with career manager mentalities and has led to the adoption of management fads. The administrative appointment of non-faculty professionals to manage universities' business issues has resulted in enormous expansions of staff. Slaughter and Rhoades (2011: 19) note, "*Ironically, academic managers have adopted some techniques that their corporate counterparts have moved away from (or moved overseas). For example, academic managers have expanded middle managers*". Once a core of administrative professionals exists, they will naturally find cogent arguments for expanding their roles in useful ways, but only with additional staff to implement the new initiatives (Archibald & Feldman, 2011: 98).

As previously mentioned, both professionalization and managerial fads have invaded business schools. Books such as *Implementing management information systems in colleges and universities* (McManis & Parker, 1978) and *Management science: Applications to academic administration* (Wilson, 1981) indicate the main assumption: higher education has much to learn from the corporate world and its managerial processes. Unfortunately, this assumption also applies to the activities of universities, particularly research, with a resulting move from curiosity-driven to market-driven research in business schools (cf. Schuetze, 2012: 4). According to neo-liberal policy, the type of knowledge that becomes a bestselling commodity is the right type of knowledge. Furthermore, when a school's underlying objective is to be 'a leading global player', career managers are likely to engage in business-like investments ranging from financing for extravagant show-off facilities such as sport stadiums and marble headquarters to investments in branch campuses.

The modus operandi and the provision of business education have changed dramatically in the last two decades. Corporate universities currently constitute a billion dollar industry. There are already thousands of for-profit institutions, especially corporate universities and e-learning providers that are aggressively pursuing the global market share of traditional business schools (Narayandas, 2007; Peters, 2010), and the Internet is playing an increasing role in delivering management education to consumers (Teece, 2010). These for-profit institutions have had a considerable influence on traditional state universities. As Cox (2003: 21) notes, a 'creeping for-profit ethos' has spread from corporate universities like Heriot-Watt.

BOX 1: Academic capitalism in action: How a corporate university beats a world-class research university in Dubai

"Their [MSUD] undergraduate programs did not pick up... I don't know why... It's a tough market... However, some other [foreign] universities are doing good [business]: Heriot-Watt, Middlesex, Manchester, University of Wollongong".

(Interview conducted by one of the authors with the Vice Chancellor of a prestigious business school in Dubai)

The comparison between Heriot-Watt (H-W) and Michigan State (MSUD) is a revealing example of the competition between the business programs of corporate universities and world-class research universities in emerging markets such as Dubai. The case shows how academic capitalism changes who succeeds in educational markets. Success is not necessarily determined by the issues that used to build the reputation of legitimate and prestigious institutions.

At first glance, MSUD and H-W in Dubai seem to have much in common. Both have an Anglo-American background and a relatively long and successful history; the two schools offer similar programs and the same free zone location. The schools also claim to apply similar academic standards as their mother campuses, target the same type of students, and follow an operating model dependent on tuition revenues. However, whereas MSUD has AACBS accreditation, Heriot-Watt does not. In response to our query, the representatives of H-W said that they do not need AACBS or EQUIS accreditation because of their world-class reputation.

Heriot-Watt is said to be Scotland's most international university, with an MBA program offered in 150 countries to 11,800 students. The school has adopted a franchising/licensing modus operandi. Heriot-Watt Global is Heriot-Watt's international arm and is responsible for handling H-W's 'global vision' by orchestrating the work of 50 international academic learning partners, through which H-W has built a physical 'global presence' in 30 countries (see also the Heriot-Watt Global website). In 2006, H-W Global opened a campus in Dubai. The university's transnational strategy resembles an adapt-

style approach, allowing extreme flexibility for students seeking to study a range of courses that are tailored to match the demands of the UAE employment market.

In 2008, Michigan State University established facilities in Dubai with BBA programs, only a few weeks before the financial crisis began. By 2009, MSUD had encountered trouble; its student numbers were inadequate to support an operation model that was dependent on tuition fees, and the campus needed to attract at least 500 students to break even. However, MSUD was able to recruit only 85 students in 2009–2010 (Mills, 2010) despite halving its tuition fees and conducting a careful market analysis.

"We did a lot of research. In hindsight, given some of the challenges we faced, we can spend a lot of time second-guessing ourselves about what more we could, or should, have done. But I don't think any amount of research on our part was going to forecast the global economic problems. [And although its branch campus was not a success...] MSU is very much in Dubai with... a robustly staffed office".

–Dean of International Studies and Programs of MSU (Dessoiff, 2011: 21)

There are several reasons for the success of H-W and the failure of MSUD. During the educational gold rush, H-W had been present in Dubai for three years and had built local legitimacy through graduated cohorts, which is the most important achievement for foreign schools in Dubai. Students who started early in the first decade of the century, in a bull market, had already attained success before the crisis hit. The type of campus also seems to be important: the MSUD facilities only included a few classrooms and lacked a traditional campus feel, whereas H-W offered a full campus experience.

Furthermore, MSUD's international experience was very limited because the Dubai branch was its first attempt at international expansion. Due to the financial crisis, the mother institution (MSU) faced financing problems in the US. Consequently, it could no longer support MSUD as it lost millions of dollars. Finally, MSUD's local partner in Dubai rejected a request for a \$3.4 million loan to cover the campus's losses. These events resulted in MSUD's decision to essentially end its business programs in Dubai in 2010 (Bardsley, 2010; Mills, 2010).

"We probably overestimated the market appeal of the MSU brand, given that unlike many of the other foreign universities in Dubai, we insisted on having exactly the same admissions standards that we have in East Lansing. We were, in effect, competing with ourselves. At any given moment, I had more students from just about every country in the region here in East Lansing than we succeeded in recruiting to the Dubai campus... [...] We had assumed a more linear growth pattern, and we probably should have operated on a business plan reconciling ourselves to relatively low enrollment until we graduated the first class, and then there would be a significant step-up."

-Dean of International Studies and Programs from MSU (Dessoiff, 2011: 20)

While MSUD was struggling, less prestigious business schools were thriving. For example, the University of Wollongong Dubai registered its largest student body in the first semester of 2010. Middlesex University and Heriot-Watt University were also able to increase their student numbers during the recession. In fact, Heriot-Watt began to construct a new, larger campus during the recession to triple its student numbers (Bardsley, 2010; Mills, 2010).

Heriot-Watt vs. Michigan State in Dubai

OPERATIONS IN DUBAI	HERIOT-WATT	MICHIGAN STATE
Starting year	2006	2008
Campus	Full campus, Stand-alone Campus 2011-	Shared campus facilities
Transnational strategy	Adapt	Transfer
International accreditation	No	AACSB
UAE accreditation	No	Not until April 2010
Programs (when started)	Undergraduate + post-graduate	Undergraduate programs (postgraduate programs also planned)
Tuition fees (2008) per year	AED 39,500–45,000	AED 58,000
Entry criteria	Same as the home campus	Same as the home campus
Funding	No local funding	Dubai government support in the beginning
Operating model	For-profit	Non-profit
International experience	Extensive experience	Limited experience
Faculty	Permanent + travelling	Travelling
Learning/studies	Extremely flexible	Fixed as in East Lansing

Marketization of Business Schools

Marketization consists of three major elements: *students as consumers*, *the emergence of new marketing practices*, and *'unholy' alliances with corporate partners*. In the marketization of business school education, students have become neoliberal-type consumers who can manipulate educational institutions by choosing the service providers that please them the most. In the US and elsewhere, the emergence of marketization is closely connected to the trend of institutional financing for governmentally supported student loans.

Whereas higher education was previously understood as a necessary public and social good, it eventually became a tradable commodity and private good justifying 'user pay' policies (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011). In the US, the mechanisms that initiated academic capitalism in student personnel services involved federal, state, and (public) institutional deregulation. At the federal level, higher education support shifted from institutional aid to student aid in 1972 (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). Consequently, institutions received less state funding, and students were empowered by governmentally supported loans. In

the 1970s, the state paid 70-80 percent of the costs of public universities in the US, whereas today, many of these institutions receive less than 10 percent of their operating budgets from the government. The line separating public and private institutions has become obscured (Bousquet, 2008: 4; Taylor, 2010: 100-101).

The metaphor of students as consumers presupposes that most students are capable of making informed choices among higher education institutions (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011). In reality, largely uninformed consumers become captive markets that can be exploited in numerous ways. To enroll students, it is important to attract prosperous students who are buying not only the education but the 'whole package'. It has been argued that "*American college campuses [have] been transformed into something closer to adolescent resorts and shopping malls than institutions of higher education*" (Brandon, 2010: xv) to maximize the revenue generated by every seat and bed. This situation has led to the rapid and profitable growth of so-called 'digital diploma mills' (Noble, 2002). To compete for students, "*student personnel services often prompted by central administration, re-structured or organized new units, creating offices of 'enrollment management' and expanding student aid offices to take advantage of new market opportunity*" (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001: 157).

The new marketing practices include rankings, branding, and hard selling. In the 1980s, the media began publishing rankings of business schools, and these rankings became an established part of business schools' marketing. In particular, the Financial Times achieved global importance in brand building and student and staff recruitment (Williamson, 2012). Rankings have strengthened the marketization of education: studying in a highly ranked, reputable school is considered valuable and transforms students into branded products. If students are more interested in 'having a good time', they can make their decision based on the Princeton Review's annual list of 'the top party schools', where learning is optional (Brandon, 2010).

Hard-sell marketing practices are increasingly incorporated into student recruitment. One way to stimulate selling is so-called early-decision admission marketing. In this type of recruitment, students commit to enrolling in an institution before the regular admission period, which allows business schools to increase their yield (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011). However, earlier decisions limit students' range of options and 'market efficiency'. The second hard-sell practice involves manipulating the selectivity scores of business schools by making SAT scores optional for applicants. This practice enhances a school's average SAT score because, typically, only high-scoring students are likely to submit their test scores. The third hard-sell practice is so-called on-site instant admission programs, which are said to benefit students by reducing paperwork, time, and anxiety as well as humanizing the admission process (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011). The key to success is carefully orchestrated 'golden walks'; both students and their parents must be impressed (Brandon, 2010: 25).

It gets worse. Many colleges attempt to maximize profits at their students' expense, typically through so-called preferred corporate partners, who share

profits with the university or its administrators. These moneymakers may be credit card companies, car rental firms, fast food delivery services, book publishers, or 'reliable' spring break companies that are given a monopoly to sell their services and products to students on campus (see also Collinge, 2009; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2011).

The most striking unholy alliances have been made with so-called predatory lenders (Adamson, 2009). In these cases, schools have allowed financial institutions to set up call centers at which the lenders have pretended to be college officers. These lenders have been included on the institution's preferred lender list, which has made many students believe that they are all the same. However, students with financial problems are led to do business with these private banks even though government loan programs often offer much cheaper arrangements. Some university administrators make immense personal profits from their relationships with these student loan companies (Collinge, 2009).

Box 2: Academic capitalism in action: marketization and educational scam

The worldwide demand for business programs has created markets for bogus universities and degree mills, typically business schools offering MBA programs. In addition, there is a bustling market for the sale of fraudulent degrees (George, 2011). Our educational scam case is the University of Atlanta (UOFA), although it has little to do with Atlanta or universities. UOFA is a private for-profit distance education institution that claims to be based in Atlanta, Georgia. It has been accredited by the Distance Education and Training Council (DETC) since 2008, but its accreditation applies only to current students and expires in 2013 (DETC, 2012).

As is typical of these types of institutions, UOFA focuses on window-dressing and looking good rather than being good. This strategy is not honorable, but it has generated easy profits for the owners. The institution describes its mission as follows:

"The mission of the University of Atlanta is to provide broad access to an array of distinctive professionally-focused programs in an exclusively online environment to eligible, motivated student-candidates; to foster sharp critical thinking, effective communication, a spirit of lifelong inquiry, significant disciplinary competence enhanced by a comprehensive world-view; and to impart the knowledge-base, tools and skills essential to success and advancement in a global society". (University of Atlanta, 2013)

The history of the institution is colorful. It was founded in the early 1990s as Barrington University (often confused with the former Barrington College, which was a liberal arts college). Barrington University operated in Burlington, Vermont as a subsidiary of Boca Raton-based Virtual Academics. It offered distance-learning degrees that, according to its brochures, would raise buyers' lifetime earnings by \$1 million (Harkness, 2003). However, the

school lacked state approval to operate. In many states, such as Vermont, it is illegal for an unaccredited college to offer degrees. In 1995, the state of Vermont fined Barrington University for fraud after finding that the main campus was only a rented post office box (Harkness, 2003). Barrington University then relocated to Alabama. To avoid the problems that might have stemmed from the school's lack of accreditation, one of the owners of Barrington University established his own for-profit accreditation organization, the International Association of Universities and Schools Inc. (IAUS). Unsurprisingly, Barrington University gained accreditation soon after (Duggan, 2000). With this accreditation, Barrington degrees were sold to students in China by local professors and schools that were paid commissions for each recruited student.

The university's marketing scam began to unravel when it was found that the information in its brochures stating that its chairman held a doctorate and a master's degree was false; in reality, he held neither (Duggan, 2000). Another interesting detail involves the Vice President of Student Affairs, Executive Director of Quality Control, and Professor of Communications, who were listed as having Ed.D. (ABD) (all but dissertation) degrees.

In 2008, while still operating in Alabama, Barrington changed its name to the University of Atlanta (Spencer, 2008). Students were informed via a forum post that the name change would be effective March 15, 2006 (Degree Info, 2006).

The strategy of these types of institutions typically revolves around playing the business school systems in different countries. Problems include lax admission standards, general quality criteria, credits for 'life experience', spoon-feeding in classes, tolerance of cheating, and degree and certificate inflation. Learning is not a significant concern, as a student's 'consumer complaint' suggests:

"This university was developing pretty good in the beginning with follow up calls and mails from tutor, which made me believe about their seriousness. However, the only serious intention of this organization is collecting monthly fees. I couldn't believe my eyes when they sent me form Academic Progress Agreement form with following condition: "I understand that my student account is being reactivated on the condition that all the academic course work will be completed by December 31, 2012. I also understand that all monies paid to the University of Atlanta will be forfeited if I fail to meet this deadline."!!!!!! I completed only 2 subjects out of 36, so they wanted me to finish 34 subjects in 6 months time! I filed request of withdrawal and refund, on which I didn't get any response since 3 weeks. I still have a very little hope to get my money back...." (Ripoff Report, 2013.)

UOFA opened a 'branch campus' in Dubai in 2008 to provide support services for online degree students in the United Arab Emirates. However, this

campus consists of only a small office near the Financial Center. In 2010, the university cooperated with Texila American University, Mahatma Gandhi University, the Universidad Cristiana del Sur, the Universidad Central de Nicaragua, and Universidad Azteca to form the International Institute of Management and Technology Studies (IIMTS). Interestingly, the local quality assurance body in the Dubai education free zones has cancelled the licenses of both Mahatma Gandhi University and the International Institute for Management and Technology (Al Jandaly, 2012). The main reason for this change was that these institutions are not actually affiliated with their parent universities but are only using their names. This practice violates the new free zone regulations stating that all universities must be real branches of well-known universities in their mother country (George, 2010).

The University of Atlanta case illustrates the controversial forms of academic capitalism, and its marketization scam indicates how the 'higher aim' of serving the public good is deemphasized in such cases (Khurana, 2007). Instead, the mission of these institutions is to use illegal or questionable methods to maintain 'certificate factories'. These certifications have no value even in Dubai, where online degrees are not recognized as qualified degrees.

Globalization of Business Schools

The internationalization of education has occurred for centuries (Knight & De Wit, 1995). However, the internationalization of education used to be a small-scale phenomenon that involved students crossing borders and institutions integrating international elements into domestic education (Knight, 1999; Vincent-Lancrin 2004; Wächter, Ollikainen, & Hasewend, 1999). The massification of cross-border education has now occurred, taking teaching, students, programs or course material, and universities across national jurisdictional borders (Vincent-Lancrin, 2004).

Initially, cross-border ventures involved international collaboration (Hawawini, 2005) and transfer strategies (Wilkins & Huisman, 2012). The academic rationales for internationalization stem from the Humboldtian origins of universities, which spread through the international mobility of students, faculty, and research. However, academic motives were not the only incentives. Attempts to spread Western management ideas were sometimes intertwined with political interests. This was particularly evident in the Americanization of non-American business schools in Europe after World War II (Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola & Kettunen, 2013; Engwall, 2004, 2007; Kieser, 2004; Locke, 1989, 1996; Locke & Spender, 2011; Tiratsoo, 2004; Üsdiken, 2004, 2007). The spread of Western management ideas has been driven by questionable motives in non-western contexts. Acts of educational colonialism are often publicly sugar-coated by claims that such ventures are needed to improve intercultural understanding and communication, to promote peace, and to further development (Knight, 1999; Altbach & Knight, 2007).

The massification of cross-border education fueled by globalization has shifted the aims of cross-border education from noble academic motives to purely economic ones (Söderqvist, 2001), which is also called transnational capitalism (Kauppinen, 2012). Management education is increasingly regarded as an international commodity and a tradable product within a single market (Altbach & Knight 2007; Gül, Gül, Kaya, & Alican, 2010; Knight 1999, 2006a, 2006b; Söderqvist, 2001; Vincent-Lancrin 2004). In fact, trade in educational services has become a major export product for many countries and higher education institutions (Van der Wende & Middlehurst, 2004).

Among academic institutions, business schools have been trailblazers in the globalization of for-profit ventures. It is increasingly common for business schools to depend on revenue from tuition fees, especially fees from high-priced cash-cow degrees such as the MBA, EMBA, and DBA (Pfeffer & Fong, 2004; Wilson & McKiernan, 2011). The majority of program and institution mobility occurs in the developing world or in transition countries (mainly in Asia, Central America, and Eastern Europe) and in the MENA region (Vincent-Lancrin, 2004). The public policies of certain importing countries support the internationalization of education with various academic, cultural, economic, social, and political motives (Vincent-Lancrin, 2004).

Importing countries can create attractive conditions for international branch campuses (IBC), such as free zones. These unregulated tax-free zones represent extreme neoliberalism and provide a more rapid means to increase education capacity than the strategy of building and staffing indigenous institutions. The first business schools that established international branch campuses were second-tier institutions from the US, Australia, and the UK, where decreasing state funding and overcapacity drove these institutions to look for profitable markets abroad (Vincent-Lancrin, 2004). The first rush of universities to establish IBCs occurred in the 1980s in Japan, an economic hotspot at the time. Beginning in the early 1990s, the top business schools (Financial Times Top 100) gradually began to engage in cross-border activities while continuing to prefer collaborative strategies over the establishment of IBCs. Toward the end of the 1990s, top business schools increasingly expanded through IBC, especially to Asian Tiger economies such as Hong Kong, Indonesia, South Korea, and Singapore (Ching & Chin, 2012; Terri, 2008; McNeill, 2008; Mok, 2007) and to sub-Saharan African countries (Tikly, 2001) where the need exceeded the market offerings.

The early 2000s ushered in a gold rush for top business schools establishing IBCs. The majority of these IBCs were established in Dubai, Malaysia, and Hong Kong (AACSB, 2011). Thus, internationalization efforts in business schools became the norm during this decade. To overcome the perceived risk of establishing IBCs and the bureaucracy within universities, so-called internationalization arms were often established as semi-independent organizational vehicles beyond the scope of traditional university collective decision-making.

It is clear that cross-border ventures in educational free zones have lower aims than that of supporting civic society and democracy. Despite the notori-

ously slow change within universities (Meyer, Ramirez, Frank, & Schofer, 2007) and the difficulties of establishing cross-border ventures, even the most traditional universities want their share of the global education market. Consequently, universities are in a situation in which they must choose between limited domestic student markets and expanding in nations that limit freedom of speech, assembly, and the press (Wildavsky, 2010).

The mass markets for education are very limited in their content. The function of education as a form of neo-colonialism (Kirk & Napier, 2009) is evident. Western management theories and their norms are by no means universal, but when they are taught in other cultural contexts, they are typically presented as such. Rather than questioning which norms are used, management theories tend to normalize conflicting criteria for notions of development and progress (Banerjee, 2000: 30). The important question becomes whose interests the spread of management education is made to serve. Because of the globalization of academic research through international journal publications, scholarship that aspires to be 'world class' must be conducted in English. This restriction is a form of *naked cultural imperialism* (Murphy & Zhu, 2012: 924).

Box 3: Academic capitalism in action: The educational gold rush and setbacks in Dubai (elaborated from Alajoutsijärvi et al. 2013)

Since the 1990s, Dubai has focused on converting its oil-based economy to a knowledge economy. This ambitious plan includes transforming Dubai into a global business and education hub. To achieve this vision, the Dubai government actively began to arrange favorable market conditions for both foreign companies and education institutions. For example, several free zones were built to attract foreign investors and universities (Lane, 2011).

For business schools, the market seemed lucrative. Business schools in the West had been struggling with decreasing domestic funding and saturated home markets for more than a decade, and opportunities for educational exports seemed to be the answer to their prayers. Whereas in other global economic and education hubs, such as Hong Kong and Malaysia, the market was heavily controlled by the government, there were no such restrictions in Dubai's free zones (Knight & Morshidi, 2011; Mok 2011).

"After one or two business schools, then there was a sudden mushroom effect. There were two things happening. From the international perspective, they saw how easy it is to make money here... no regulation... no quality standards. There are no ministries or regulatory bodies to approve or disapprove [of business schools entering the market]. They realized that to operate here is a hundred times better than operating in their national market". (Interview conducted by one of the authors with a professor from a prestigious business school in Dubai)

Consequently, the number of IBCs began to increase rapidly. The five-year period of 2003-2008 in Dubai is often referred to as the education gold rush

(e.g., Lewin 2008; Mahani & Molki 2011; Schoepp, 2009), when dozens of foreign business schools opened their doors in Dubai's educational free zones. The number of foreign business schools peaked in 2008, when 23 IBCs offered BBA and MBA programs (KHDA, 2010). In addition, several other foreign business schools concentrated on post-graduate programs tailored specifically to companies.

However, in late 2008, the years of easy profits ended. The financial crisis hit Dubai in late 2008, and the resulting severe recession affected local businesses, especially the construction industry and the housing market (Davidson, 2009). The number of expatriates decreased dramatically, and foreign business schools struggled to meet the student intake numbers that they required to break even. Simultaneously, Dubai implemented quality requirements for IBCs to improve the quality of the programs and its reputation as an educational free zone (Lane, 2010). This re-regulation of the free market, coupled with the financial crisis, resulted in a shake-out in which several IBCs had to downsize their operations. Some even went bankrupt, and others left the country or relocated to other parts of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), where there were no performance quality requirements.

It is easy to blame the financial crisis for the collapse of the business school sector in Dubai, but many domestic fault lines also contributed to this development, including the enormous rate of debt, institutional uncertainty, and the fact that Dubai, unlike Abu Dhabi, could not draw upon enormous liquidity from energy resources. These factors made Dubai vulnerable to the financial crisis and caused the educational bubble to burst. Most importantly, foreign business schools should have conducted a more careful market analysis before entering the country.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Academic capitalism has pervaded business schools, but the discussion of this phenomenon has not yielded unanimous conclusions. Some authors who have studied the potential reforms propose new paths for business schools that have strayed from their mission. These authors note the dangers of academic capitalism but see the potential to reverse the change (see, e.g., Khurana, 2007; Taylor, 2010). Others acknowledge and criticize the problem but seem skeptical about the potential for effective reform, suggesting that at best, we can hope to impede its growth (see, e.g., Giroux, 2002; Tuchman, 2009). Some see no problem; for them, academic capitalism has the potential to eliminate bad apples and celebrate the survival of the fittest (see, e.g., Wildavsky, 2010). The discussion as a whole is hardly irrelevant. Education plays a significant role in maintaining the hegemony of growth in political and economic debates regarding the future direction of societal 'progress'.

We conclude by discussing the role of academic capitalism in the future of academic capitalism theory and critical management education in general. Many business schools and their professors seem to remain oddly ignorant of the effects of academic capitalism. We say 'oddly' not because we assume that the majority of business school staff perceive academic capitalism as an alarming phenomenon nor because we believe that the majority are CMS oriented. On the contrary, we say 'oddly' because while business schools teach that consumer choices produce the best results for society, they simultaneously complain about lazy students who read and post on Twitter and Facebook during lectures, who must be wowed to 'learn', and who demand celebrity professors and superstar managers to teach them. Business schools teach how to marginalize irrelevant stakeholders 'who are buzzing in the manager's ear', how much a superstar manager can earn, how heroic managers provide 'great solutions', and how vast reforms can be achieved based on individually driven activity.

The ugliest faces of academic capitalism deserve much more attention than they have received. What are the varieties of academic capitalism, and are some forms more bearable than others? For example, academic capitalism operates in contexts in which it does not matter whether quality education is provided. It is likely that similar types of educational mania will soon emerge in other countries, but their consequences for academia are currently unknown. We conceptualize the phenomenon of academic capitalism as *an extreme form of academic capitalism that emerges as a result of free markets for higher education in a context in which academic heritage and educational regulation are exiguous*.

It is crucial that we analyze the change that our 'own business' is undergoing and the change in which it participates in certain contexts. Given the current speed of change, no one will remember five years from now that higher education was about something other than seeing oneself as a product. Ten years from now, no one will know the difference between non-profit educational institutions and for-profit universities that are 'digging educational gold' worldwide. A similar, revealing example is that of the concept of the modern corporation, which dates back hundreds of years. At its origin, the corporation was seen as having a role that was quite different from the one implied by shareholderism, which is presented today as the only guiding principle of corporations.

Let us not romanticize the academic Humboldtian past of business schools. A golden age of business schools likely never existed, nor have these schools ever been isolated from external pressures (see also Willmott, 2013). A CMS viewpoint regarding the capitalist transformation of business education does not seek a solution by emphasizing codes of ethics for MBAs and MBA programs; instead, it seeks a more profound transformation. This transformation should be on the agenda for business schools, whose ethos should include an obligation to expose how business opportunities can both result from and lead to human misery and marginalization and how we can illuminate the dark side of globalization and corporate power (see, e.g., Banerjee, 2011). How are we to define and design reforms in business schools that are part of a world of higher

education that already promotes educational neo-colonialism? At the moment, business schools accomplish many things, but whether these are the right things is another question (see Stookey, 2013).

We share the concerns of many critical researchers about education, the role of students, our own roles as academics, and society in general (e.g., Banerjee, 2011; Nikunen; 2012; Saravanamuthu & Tinker 2002; Singh, 2002; Willmott, 1995; Ylijoki, Marttila, & Lyytinen, 2012, and all authors in this book). We will therefore not present a ten-step rehabilitation program intended to achieve radical reform. Rather, what we should ask is how we can provide inputs that yield better outcomes. How do we institute tasks that foster critical thinking and provide better solutions from the start? The growth of business schools benefits critically oriented researchers in many senses, providing endless research topics, jobs, access, and a louder voice for the business world and academia than would otherwise be possible. One of the best things we can actually do is use that voice. Otherwise, we are as questionable as a group or movement that aims for better higher education as corporate-led sustainable development is as a means of attaining a better future and developing an environmentally sustainable society.

REFERENCES

- AACSB. (2011). *Globalization of Management Education: Changing International Structures, Adaptive Strategies, and the Impact of Institutions*. UK: Emerald.
- Adamson, M. (2009). The Financialization of Student Life: Five Propositions on Student Debt. *Polygraph*, 21, 97-110.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola, K. & Kettunen, K. (2013). Americanization from a comparative perspective: Business school systems in Finland and the United Arab Emirates. Conference paper: Academy of Management Annual Meeting. Orlando, Florida.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola K. & Lamberg, J-A. (2013). Institutional Logic of Business Bubbles: Lessons from the Dubai Business School Mania. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, doi: 10.5465/amle.2012.0036.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Kettunen, K. & Tikkanen, H. (2012). The Evolution of Business Schools as an Institution in Finland 1909-2009. *Management & Organizational History*, 7(4), 1-31.
- Al Jandaly, B. (2012). Bogus institutions leave students in the lurch. *Gulf News* (Online), 3 June, 2012.
- Altbach, P.G. & Knight, J. (2007). The Internationalization of Higher Education: Motivations and Realities. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3/4), 290-305.
- Altbach, P.G. (2011). Patterns of Higher Education Development (2011). In P.G. Altbach, P.J. Gumport & R.O Berdahl (Eds.), *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century* (pp.15-36). The John Hopkins University Press.
- Archibald, R.B. & Feldman, D.H. (2011). *Why Does College Cost So Much?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aronowitz, S. (2000). *The Knowledge Factory: Dismantling the Corporate University and Creating True Higher Learning*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Augier, M. & March, J.G. (2011). *The roots, rituals, and rhetorics of change: North American business schools after the Second World War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Banerjee, S. B. (2000). Whose land is it anyway? National interest, Indigenous stakeholders and colonial discourses: The case of the Jabiluka uranium mine. *Organization and Environment*, 13(1), 3-38.
- Banerjee, S. B. (2011). Embedding sustainability across the organization: A critical perspective. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 10(4), 719-731.
- Bardsley, D. (2010). College closes after low take-up. *The National*, (Online), 10 November, 2010.
- Bennis, W.G. & O'Toole, J. (2005). How business schools lost their way. *Harvard Business Review*, 83(5), 96-104.
- Bok, D. (2003). *Universities in the Marketplace: The Commercialization of Higher Education*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

- Bousquet, M. (2008). *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation*. New York: New York University Press.
- Brandon, C. (2010). *The Five-Year Party. How colleges have given up on educating your child and what you can do about it*. Dallas: BenBella Books.
- Ching, G.S. & Chin, J.M.C. (2012). Managing higher education institution internationalization: Contemporary efforts of a university in Taiwan. *International Journal of Research Studies in Management*, 1(1), 3-16.
- Collinge, A.M. (2009). *The Student Loan Scam: The Most Oppressive Debt in U.S. History and How We Can Fight Back*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.
- Cox, A.M. (2003). None of Your Business: The Rise of the University of Phoenix and For-Profit Education and Why It Will Fail Us All. In: B. Johnson, P. Kavanagh & K. Mattson (Eds.), *Steal This University* (pp. 15-32). New York: Routledge.
- Davidson, C.M. (2009). Dubai: foreclosure of a dream. *Middle East report*, 251, 8-13.
- Degree Info (2006). Barrington University name change announcement. Retrieved from: <http://www.degreeinfo.com/general-distance-learning-discussions/23875-barrington-university-name-change-announcement.html>.
- Dessoff, A. (2011). Cultivating Branch Campuses. *International Educator*, 11, 19-27.
- DETC (2012). Bulletin: Report from the Accrediting Commission. Retrieved from: http://www.detc.org/actions/020912_AC_meeting_report.pdf.
- Duggand, E. (2000). Reality check for Virtual Academics.com. Retrieved from: <http://www.bizjournals.com/southflorida/stories/2000/10/16/story2.html?page=all>.
- Durand, T. & Dameron, S. (2008). Management Education as a System: A Case Study on Europe. In T. Durand & S. Dameron (Eds.), *The future of business schools: Scenarios and strategies for 2020* (pp. 21-43). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Engwall, L. (1997). Mercury and minerva: A modern multinational academic business studies on a global scale in business knowledge. In: J.L. Alvarez (Ed.), *The diffusion and consumption of business knowledge* (pp. 81-109). Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.
- Engwall, L. (2004). The Americanization of Nordic management education. *Journal of Management Enquiry*, 13(2), 109-117.
- Engwall, L. (2007). The anatomy of management education. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 23, 4-35.
- George, J. (2010). Banned universities operating from RAK. *Emirates 24/7* (Online), 13 December, 2010.
- George, J. (2011). Buy an MBA degree for Dh20,000. *Emirates 24/7* (Online), 30 January, 2011.

- Ginsberg, B. (2011). *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and Why It Matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Giroux, H.A. (2002). Neoliberalism, Corporate Culture, and the Promise of Higher Education: The University as a Democratic Public Sphere. *Harvard Educational Review*, 72(4), 425-464.
- Grubb, W.N. & Lazerson, M. (2005). *The Education Gospel: The Economic Power of Schooling*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gül, H., Gül, S.S., Kaya, E. & Alican, A. (2010). Main trends in the world of higher education, internationalization and institutional autonomy. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 9, 1878-1884.
- Harkness, S. (2003). Internet 'colleges' offer no-study diplomas for price. *Rutland Herald*, 23 January, 2003.
- Hawawini, G. (2005). The future of business schools. *Journal of Management Development*, 24(9), 770-782.
- Jary, D. & Parker, P. (1998). *The new higher education: Issues and directions for the post-Dearing university*. Staffordshire: Staffordshire University Press.
- Kauppinen, I. (2012). Towards transnational academic capitalism. *Higher Education*, 64: 543-556.
- KHDA. (2010). *The Higher Education Landscape in Dubai 2010*. Retrieved from:
http://www.khda.gov.ae/CMS/WebParts/TextEditor/Documents/HE%20Landscape%20in%20Dubai%202010_eng.pdf.
- Khurana, R. & Penrice, D. (2011). Business Education: The American Trajectory. In M. Morsing, & A.S. Rovira (Eds.), *Business Schools and their Contribution to Society* (pp. 3-15). London: Sage Publications.
- Khurana, R. (2007). *From higher aims to hired hands: The social transformation of American business schools and the unfulfilled promise of management as a profession*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kieser, A. (2004). The Americanization of Academic Management Education in Germany. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 13, 90-97.
- Kirk, D., & Napier, D. (2009). The transformation of higher education in the United Arab Emirates: Issues, implications, and intercultural dimensions. In J. Zajda, H. Daun, H. & Saha, L. J. (Eds.), *Nation-building, identity and citizenship education: Cross cultural perspectives* (pp. 131-142). Springer Science + Business Media B.V.
- Knight, J. & De Wit, H. (1995). Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education: Historical and Conceptual Perspectives. In: H. De Wit (Ed.) *Strategies for the Internationalisation of Higher education: A comparative Study of Australia, Canada, Europe and the United States of America* (pp. 5-32). Amsterdam: EAIE Secretariat.
- Knight, J. & Morshidi, S. (2011). The complexities and challenges of education hubs: Focus on Malaysia. *Higher Education*, 62(5), 593-606.

- Knight, J. (2006a). Cross-border education: An Analytical Framework for Program and Provider Mobility. In: J. Smart & B. Tierney (Eds.), *Higher Education Handbook of Theory and Practice* (pp. 345-395). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
- Knight, J. (2006b). Higher education crossing borders. Report ED-2006/WS/61: 5-23. Paris: Commonwealth of Learning and UNESCO.
- Knight, J. (1999). Internationalisation of Higher Education. In: *Quality and internationalization in higher education*, (pp. 13-27). Paris: OECD.
- Lane, J.E. (2010). International Branch Campuses, Free Zones, and Quality Assurance: Policy Issues for Dubai and the UAE. Dubai School of Government, Policy Brief No. 20.
- Lane, J.E. (2011). Importing Private Higher Education: International Branch Campuses. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 13(4), 367-381.
- Lewin, T. (2008). U.S. Universities Rush to Set Up Outposts Abroad. *The New York Times* (Online), 10 February, 2008.
- Lewin, T. (2012). Faculty Gives Yale a Dose of Dissent Over Singapore. *The New York Times* (Online), 4 April, 2012.
- Locke, R. & Spender, J-C. (2011). *Confronting managerialism: How the business elite and their schools threw our lives out of balance*. London & New York: Zed Books.
- Locke, R. (1989). *Management and higher education since 1940: The influence of America and Japan on West Germany, Great Britain, and France*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Locke, R. (1996). *Collapse of the American management mystique*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mahani, S. & Molki, A. (2011). Globalization of Higher Education in the United Arab Emirates. Conference paper: The 2011 New Orleans International Academic Conference. New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Marens, (2013) in this book
- Marginson, S. & Considine, M. (2000). *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McManis, G.L. & Parker, W.C. (1978). *Implementing management information systems in colleges and universities*. Littleton, CO: Ireland Educational Corp.
- McNeill, D. (2008). South Korea Seeks a New Role as a Higher Education Hub. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (Online), Retrieved from: http://viet-studies.info/Korea_Higher_Ed.pdf.
- Meyer, J.W., Ramirez, F.O., Frank, D.J., & Schofer, E. (2007). Higher education as an institution. In P.J. Gumpert (Ed.), *Sociology of higher education: Contributions and their contexts* (pp. 187-221). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mills, A. (2010). Money Can Mean Success or Failure in the Persian Gulf. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 56(41), A25.

- Mintzberg, H. (2004). *Managers not MBAs: A Hard Look at the Soft Practice of Managing and Management Development*. San Francisco, Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.
- Mok, K.H. (2011). The quest for regional hub of education: growing heterarchies, organizational hybridization, and new governance in Singapore and Malaysia. *Journal of Education Policy*, 26(1), 61-81.
- Mok, K.H. (2007). Questing for Internationalization of Universities in Asia: Critical Reflections. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3-4), 433-454.
- Muller-Camen, M. & Salzgeber, S. (2005). Changes in Academic Work and the Chair Regime: The Case of German Business Administration Academics, *Organization Studies*, 26(2), 271-290.
- Murphy, J. & Zhu, J. (2012). Neocolonialism in the academy? Anglo-American domination in management journals. *Organization*, 19(6), 915-927.
- Narayandas, D. (2007). Trends in Executive Education in Business Marketing. *Journal of Business-to-Business Marketing*, 14 (1), 23-30.
- Nelson, C. (2008). Foreword: Resistance is Not Futile. In M. Bousquet (Ed.), *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation* (pp. xiii-xviii). New York: New York University Press.
- Nikunen, M. (2012). Precarious work at the 'entrepreneurial' university: Adaptation versus 'abandon ship'. *Individualization and identity work: Coping with the 'entrepreneurial' university*. In: S. Ahola & D.M. Hoffman (Eds.), *Higher education research in Finland: Emerging structures and contemporary issues* (pp. 271-290). Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Press.
- Noble, D.F. (2002). Digital Diploma Mills: The Automation of Higher Education. In: P. Mirowski & E-M. Sent (Eds.), *Science Bought and Sold: Essays in the Economics of Science* (pp. 431-443). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Peters, K. (2010). As a business model, what we are doing right now is, for me, not sustainable. *EFMD Global Focus*, 4(3), 8-12.
- Pfeffer, J. & Fong, C.T. (2002). The End of Business Schools? Less Success than Meets the Eye. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 1(1), 78-95.
- Pfeffer, J. & Fong C.T. (2004). The business school "business": Some lessons from the US experience. *Journal of Management Studies*, 41(8), 1501-1520.
- Prichard, C. & Willmott H. (1997). Just how managed is the McUniversity. *Organization Studies*, 18(2), 287-316.
- Reich, R.B. (2008). *Supercapitalism: The Transformation of Business, Democracy, and Everyday Life*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ripoff Report. (2013). Retrieved from: <http://www.ripoffreport.com/colleges-and-universities/university-of-atlant/university-of-atlanta-uofa-ed-85310.htm>.

- Ritzer, G. (1996). McUniversity in the Postmodern Consumer Society. *Quality in Higher Education*, 2(3), 185-199.
- Saravanamuthu, K. & Filling, S. (2004). A critical response to managerialism in the Academy. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 15, 437-452.
- Saravanamuthu, K. & Tinker, T. (2002). The University in the New Corporate World. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 13(5/6), 545-554.
- Schoepp, K. (2009). The United Arab Emirates and the Branch Campus Gold Rush. *International Higher Education*, 1, 22-23.
- Schuetze, H.G. (2012). Universities and their communities - Engagement and service as primary mission. In L. McIlrath, A. Lyons & R. Munck (Eds.), *Higher education and civic engagement - Comparative perspectives* (pp. 61-77). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Simon, H.A. (1967). The Business School: A Problem in Organizational Design. *Journal of Management Studies*, 4, 1-16.
- Singh G. (2002). Educational consumers or educational partners: a critical theory analysis. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 13(5/6), 681-700
- Slaughter, S. & Leslie, L.L (1997). *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins.
- Slaughter, S. & Leslie, L.L. (2001). Expanding and elaborating the concept of academic capitalism, *Organization*, 8(2), 154-161.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. (2000). The Neo-liberal University. *New Labor Forum*, 6, 73-79.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State and Higher Education*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. (2011). Markets in Higher Education: Trends in Academic Capitalism. In P.G. Altbach, P.J. Gumport & R.O. Berdahl (Eds.), *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 433-463). Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Spencer, T. (2008). Alabama takes aim at Internet colleges; Chancellor's office says targets 'not real schools'. *The Birmingham News*, 2 September, 2008.
- Söderqvist, M. (2001). *The internationalization and strategic planning of higher-education institutions: an analysis of Finnish EPS strategies*. Helsinki: Helsingin kauppakorkeakoulu.
- Spender J.C. (2008). The business school in America: a century goes by. In: T. Durand & S. Dameron (Eds.), *The Future of Business Schools: Scenarios and Strategies for 2020* (pp. 9-18). Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stookey, S. (2013) in this book
- Suzuki, D. (1989). *The Prostitution of Academia. Inventing the Future: Reflections on Science, Technology and Nature*. NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Swan, M. (2012). Education ministry warns UAE students of unaccredited online degrees. *The National (Online)*, 27 November, 2012.
- Taylor, M.C. (2010). *Crisis on Campus. A Bold Plan for Reforming Our Colleges and Universities*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

PART III: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Key findings of the research

Looking back at the research task established at the beginning of this study, I aimed to contribute to our understanding of how the market logic emerged and became an increasingly influential and widespread institutional logic in higher education, particularly in business schools. In Part I of this thesis, I examined the emergence, institutionalization and permeation of the market logic in higher education through the spread of market forces. In Chapter 2.5, I discussed how the entry of market logic has challenged many principles of the academic logic and its underlying logics of action and legitimacy, including the ethos, *raison d'être*, operating logic and faculty and student roles of the university. These aspects were summarized in Table 2.

The second aspect of the initial research task was to understand how the entry of non-traditional professionalized disciplines into academia, namely, business schools, increased the influence of the market logic that permeated academia. I will summarize the findings of the research articles of Part II by discussing the findings in the light of the more specific research questions that were put forward in the introduction:

How business schools, after becoming legitimate parts of academia, have strategically utilized their influence to promote market logic?

Based on the findings of the articles, business schools were indeed (and still are) involved with initiating and promoting market logic in higher education in many ways as they gained influence in academia. When the first university-based business schools were established in the 19th century, it was important for them to gain legitimacy within both academia and society. As discussed earlier, at that time, American universities were transforming as they began to align themselves as institutions that served the public good. Because legitimacy is easier to borrow than to establish from scratch, the first business schools aimed to legitimize themselves according to those same principles (Khurana & Penrice 2011, Kieser 2004). However, business schools continued to cope with the

legitimacy problem that management studies were still considered a practical craft instead of a noble science (Augier & March 2011). Thus, because of these tensions, the entry of business schools into academia was highly contested (Engwall 2009, Khurana 2007, Kieser 2004). To overcome this challenge, as discussed in Article I, business schools became more scientific for the purpose of claiming their places as legitimate new members of academia (see also Spender 2005, 2007, 2008, 2014).

Business schools suffered similar kind of legitimacy challenges than other practice-focused sciences, such as medicine, which sought a place within the academic sciences. Medical schools were successful in becoming legitimate members of academia by distinguishing themselves from being a practical craft through establishing a link between their theory and practice and through demonstrating the rigor of their scientific field of study with the help of external validating membership organizations such as the Carnegie Foundation and the Flexner report (Bulletin number four) (Augier & March 2011). Dunn and Jones (2010) describe the medical school utilization of both the science and care logics in their professionalization. Because mimicry of successful organizations is a typical strategy for organizations to address uncertainty (DiMaggio & Powell 1983), business schools mimicked medical school approaches in claiming their legitimacy. After all, like medical schools, business schools were entrants into academia with strong preexisting institutional logics that were central to their professions.

However, the problem was that management is not a profession in a similar manner to other professional fields and there was no grand theory for managing that could have been utilized as the body of intellectual knowledge for university-based business schools (Spender 2014). Nonetheless, although business schools (still) have not been able to professionalize management, they were able to professionalize themselves through scientification and the establishment of professional organizations (*ibid.*). As business schools developed publication norms for research and scientified their research, teaching and methods, they were able to divert themselves from the very practice-oriented and practical nature of their field of study (Augier & March 2011, Spender 2007). At the time, scientification was the only means of conforming to the prevailing institutionalized template of academic logic. Article I focused on explaining how business schools gained a place as a legitimate scientific discipline within academia, although the result of the scientification process diverted them from their previous key constituents and evaluating audiences (practicing managers and their organizations).

In the 19th century, American higher education was harnessed to serve the public good in many ways. Higher education benefitted from the cycle of increasing symbolic and substantial performance that made American higher education not only a legitimate but also an envied role model. Because applications of university-based research to military and clinical discoveries proved successful during the World Wars, business schools also benefitted from this apparent linkage between science and practice. During the World Wars,

American business schools were eager to bolster their position and to increase their cognitive legitimacy within academia by attempting to apply science to solve managerial problems (Khurana 2007, Locke & Spender 2011, Whitley 1986). Ultimately, military operations, the armaments industry and large corporations needed well-educated managers to lead them. Thus, wartime gave business schools an opportunity to demonstrate their utility.

How top American research universities can be considered particularly active promoters of the ideas and values of market logic in other nations?

As the quality of managerial talent produced by American business schools became a recognized myth within and outside the US, especially after World War II (Khurana 2007), business schools were able to enhance their symbolic and substantive performance (cf. Heugens & Lander 2009). This was proven as an increasing number of European key decision makers, businessmen, university managers, professors and students visited US business schools to learn why these schools were so successful in training professional managers (Antunes & Thomas 2007, Tiratsoo 2004).

As discussed earlier, the American higher education system was eager to build an institutional template that would characterize and define the “American university.” Elite US business schools were also successful early pioneers in their own institutionalization and professionalization strategies that would define the standards (superstructure, research and education) of the elite model of the American business school (Khurana 2007). As shown in Article II, this institutionalized organizational template served as a standard to which later adopters needed to conform, thus leading to increasing isomorphism within the field as business schools became more homogeneous in their observable features. Proof of the cognitive legitimacy of this newly institutionalized template for organizing gave American business schools a first-mover advantage manifested in the idea that the ideas and practices of the template were universally applicable (Durand & Dameron 2008, Engwall 2007, Locke & Spender 2011, Spender 2008) and thus were transferable elsewhere (as we claimed in Article III), which resulted in the promotion of the research-based American business school model as the dominant institutional template for organizing and its global diffusion after WW II. It is not surprising that the American business school model was adopted in most Western countries: according to institutional theory, there are significant pressures to conform to dominant institutionalized templates because conformity is often considered to improve performance.

However, the global diffusion of the American business school model was not a natural evolution process; it involved more strategic approaches on the “sender” side. Although the “export” of American educational ideas and practices was implemented not through coercive means but through voluntary methods as part of post-World War II development aid, it was nonetheless intended to serve the political and economic interests of promoting democracy and capitalism—with the seeds to be implemented in the Eastern Bloc during

the Cold War. Naturally, American business schools were ideal vehicles for promoting these ideas (Khurana & Spender 2012). As English became the dominant language of business and more nations adopted the American business school model, they also adopted its ideologies and dogmas, as argued in Article II. This explains why neoliberalism has been adopted in those countries that adopted the American business school template and why global educational policy making involves more politically laden interests than is normally understood (cf. Ball 2012).

How market logic has encouraged business schools to go beyond their original purpose and how that encouragement has led to unexpected outcomes?

The institutionalization of any new organizational field such as the university-based business schools is typically vulnerable to threats that stem from institutional uncertainty when the institutional field is developing quickly (Wilkins & Huisman 2012). Articles I, II and III discussed how the university-based business school institutionalization process has witnessed several threats that could have presented obstacles to business school legitimacy and thus its development as a role model and its diffusion elsewhere. It was important for business schools to turn several economic and corporate crises to their benefit. For example, the dollar crisis (Robinson 1972), the oil crisis (Akins 1973), corporations' generally weak productivity (Baily & Chakrabarti 1988) and the inefficient practices of corporate managers (Khurana 2007) were some of the field-specific crises that challenged business schools.

Most importantly, business schools were able to benefit from neoliberal discourses and transform their products and services into a business, as highlighted in Article III. For example, in the late 1970s, business schools began to preach the need to minimize the role of the state by deregulating markets and developing new corporate incentives according to stock prices (Augier & March 2011, Crouch 2011, Locke & Spender 2011). As discussed in Article I, business schools became more directly involved with politics because they were able to turn economic theories and ideologies into powerful socioeconomic tools for political decision makers. Because American business schools have always been more or less involved with businesses, this politicization process contradicted one of the principal ideas of neoliberalism—that businesses must not interfere with politics and politics must not interfere with markets. Because of politicization, business schools interfered with politics and politicians engaged in massive lobbying in favor of market forces.

As discussed earlier, the ideas of neoliberalism and its byproducts were also adopted by political decision makers outside the US, which proves that the ideas promoted by business schools were considered universally applicable³. Business schools also promoted the ideas of globalization and free markets in favor of neoliberalism through their teaching (Augier & March 2011, Chancellor 2000, Varoufakis, Halevi & Theocarakis 2011). Like many other projects of

³ Although in practice neoliberal ideas were translated in different ways, those translations have not led to similar outcomes; see e.g., Campbell & Pedersen (2001).

neoliberalism, the freeing of global markets for competition was also promoted by the noble idea that free markets would enhance nations' efficiency and thus societal well-being (Ferraro, Pfeffer & Sutton 2005, Marglin 2008, Smith 2010). This ideology was then spread outside the US and promoted with the help of legitimating supranational network organizations such as the WTO, the World Bank and the OECD, who were eager to lend their neoliberal-oriented educational ideas and practices to governments and local communities (cf. Spring 2009). Because business schools had proved their symbolic and substantive performance within academia and society as a new forerunner and trendsetter in global socioeconomic politics, the scope of their influence became increasingly strong and exceeded its original purpose.

As described in Article I, business schools' corporatist legitimacy-building process was built on active idealization and the promotion of market logic as the ideal new institutional template for organizing. This belief in the superiority of the markets has often led to neoliberal solutions such as the privatization of public universities (by either making them entirely private or by creating public-private partnerships), the establishment of new private universities (instead of public ones) as a more affordable way to build capacity and the introduction of corporate-style leadership models with a focus on profitability, line management processes and empowering boards of trustees (Crouch 2011, Mok 2009, 2011, Olssen 2011). Thus, many institutional traditional features of academic logic such as collegial decision making, serving the public good and even tenured professorship have eroded and are slowly being de-institutionalized.

Although the new higher education policies promoting privatization were aimed at substantive savings, improved efficiency and improved consumer choice, in the long term, they were insufficient. Universities had to generate new sources of funding to ensure their long-term substantive and symbolic performance. As discussed, certain faculties of elite research universities, namely biosciences, were able to achieve this goal by turning their science into commercially oriented, profit-generating products. Because business school research by nature is less likely to result in marketable scientific discoveries and patents, business school managers needed to seek a basis for continuous substantive performance from their core knowledge—doing business. In other words, business schools had to transform business education into the education business. For decades, MBA programs had already been cash cows, thus making business schools one of the most profitable disciplines in academia (Pfeffer & Fong 2004). This gave business schools the upper hand in justifying the wider adoption of corporate-style management logic in universities.

Since the 1990s, internationalization has been incorporated into the center of many universities' missions (Altbach 2011, Whitley & Gläser 2007). Traditionally, the dominant rationale for universities and business schools in their internationalization ventures was to attract foreign students to generate new funding streams for the institutions as well as for the nation (Naidoo 2011). Because engaging in cross-border ventures had become the norm in the

corporate world after the birth of multinational enterprises and the global market, it was a natural step for business schools to begin to internationalize their activities. Initially, business-schools first expanded to new markets through less risky collaboration strategies and through licensing and franchising. However, as market forces spread and business school managers saw the substantive potential in business programs as an export product, they started seeking profits from direct cross-border activities ranging from joint ventures to wholly owned investments such as IBCs (Altbach & Knight 2007, Czinkota et al. 2009, Elkin, Devjee & Farnsworth 2005, Hawawini 2005, Knight & Green 2004, Vincent-Lancrin 2004).

Market logic and profit motivation are clearly visible in the cross-border activities of universities; the decision to expand to certain foreign countries but not to others was hardly random: it was what Crouch (2011, p. 126) has labeled “regime shopping,” i.e., investing in countries with the most favorable rules and the best opportunities for profit maximization. Consequently, it was not surprising that Western business schools sought to expand to high-growth economies with favorable (neoliberal) government policies and young populations with enough purchasing power to pay tuition. This reveals the underlying profit-generating motive behind most cross-border activities, despite attempts to tell the public that the underlying mission was not profits but the spread of Western values such as democracy and improved societal well being.

Because direct cross-border profit-seeking activities fall outside the scope of non-profit universities’ traditional purpose and functions, and thus the ideals of academic logic, these operations are likely to be opposed by many constituents. Opposition to any idea in organizations with collegiate decision making structures is likely to hinder the possibility that these ideas will ever be implemented – at the least, it is likely to cause the execution of these strategies to take a long time. University managers were aware of this fact because there were increasing attempts to establish internal structures that enabled faster decision-making. For example, fields of study such as biotechnology, which have successfully commercialized their operations, have established transfer desks to organize and engage in their profit-oriented activities (Washburn 2008). Thus, these activities were undertaken by separate profit centers.

Similarly, business schools have utilized so-called “internationalization arms” as profit centers in their cross-border ventures. Those profit centers are purposefully established to bypass collegial decision-making and the endogenous resistance to these ventures, as discussed in Article III. Consequently, business programs, especially MBA degrees, have been the disciplines most likely to cross national borders (AACSB International 2011, Hawawini 2005, Wildavsky 2010). Thus, most business school cross-border ventures are profit-motivated; they are even undertaken by corporations that are specifically designed to harvest benefits and to enable business schools to go beyond their original purpose.

Universities' cross-border activities are also interesting in the sense that because universities are in the reputation business, they must ensure that their reputations are maintained; in the case of elite universities, reputation is also part of a strategy to protect brand value. Therefore, engaging in cross-border activities was not typical for elite business schools (Marginson 2006); the recruitment of overseas students better served their internationalization strategy (Engwall 2008). Although there a small number of elite business schools engaged in cross-border operations in the 1990s and early 2000s, it was not until 2005 that a significant proportion of the world's elite business schools opened their doors abroad (Juusola 2011). Therefore, as discussed in Article III, the fact that elite business schools began cross-border ventures in Dubai was rather peculiar. We explained this notable shift in the mindset of elite business school managers' aims to expand their businesses as similar to that of corporations; however, managers also apparently intended to bolster their schools' reputations by building global prestige and brand. As a few leading schools began these activities, others within the same strategic group engaged in similar ventures to avoid losing their share of the global education market and to enjoy an equal global reach.

However, as described in Articles III and IV, corporate thinking in business-school internationalization efforts in Dubai had many unexpected consequences. Institutional theory expects organizations that conform to prevailing institutional norms to automatically be more efficient than those that resist such pressures (DiMaggio & Powell 1983). Institutional logics offer solutions that are consistent with that prevailing logic and ensure that issues and problems will receive management attention (Thornton 2002). Thus, national contexts that have relatively weak academic logic are likely to evaluate higher education institutions in market terms. Therefore, the traditional attributes of prestige and reputation of universities are not transferable in a manner that would ensure their success in another context in which they are evaluated by a different set of values.

Consequently, some prestigious universities overestimated their own brand and market appeal when entering the Dubai market, as shown in Articles III and IV. Ironically, their prestige became their weakness. Whereas non-elite institutions had the ability to close down an underperforming branch without tarnishing their image in case of a market failure (after all, their symbolic performance is based on their ability to operate as businesses), elite institutions could not do the same because their global reputation would have suffered. As a result, many such schools were forced to continue to operate their money-losing branches, as discussed in Articles III and IV. If elite schools were to fail in their own business, it would result in a loss of legitimacy among their most important evaluating audiences: corporations, the media and academia.

Indeed, the implications of the reputation business had become an increasingly important tool for business schools in building both symbolic and substantive performance through branding and prestige building to compete in the global marketplace. Because the business of business schools is

characterized by mimicry and hyper-competition, they had to develop brands and unique selling points to stand out from competitors and survive (Starkey & Tiratsoo 2007, Thomas & Wilson 2011). Branding and image building have become important tools for competition through differentiation (cf. Heugens & Lander 2009, Naidoo et al. 2014).

Moreover, as market forces have highlighted the connections of universities into the economic growth of nations (Salmi 2009), business schools have also adopted the project of the world-class mission, i.e., to become world-class business schools. In a way, this world-class mantra fostered both institutional and competitive isomorphism (Heugens & Lander 2009), as business schools have become pressured to become more similar according to the ideals of what constitute “top business schools” in the sense that they must find a way to differentiate themselves from their competitors.

Consequently, it is increasingly common for business schools to include in their mission statements and slogans phrases such as “the business school for the world” (Insead 2014), “the world’s most international business school” (Hult International Business School 2014) and “one of the world’s most innovative business schools” (Edinburgh Business School 2014), or phrases indicating that their vision is “to have a profound impact on the way the world does business” (London Business School 2014). Internationalization and the establishment of branch campuses thus are clearly linked as part of business schools’ aforementioned strategy to establish themselves as world-class institutions.

The effect of market logic on different types of business schools is certainly visible. Because institutional logics determine the types of strategies on which management should focus to comply with the market logic (Thornton 2002), many non-elite institutions have begun to emulate the elite institutions. Although non-elite schools cannot compete with elite schools, this does not mean that they cannot use the same points of reference. For example, most business schools today, regardless of their prestige, want to establish themselves as world-class universities attracting world-class faculty and the brightest students. Many corporate and for-profit institutions have been very successful in their cross-border operations, sometimes even more successful than their elite counterparts, as shown in Articles III and IV. This can be explained through institutional logics because those organizations that conform to the dominant institutional logic are more likely to be legitimate and competitive (Thornton 2002). In the case of the UAE higher education market, business schools that conform to the market logic have been more successful.

The increasing influence of the market logic in higher education has undoubtedly produced many unintended consequences, including mission confusion. As Naidoo and colleagues (2014) explain, there are both actual and aspirational identities that universities and business schools develop. This response perhaps reflects management that is coping with conflicting institutional logics. Because institutions realize that aligning themselves with traditional academic logic is no longer realistic or even desirable if they want to survive in the market-oriented higher education system, they have been forced

to rethink their missions. Many “wannabe” universities have set unrealistic aspirational goals. Mission confusion is visible, for example, in many institutions’ current struggles about whether to be teaching- or research oriented or how to excel at both. In turn, this alignment affects not only market position but also financial flows, internal and external expectations and competition strategies. Increasing conflict between the academic and market logics, which most institutions try to balance, distorts reality and produces a cadre of mediocre universities claiming to be research-intensive institutions that produce little (if any) academically rigorous research.

Another unintended consequence of market logic is the proliferation of professional organizations, including accrediting and ranking organizations (also illegal ones) because most institutions are accredited and ranked by some organization (Altbach & Knight 2007). Business schools and universities use their accreditation and ranking status, whether genuine or not, as marketing tools, as confirmed by the empirical findings of Article IV. Consequently, it has become increasingly difficult for students to obtain reliable information about different institutions and their quality.

There are already several signs that conflicting institutional logics have challenged the provision of elite business schools (Zell 2001). Considerable conformance toward market logic has also occurred as contemporary business schools reflect ever-fewer qualities of traditional academic logic. Currently, little is understood about the long-term consequences of market logic. Many see the change as inevitable and necessary because conformity to prevailing institutional logic is typically understood to relate positively to performance and thus legitimacy. However, Heugens and Lander (2009) have noted that this view can be misleading because conformity to conflicting institutionalized templates may also result in negative long-run performance and organizational legitimacy is never taken for granted. Furthermore, contradictions between institutional logics cannot be sustained (Dunn & Jones 2010). Although some of the changes stemming from market logic are positive and intended, such as the continuous need to improve the quality of teaching and the relevancy of courses, some of the more radical unexpected developments have caused more turmoil and resistance (e.g., Donoghue 2008, Ginsberg 2011, Pfeffer & Fong 2004).

How market logic affects contexts that lack a long academic heritage that would act as a buffer against its influence?

Article IV focused on the negative aspects of market logic manifested in non-traditional academic heritages. Because of increasing influence of market logic and the fact that they are motivated by opportunity costs, business schools have started to focus more on short-term goals and profitability rather than long-term goals (cf. Heugens & Lander 2009). These behaviors and attributes have resulted in increasing market competition in which different categories of education providers fiercely compete for students. As education became considered a commodity to be bought by consumers who decide where to buy

it, market opportunities for any type of institution of any quality could operate provided there was consumer demand. As Starkey and Tiratsoo (2007, p. 50) have noted, in the era of hyper-competition, business schools are now being “more business and less school.” Many critics believe that some of the changes initiated by market forces have gone too far and have come at too high a cost (Alajoutsijärvi 2012, Alajoutsijärvi, Moisanen & Salminen 2011).

In contexts that lack the academic traditions and strong institutions on which the academic logic relies, market forces can take more extreme forms. Consistent with Dunn and Jones (2010), when the academic and market logics become dissociated or unbalanced, it is likely that institutions become vulnerable to threats that benefit from this situation. We studied such a setting in Article IV and identified a new, extreme market logic that has emerged, which we call *acamanic capitalism*. This new model is increasingly separated from scientific outputs and reputation, which are the traditional foundations of the academic logic. As Thornton and Ocasio (2008) explain, the emergence of the market logic as an increasingly powerful institutional logic has enabled new market conditions that are typically employed by new and powerful organizations with different goals and tactics. Consequently, this market has also been tapped by several non-research, for-profit institutions and management consultancies that have reaped substantive benefits from the management education market. Traditional research universities, in contrast, have not been able to benefit to the same extent from these new market conditions. Because the market logic erodes the value of academic research, it has led to the worrying deprofessionalization of faculty and academic drift in research universities and business schools (Starkey & Tempest 2005, Zell 2001).

Of course, it is too early to tell how market logic will turn out over the long term, although it is well worth speculating. As discussed throughout this study, market logic naturally promotes the survival of the fittest in the market. However, the fittest are not necessarily the best in terms of quality and reputation. According to the neoliberal ideas of supply, demand and consumer choice, producing basically anything that sells is justifiable (Crouch 2011). This also explains why for-profit institutions and even dubious degree-mill-type institutions have thrived in the era of marketization. There has been an increasing demand for the products of these institutions because some consumers choose to buy a degree rather than to earn it. Although degree mills’ operations are more controlled in domestic markets, they have successfully expanded to overseas markets because of the lack of cross-border quality assurance and consumer information about the quality of their programs (Altbach & Knight 2007, Morrow & Torres 2000).

5.2 Theoretical and conceptual contributions

To understand the institutional logics constraining and constituting change in higher education, this research was loosely based on the foundations of institutional theory. Institutional theory was utilized to form a framework for understanding the influence of institutional logics that establish the acceptable and desirable conditions, mechanisms and processes according to which universities and business schools are expected to operate. Two major institutional logics were found: academic logic and market logic. Whereas the academic logic is associated with the old academic traditions and ideals of Humboldtian model, the market logic represents a market model of higher education. Because both institutional logics are increasingly in conflict, this has increased the pressures involved in managing higher education institutions.

According to Heugens and Lander (2009), little is known about how organizations experience isomorphic pressures or how they interpret and learn to manage those pressures strategically. The research articles sought to provide new theoretical knowledge about how business schools have experienced isomorphic pressures stemming from both institutional logics and the broader institutional forces that shape these logics and how these organizations make strategic decisions to gain, maintain and increase their influence and legitimacy. Universities and business schools do not passively conform to prevailing, slowly changing institutional logics; they are active players capable of strategizing for their own benefit and even of initiating changes to the prevailing institutional logics according to which they are evaluated.

Because the theoretical and conceptual contributions of this study are so wide and complex, I will summarize the key issues by using tables and a figure in the following paragraphs to distill this study's contributions. First, to distill how business schools have become increasingly enmeshed in market forces, the following table summarizes and categorizes the institutional forces that promote market logic in business schools across borders.

TABLE 9 Institutional forces promoting market logic in business schools

COGNITIVE FORCES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business education as a successful academic discipline • Legitimate programs emerge: BBA, MSc, MBA, eMBA, DBA • Cognitive superiority of the American business school model over other alternatives (scientification) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search for the best practices for educational reforms • Cognitive superiority of neoliberal ideology in shaping higher education systems (politicization) • Economic growth and globalization: need for more business professionals

NORMATIVE FORCES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business programs as tradable products: commercialization and commodification • American programs become a standard/norm worldwide: Americanization • Norm to internationalize • Norm to increase efficiency: privatization and corporatization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting national and supranational institutions and think tanks that promote globalization and neoliberalism • Norm to create world-class universities • Normative audit and accountability pressures
REGULATIVE FORCES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreasing state funding and/or shift to performance-based funding • Shift from state control to market control • Privatization • Deregulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitation of free movement of ideas, people and institutions: GATS → cross-border activities • Role of international rankings and accreditations as new regulatory form of governance and tool for global competition: marketization

American business schools gained the first-mover advantage because they were able to establish the best practices that were considered more efficient, modern, rational and scientific than any alternative solution (Boli 2008, Drori & Meyer 2008). Therefore, as institutional theory suggests, the density of network ties enables and promotes the global diffusion of institutionalized templates. Similarly, the global density of network ties and the carriers and promoters of American education (e.g., professional organizations, voluntary membership organizations, professors and students) enabled the institutionalization and diffusion of the American business school model and neoliberal values (Engwall 2004, Tiratsoo 2004, Khurana & Spender 2012). Moreover, because the American university ideal has been considered universal, transferable and tradable, it has quickly traveled across borders and been adopted into local contexts, often with little resistance (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson 2008b).

Another reason for the global spread of market forces in higher education, particularly in business schools, is their promotion as “portable” organizational ideas from the business world where they had proven successful (Ramirez 2008, p. 242). In practice, these ideas have been addressed in higher education and business school research under various terms. In the research articles, we focused on the following issues: Article I discussed scientification, corporatization and politicization, and Article II discussed market forces in the guise of the modernization, standardization and rationalization of higher education. Article III, however, focused on the commercialization, marketization, internationalization and globalization aspects of market forces in higher education. Article IV focused on market forces in the forms of the corporatization, marketization and globalization of higher education and

touched on commodification aspects as market forces enabled the entry of a wide array of business education providers. Because previous research has not defined how market logic is specifically manifested in business schools, the conceptual contributions of this study aimed to contribute to this understanding. To summarize how these trends of market logic were found to relate to business schools, I summarize each of them in the table below.

TABLE 10 Terminology of trends of market logic in business schools

Terminology	What it means in business schools?
Commercialization	Business schools have been the frontrunners of commercialization because their programs study money, attract money and are a source of money for the mother institution. Business programs are relevant to a large portion of the workforce, even outside business, and therefore are in high demand. Moreover, commercialization occurs across borders because business programs are considered transferable, universal and tradable products sold in the global marketplace.
Marketization	Market practices are implemented to market and sell education like any service or commodity. Business schools have been able to use their own teachings to promote and legitimize marketization. Successful marketization has been a legitimizing factor for business schools in the era of market forces because they have been able to demonstrate their utility by going to open markets to compete for students and external funding.
Commodification	Professional education and scientific enquiry are transformed into commodified knowledge. In this process, the value placed on creating knowledge is diminished. As a result, anyone with basic skills and knowledge can teach business.
Corporatization/ Bureaucratization	Corporate style decision making is implemented at business schools (top-down) and incorporated into how universities are run. Corporatization has facilitated more agile decision-making and enabled cross-border ventures. However, it has led to the deprofessionalization and loss of cognitive legitimacy among faculty.
Standardization	Harmonization has been achieved through supranational organizations in education policy-making, e.g., the Bologna process. Standardization has facilitated the mobility of students, faculty, programs and institutions across borders.
Modernization/ Rationalization	Local systems have been modernized through the use of non-local systems and their best practices and ideology. For example, when modernization involves Americanization, business schools' responses to these pressures have led to different approaches to adaptation (imitation, transmutation, compromization, imposterization, and immunization)
Internationalization	International features are added to business schools' core activities (superstructure, research, education). Business schools have largely adopted English, recruited foreign faculty and students, and used foreign (especially American) teaching methods and books. Internationalization has also involved the movement of people,

	ideas, practices and institutions across borders. Whereas internationalization used to be free of profit-generating aspects, profits are an increasing feature of such activities at business schools.
Globalization	Globalization is the flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values and ideas across borders. Business schools have benefited from globalization because neoliberalism has been the main ideology behind it. The spread of neoliberalism and thus globalization have been promoted by business schools.

Finally, in the introductory essay and research articles, I attempted to combine institutional theory and several metatheories to explain the complex relationship between Mercury and Minerva and to identify the implications of the strengthening role of market logics in higher education. Because I have aimed to contribute to the understanding of this peculiar relationship in the different chapters of this thesis, perhaps it serves a purpose to attempt to draw this development in an illustrative form.

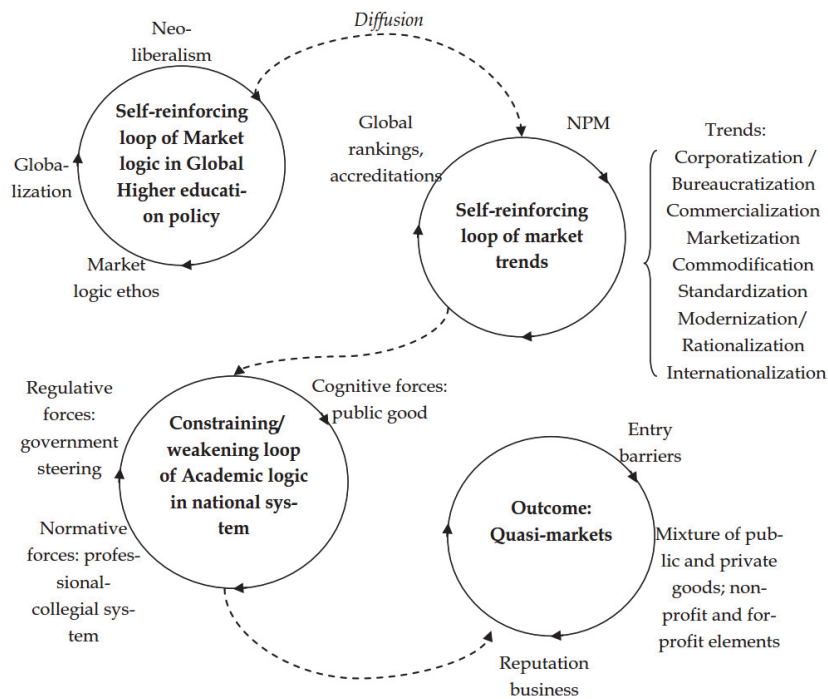


FIGURE 17 Conceptualizing the interplay between institutional logics and the outcome of plural logics

The above figure suggests that the interplay between institutional logics (market logic and academic logic) takes place in self-reinforcing loops of institutional forces and building blocks that are typically building upon one another (cf.

Phillips et al. 2009). The institutional forces and building blocks of market logic that were identified in this study were the pressures of globalization, market forces of neoliberalism and new public management (NPM) as powerful discourses shaping the reassessment of public good services, as well as the market logic ethos that legitimates the rhetoric of market forces. This self-reinforcing loop in global higher education policy discourse has initiated numerous market trends that have spread globally. Many of these trends (the corporatization/bureaucratization of higher education institutions, the commercialization, marketization and commodification of academic disciplines and their key functions [research and teaching] as well as the standardization and modernization/rationalization of academic systems and internationalization aspects) operate on the basis of NPM and are often also driven by global rankings and accreditations.

These market trends are not likely to diffuse as such and be implemented into national higher education systems without any local adaptation. The institutional setting and academic logic in a national context are likely to constrain or weaken the influence of the market forces. Thus, the constraining/weakening loop builds on the building blocks of these cognitive, normative and regulative institutional forces. The cognitive forces include concepts of knowledge as public good, whereas normative forces highlight the strong role of the professional-collegial system and academic heritage according to an academic logic and the way in which universities have traditionally operated. Furthermore, given that higher education is typically strictly controlled by governments in centralized higher education systems (because higher education is not only viewed as producing public good but national public good), it has an inherent political connotation. Therefore, higher education is still largely managed and regulated by the government. Thus, this combination of institutional forces forms a buffer for institutional change toward market logic.

Therefore, although market logic has changed higher education systems to different extents, market logic has not taken and will not likely take control of higher education as long as the elements in the constraining/weakening loop of academic logic in national systems is in place. For example, although the globalization of education has initiated changes in elite research universities and national governments have implemented NPM ideas into the provisioning of higher education, the market-driven model in higher education has largely failed (*ibid.*). Marginson (2009) argues that knowledge production can never be conceptualized as a private good. However, different forms of knowledge delivery are perfectly fit for marketization; for example, certain forms of job training functions have undergone a full takeover by market logic. However, knowledge creation is ultimately a national interest, and market-oriented reforms have not turned out as expected in the WTO-GATS negotiations that aimed to create a global market place for higher education (Marginson 2011).

As the role of government steering has not decreased, there is presently a mixture of state and market control that regulates and directs the provision of higher education (Marginson 2011, Naidoo et al. 2011). Thus, the market model

in higher education has not been realized as previously conceived. Furthermore, because research universities operate in the reputation business and tend to both compete and collaborate, especially in research activities, a full implementation of market logic is less likely to take over because a reputation business is inherently different from a product market. For example, elite institutions are non-profit institutions. Even when they make profits, they are not likely to expand their market share to safeguard the prestige of their exclusiveness, nor are they able to distribute dividends. Moreover, universities in different prestige categories do not compete equally for resources, faculty or even students. Instead, faculty and students are competing for places in prestigious institutions, and universities compete for government and industry funding. In a reputation business, there are also high entry barriers in the professionalized field that are both reputational and financial. This fact naturally decreases the likelihood of new research institutions emerging.

In most contexts where neoliberal reforms in higher education have been implemented, they have resulted in the development of quasi-markets (Marginson 2009, 2011, Naidoo et al. 2011, Naidoo et al. 2014) in which the market and academic logics coexist as plural logics. In such settings, there are certain clearly evident market-type features, but Mercury has certainly not beaten Minerva as both institutional logics are supported by many groups and interests. However, as described in the research articles and illustrated by the UAE cases, when the national context is characterized by a weak academic logic, it cannot buffer the consequences of a full-blown market logic. Mercury can indeed beat Minerva and increase conformity to market logic.

5.3 Practical contribution and managerial implications of the study

The beginning of this thesis explains how this topic produced interesting reactions among my colleagues. Now let us return to the coffee-table discussion. What sense did it make to study business schools in the context of the UAE? And did this research provide any economic value to Finnish society?

To answer the first question, although the focus of the research articles was the UAE's business school field, it was clear for me from the beginning that the phenomenon I am studying is not limited to the UAE. The larger phenomenon or its manifestations in every article are things with which business schools all around the world, including Finland, are coping: internationalization and globalization challenges (including cross-border activities); the influence of the American business school model and the ideology and ideas that come with it, which have changed local non-American business schools; and the effects of academic capitalism in the forms of university corporatization, marketization and globalization. Therefore, I believe

that to understand our own “business,” we must understand the business in which we operate.

What are the implications of this research for the governance of higher education institutions and business schools in Finland? The primary message of this research is that market logic has shaped the provision of higher education to a great extent. Market logic has posed considerable challenges to universities but also have provided opportunities, because certain types of education have been turned into a commodity that has market value and the ability to bring profits. University and business school leaders and decision makers should be aware of the market logic, including how it emerged and gained influence, as well as the explicit and implicit outcomes of market forces that become strong institutional forces that then shape higher education. It must be understood that market forces are multi-faceted, accelerate the institutional forces that shape universities and create pressure to conform to many aspects of the market logic.

Market forces are not a coherent group of practices but instead are related to many different activities and interests. Although many of these activities were products of neoliberal ideas and NPM applied to higher education, market forces also promote global competition, internationalization and profit-seeking activities. However, money is the bottom line. Privatization, according to the new public management logic, is typically considered a more affordable way of organizing public sector services. Global competition and the internationalization of universities are considered to build prestige and brand and thus to bring more money through increased tuition fees and endowments. Moreover, neoliberalism has always viewed competition as a way of increasing productivity, accountability and control, thus increasing quality (Olssen 2011, Olssen & Peters 2005). Profit-seeking activities are also inherent not only to most cross-border activities but also to program offerings, student recruiting, university-industry partnerships and the commercialization of teaching and research.

The global spread of market logic has had heterogeneous results. The process has been similar to the global spread of neoliberalism, which involves local adaptation based on existing local political, economic and social circumstances and institutional frameworks (Ball 2012). Consequently, market forces have entered most Western systems in a subtle way under the Trojan horse of “how things should be done.” Indeed, most ideas of market logic were rationalized by noble purposes and initially were difficult to understand or oppose. Both the business and bioscience disciplines have benefited from the growing role of market logic. Surprisingly, most research on the outcomes of market logic has not considered business schools as important manifestations of this logic. Therefore, this research attempted to bring more insight to that aspect. Furthermore, this study’s more practical contributions are related to the fact that market logic has not affected all institutions or all fields of disciplines in a similar manner. Much of this research has only touched the small, elite sector of the total volume of universities and business schools. However, the majority of

institutions are non-elite. Therefore, the articles also focused on evidence of how non-elite business schools operate in the era of business logic.

The second question of the coffee-table discussion—i.e., whether this research provides any kind of economic value for Finnish society—is more difficult to answer. Let us assume that producing knowledge for its own sake is no longer enough. What type of economic value can or should research produce? As Tuchman (2009) has stated, states (and corporations, for that matter) benefit from higher education research if it has the potential to create more wealth, jobs and taxes. Research with little market potential, on the other hand, is seen as wasteful (Marginson 2011). My research surely did not produce any value according to those criteria as it is clearly curiosity driven. What it did produce, however, was high-level publications: a *Journal of Management History* award for best international paper at the 2013 Academy of Management annual conference (Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola & Kettunen 2013). Additionally, a short version of Article III was published in the *Financial Times* in April 2014 (Alajoutsijärvi, Juusola & Lamberg 2014a) and it was also featured in the Academy of Management Press Releases in March 2014 and in the Times Higher Education in April 2014. Based on these international recognitions, I think that this research produced value for the University of Jyväskylä and thus to Finnish society, albeit in ways that are not measurable with money.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

Several limitations of this study offer suggestions for future research. The institutional logics perspective is an emerging field of research that requires further research to formalize its theory and methods (Thornton & Ocasio 2008). Some of the most urgent challenges facing this stream of research are increasing the precision of the levels at which logics are institutionalized and deinstitutionalized in different organizational fields and understanding the theoretical mechanisms of institutional logics and underlying patterns of institutional change (ibid.). Because this research is vibrant and new, it offers multiple directions for future research. One interesting concept in this emerging scholarly field is the idea of plural institutional logics that co-evolve within a profession (Dunn & Jones 2010). Thus far, this viewpoint has been a marginal area, and institutional logics research would benefit from examining this aspect. As Dunn and Jones (2008) note, the knowledge and practice of most professions and thus professional schools are likely to be guided by plural logics.

Because both academic and market logics are complex institutional logics, further research must be conducted to understand the relationship between these logics. It would be important to develop theory by identifying underlying mechanisms of change or shifts in institutional logics by focusing on the independent variables or sources of changes that either strengthen or weaken academic and market logics. Future research should also focus on how institutional

logics shape the wider institutional settings in which organizations operate. Zajac and Westphal (2004) identify institutional forces shaping markets that in turn affect institutional logics in financial markets. To understand the institutional forces in higher education markets (which I addressed as market forces), I analyzed market-level changes by focusing on neoliberalism and NPM. These market forces influenced the higher education market and initiated field-level changes in institutional logics. However, many other market forces that have affected institutional logics in higher education were not included in this study. Future research could therefore study different market forces that have guided higher education.

Most research on institutional logics has focused on organizations in the West and in contexts with strong preexisting institutions. However, institutional logics in higher education operate at the global level, and in many non-Western contexts, the underlying institutional setting differs. In fact, institutional logics and their institutional orders in non-Western settings might consist of different aspects than those defined by Western scholars. Currently, very little is known about institutional logics in higher education in different contexts. It is likely that market forces have shaped higher education in different ways and to different extents because institutional settings reflect factors such as legislation and funding of universities. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that non-Western contexts would provide new insights into institutional logics, especially the market logic.

This research is by no means a complete story of all the implications of the peculiar relationship between Mercury and Minerva. Rather, I consider it one attempt to increase our knowledge of this phenomenon and more specifically, the role of business schools in this development. The viewpoints of this study's research articles provided only a beginning for a deeper exploration of business schools in light of market logic. Since the majority of research on the effects of market forces has not considered the role of business schools, more research is necessary to understand how business schools have contributed to this development. Although there is a plethora of historical research on business schools and their evolution, it would be fruitful to link the findings of this study to further research on business schools, including their development during the past few decades in light of institutional logics. It would be interesting to understand the precise timing of the incorporation of market forces into the language and vocabulary, and ultimately practices and missions, of business schools and universities. For example, further research might analyze when the terminology of market logic (the market trends that I identified in Table 10) was incorporated into business schools and universities or which trends have been most influential. It would also be worth studying the extent to which the adoption of this terminology is simply rhetorical rather than a sign of actual institutional change.

In addition, it would be important to know more about how individuals in business schools, as well as business schools as organizations, have responded to the growing influence of market logic. Therefore, consistent with Pache and

Santos (2010, 2013a, 2013b), studying individual and organizational responses to and coping strategies for changing and conflicting institutional logics is also an interesting topic for further research. However, understanding the extent of decoupling or selective coupling strategies is very difficult in practice. Perhaps comparative research utilizing qualitative methods would be useful to improve understanding on this aspect. We aimed to explain these responses in Article II, which identified five responses from business schools. Further research might test whether these five responses are found also elsewhere and identify the underlying reasons for each response that stems from the institutional logics. It would also be important to understand the conditions under which academic and market logics can coexist as well as the conditions under which they are likely to conflict. Naturally, it would also be worthwhile to study the long-term consequences of these conflicts for the profession when or if the market logic becomes the dominant institutional logic.

Furthermore, further research could define new aspects of market logic by studying other non-traditional professional disciplines that were not originally part of academia but that later entered. Dunn and Jones (2008) contributed to this aspect by studying medical schools. However, law schools might represent interesting cases for further research. When studying institutional logics in professional disciplines, it would also be important to consider the role of professional networks and supranational organizations in this development. Due to the limitations of this study, these roles and relationships were identified but not investigated in detail.

Finally, because the majority of the existing research on institutional logics that focuses on shifting institutional logics tends to use quantitative methods, there are possibly many nuances of institutional change that have not been identified by hypotheses that can be tested using quantitative methods. In future research, it would also be interesting to explore qualitative approaches. Thornton and Ocasio (2008) suggest that future research on institutional logics would benefit from event history analysis and recommend the use of interpretive methods that enable different types of data and methods to enrich this emerging theory.

YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY)

Tämä väitöskirja käsittelee institutionaalisia logiikoita yliopistoissa sekä erityisesti bisneskouluissa. Institutionaalisilla logiikoilla tarkoitetaan legitimeinä pidettyjä uskomusjärjestelmiä ja niihin liittyviä käytänteitä ja toimintamalleja. Tutkimus keskittyy kahden institutionaalisen logiikan - akateemisen logiikan (Minerva) ja markkinalogiikan (Mercury) - väliseen jännitteeseen korkeakoulusektorilla. Akateeminen logiikka pohjautuu humboldtialaiseen yliopistoihanteeseen, kun taas markkinalogiikka kytkeytyy uusliberalistiseen talousideologiaan ja siihen liittyviin julkissektorin johtamisoppeihin (new public management). Tämä tutkimus väittää, että markkinalogiikasta on kehittynyt legitimi institutionaalinen logiikka myös yliopistosektorilla ja että bisneskouluilla on ollut merkittävä rooli tässä Mercuryn ja Minervan kohtaamisessa.

Väitöskirja koostuu kolmesta osasta: I) johdantoesseestä, II) alkuperäisistä tutkimusartikkeleista sekä III) johtopäätöksistä. Johdantoesseessä kuvataan markkinalogiikan syntyä ja institutionalisoitumista korkeakoulukentässä, mikä taustoittaa teoreettisesti tutkimusartikkeleita. Markkinalogiikan käyttöönottoa on perusteltu sekä kustannustehokkuudella että yliopistojen keskinäisen kilpailun lisäämistarpeella; markkinavoimat on nähty ylivoimaisena keinona ratkaista yhteiskunnallisia tai taloudellisia ongelmia myös yliopistosektorilla. Markkinalogiikkaa ovat vahvistaneet ja levittäneet myös kansainväliset rankingit, akkreditointiorganisaatiot ja ylikansalliset organisaatiot kuten WTO, Maailmanpankki sekä OECD, joista on tullut merkittäviä vaikuttajia myös globaalissa koulutuspolitiikassa.

Väitöskirjan toinen osa koostuu neljästä artikkelista, joilla kullakin on oma itsenäinen tutkimustehtävä, metodi sekä aineisto. Ensimmäisessä artikkelissa kuvataan bisneskoulujen historiallisia kehitysvaiheita ja rakentamista legitimeiksi osaksi tutkimusyliopistoja toisen maailmansodan jälkeen. Ensimmäinen periodi oli akateemisen legitimeetin rakentamista, kun taas seuraava keskittyi poliittisen legitimeetin hankintaan sekä viimeisin korporatiiviseen tehokkuus- ja markkinalegitimeettiin. Erityisesti kaksi viimeisintä periodia ovat vaikuttaneet markkinalogiikan syntyyn ja vahvistumiseen. Artikkelissa väitetään, että bisneskoulujen legitimeetin rakentaminen on ollut paradoksaalista, sillä tietynlaisen legitimeetin rakentaminen on johtanut toisenlaisen legitimeetin menettämiseen. Akateemisen legitimeetin rakentaminen tieteellistämisen avulla johti liikkeenjohdolliseen irrelevanssiin, kun taas poliittisen legitimeetin rakentaminen erityisesti uusklassisen talousideologian markkinoijana johti liikkeenjohdon eettisiin ja moraalisiin ongelmiin. Korporatiivinen tehokkuus- ja markkinalegitimeetin rakentaminen on vuorostaan johtanut perinteisten akateemisten arvojen ja akateemisen logiikan rapautumiseen.

Toinen artikkeli keskittyy bisneskoulujen amerikkalaistumiseen, jolla tarkoitetaan amerikkalaisten huippuyliopistojen ihannointia ja matkimista. Artikkelin empiirisessä osassa tarkastellaan bisneskoulujen amerikkalaistumista kahdessa eri institutionaalisessa logiikassa: Suomen akateemisessa logiikassa

sekä Arabiemiraattien markkinalogiikassa. Artikkelin pääargumentti on, että bisneskoulujen amerikkalaisten käytänteiden omaksuminen voidaan jakaa viiteen pääluokkaan, joita ovat imitointi, muodonmuutos, kompromissi, teeskentely ja vastustaminen.

Kolmas artikkeli käsittelee institutionaalisia logiikoita kahdella eri tasolla. Aluksi kuvataan, miten markkinalogiikka on muokannut bisneskouluista globaalien yritysten kaltaisia organisaatioita, jotka hakevat aggressiivisesti kannattavuutta ja kasvua oman maansa rajojen ulkopuolelta. Tämän jälkeen analysointi keskittyy niihin toimiin, joiden avulla Dubai rakensi itsestään vetovoimaisen korkeakoulukeskuksen, joka veti puoleensa lukuisan joukon ulkomaisia korkeakouluja 2000-luvulla. Näiden kahden institutionaalisen logiikan yhteiskehitys synnytti ylikuumenneen koulutusmarkkinakuplan, joka puhkesi lopulta vuonna 2009. Tämän seurauksena Dubain koulutusmarkkinoiden vetovoima hiipui, mikä näkyi ulkomaisten yliopistojen kampusten toimintojen supistamisena, uusien yliopistojen markkinoille tulon pysähtymisenä sekä radikaaleimmissa tapauksissa kampusten sulkemisina.

Neljäs artikkeli käsittelee markkinalogiikan ääri-ilmiötä, joka artikkelissa nimettiin akamaaniseksi kapitalismiksi. Termi pohjautuu akateemisen kapitalismin käsitteeseen, jolla aikaisempi tutkimus on kuvaillut korkeakoulujen muuttumista markkinalogiikan mukaiseksi. Tämän artikkelin empiirinen aineisto perustuu Dubaihin, jonka lainsäädäntö erityisillä vapaakauppa-alueilla mahdollisti kyseenalaisten bisneskoulujen ja jopa tutkintotehtaiden toimimisen.

Väitöskirjan kolmas osa kokoaa yhteen johdantooseseen päätelmät sekä tulkitsee artikkelien ydinsanomien johdantoosessa asetettujen tutkimuskysymysten avulla. Koska bisneskoulut ovat toimineet linkkinä akatemian ja yritysten välillä, ne ovat myös tietyllä tavalla toimineet kahdessa institutionaalissa logiikassa. Vaikka tämä linkki voidaan ymmärtää myös pluraalina institutionaalisenä logiikkana, jossa molemmat institutionaaliset logiikat toimivat yhteistyössä, käytännössä kummallakin institutionaalilla on toisilleen hyvin ristiriitaiset ominaispiirteet. Seurauksena kaikesta tästä on ollut, että Mercuryn ja Minervan keskinäinen suhde on ollut sekä eriskummallinen että riitainen.

REFERENCES

- AACSB International 2011. *Globalization of Management Education: Changing International Structures, Adaptive Strategies, and the Impact of Institutions*. Bingley, UK: Emerald.
- Adamson, M. 2009. The Financialization of Student Life: Five Propositions on Student Debt. *Polygraph* 21, 97-110.
- Ahrne, G. & Brunsson, N. 2008a. *Meta-Organizations*. Northampton, Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Ahrne, G. & Brunsson, N. 2008b. Organizing the World. In M. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.) *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 74-94.
- Akins, J. E. 1973. The Oil Crisis: This Time the Wolf is Here. *Foreign Affairs* 51 (3), 462-490.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K. 2012. Ovatko Kauppakorkeakoulut Syyllisiä Finanssikriisiin. *Kansantaloudellinen Aikakauskirja* 108, 361-375.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola, K. & Lamberg, J. 2014a. The Danger of Corporate Thinking in Higher Education. *The Financial Times*, 27/04, 2014.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola, K. & Lamberg, J. 2014b. Institutional Logic of Business Bubbles: Lessons from the Dubai Business School Mania. *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 13 (1), 5-25.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Juusola, K. & Kettunen, K. 2013. Americanization From a Comparative Perspective: Business School Systems in Finland and the United Arab Emirates. Conference Paper: Academy of Management Annual Meeting, Orlando, FL.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Kettunen, K. & Tikkanen, H. 2012. Institutional Evolution of Business Schools in Finland 1909-2009. *Management & Organizational History* 7 (4), 337-367.
- Alajoutsijärvi, K., Moisanen, H. & Salminen, R. T. 2011. In Search of Relevance in Management Education: Three Perspectives. *Problems and Perspectives in Management* 9 (2), 33-42.
- Aldrich, H. E. & Fiol, C. M. 1994. Fools rush in? The institutional context of industry creation. *Academy of management review* 19 (4), 645-670.
- Altbach, P. G. & Salmi, J. 2011. *The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Universities*. Washington DC: The World Bank Publications.
- Altbach, P. G. 2011. Patterns in Higher Education Development. In P. G. Altbach, P. J. Gumport & R. O. Berdahl (Eds.) *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century: Social, Political, and Economic Challenges*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 15-37.
- Altbach, P. G. 2009. Peripheries and Centers: Research Universities in Developing Countries. *Asia Pacific Education Review* 10 (1), 15-27.
- Altbach, P. G. 2004. The Costs and Benefits of World-Class Universities. *Academe* 90 (1), 20-23.

- Altbach, P. G. & Knight, J. 2007. The Internationalization of Higher Education: Motivations and Realities. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 11 (3-4), 290-305.
- Ansari, S. M., Fiss, P. C. & Zajac, E. J. 2010. Made To Fit: How Practices Vary as They Diffuse. *Academy of Management Review* 35 (1), 67-92.
- Antunes, D. & Thomas, H. 2007. The Competitive (Dis)Advantages of European Business Schools. *Long Range Planning* 40 (3), 382-404.
- Apple, M. C. 2000. Between Neoliberalism and Neoconservatism: Education and Conservatism in a Global Context. In N. C. Burbules & C. A. Torres (Eds.) *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives*. NY: Routledge, 57-78.
- Ashforth, B. E. & Gibbs, B. W. 1990. The Double-Edge of Organizational Legitimation. *Organization Science* 1 (2), 177-194.
- Augier, M. & March, J. 2011. *The Roots, Rituals, and Rhetorics of Change: North American Business Schools After the Second World War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Baily, M. N. & Chakrabarti, A. K. 1988. *Innovation and the Productivity Crisis*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Baker, D. P. & Lenhardt, G. 2008. The Institutional Crisis of the German Research University. *Higher Education Policy* 21 (1), 49-64.
- Ball, S. J. 2012. *Global Education Inc: New Policy Networks and the Neo-liberal Imaginary*. London: Routledge.
- Battilana, J., Leca, B. & Boxenbaum, E. 2009. How Actors Change Institutions: Towards a Theory of Institutional Entrepreneurship. *The Academy of Management Annals* 3 (1), 65-107.
- Bennett, C. J. 1991. What is Policy Convergence And What Causes It? *British Journal of Political Science* 21 (2), 215-233.
- Bitektine, A. 2011. Toward a Theory of Social Judgments of Organizations: The Case of Legitimacy, Reputation, and Status. *Academy of Management Review* 36 (1), 151-179.
- Boffo, S. & Moscati, R. 2011. How Growing Pressure to be Competitive at National and International Level Affects University Governance: Some Preliminary Remarks from a Comparative Analysis of Fifteen European Universities. In P. N. Texeira & D. D. Dill (Eds.) *Public Vices, Private Virtues? Assessing the Effects of Marketization in Higher Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 141-158.
- Bok, D. 2003. *Universities in the Marketplace: The Commercialization of Higher Education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Boli, J. 2008. The Rationalization of Virtue and Virtuosity in World Society. In M. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.) *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 95-118.
- Boyer, E. L. 1996. The Scholarship of Engagement. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 49 (7), 18-33.

- Brandon, C. 2010. *The Five-Year Party: How Colleges Have Given Up on Educating Your Child and What You Can Do About It*. Dallas: BenBella Books.
- Brennan, J. & Teichler, U. 2008. The Future of Higher Education and of Higher Education Research. *Higher Education* 56 (3), 259-264.
- Bruton, G. D., Ahlstrom, D. & Li, H. 2010. Institutional Theory and Entrepreneurship: Where Are We Now and Where Do We Need to Move in the Future? *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 34 (3), 421-440.
- Burbules, N. C. & Torres, C. A. 2000. Globalization and Education: An Introduction. In N. C. Burbules & C. A. Torres (Eds.) *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives*. NY: Routledge, 1-26.
- Burden-Leahy, S. M. 2009. Globalisation And Education in the Postcolonial World: The Conundrum of the Higher Education System of the United Arab Emirates. *Comparative Education* 45 (4), 525-544.
- CAA 2014. Commission for Academic Accreditation [Accessed on 06.04.2014]. Available in: <http://www.caa.ae/caaweb/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabindex=12&tabid=54>.
- Campbell, J. L. & Pedersen, O. K. 2001. The Rise of Neoliberalism and Institutional Analysis. In J. L. Campbell & O. K. Pedersen (Eds.) *The Rise of Neoliberalism and Institutional Analysis*. NJ: Princeton University Press, 1-24.
- Chambers, G. S. & Cummings, W. K. 1990. Profiting from Education. Japan-United States International Educational Ventures in the 1980s. IIE Research Report Number Twenty. IIE Research Report 20. New York.
- Chan, A. S. & Fisher, D. 2008. *The Exchange University: Corporatization of Academic Culture*. Ontario: UBC Press.
- Chan, D. & Lo, W. 2008. University Restructuring in East Asia: Trends, Challenges and Prospects. *Policy Futures in Education* 6 (5), 641-652.
- Chancellor, E. 2000. *Devil Take the Hindmost: A History of Financial Speculation*. New York: Penguin Group.
- Crouch, C. 2011. *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Cunliffe, A. L. 2011. Crafting Qualitative Research: Morgan and Smircich 30 Years on. *Organizational Research Methods* 14 (4), 647-673.
- Currie, J. 2003. Australian Universities as Enterprise Universities: Transformed Players on a Global Stage. In G. Breton & M. Lambert (Eds.) *Universities and Globalization: Private Linkages, Public Trust*. Paris: Unesco Publishing/Université Laval/Economica, 179-194.
- Czinkota, M. R., Grossman, D. A., Javalgi, R. R. G. & Nugent, N. 2009. Foreign Market Entry Mode of Service Firms: The Case of US MBA Programs. *Journal of World Business* 44 (3), 274-286.
- Dacin, M. T., Goodstein, J. & Scott, W. R. 2002. Institutional Theory and Institutional Change: Introduction to the Special Research Forum. *Academy of Management Journal* 45 (1), 45-56.
- de Vries, W. & Alvarez-Mendiola, G. 2012. Reforms of University Governance in Mexico, 1990-2010. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.)

- University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 125-145.
- Deem, R., Mok, K. H. & Lucas, L. 2008. Transforming Higher Education in Whose Image? Exploring the Concept of the 'World-Class' University in Europe and Asia. *Higher Education Policy* 21 (1), 83-97.
- Delbanco, A. 2012. *College: What It Was, Is, and Should Be*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- DiMaggio, P. 1991. Constructing an Organizational Field as a Professional Project: U.S Art Museums. In W. W. Powell & P. DiMaggio (Eds.) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 267-281.
- DiMaggio, P. 1988. Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory. In L. Zucker (Ed.) *Institutional Patterns and Organizations*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 3-22.
- DiMaggio, P. J. & Powell, W. W. 1983. The iron cage revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review* 48 (2), 147-160.
- DiMaggio, P. J. & Powell, W. W. 1991. Introduction. In W. W. Powell & P. DiMaggio (Eds.) *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1-38.
- Djelic, M. L. & Sahlin-Andersson, K. 2008a. Institutional Dynamics in a Re-Ordering World. In M. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.) *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 375-396.
- Djelic, M. 2008a. Marketization: From Intellectual Agenda to Global Policy-Making. In M. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.) *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 53-73.
- Djelic, M. 2008b. Sociological Studies of Diffusion: Is History Relevant? *Socio-Economic Review* 6 (3), 538-557.
- Djelic, M. & Amdam, R. P. 2007. Americanization in Comparative Perspective: The Managerial Revolution in France and Norway, 1940-1990. *Business History* 49 (4), 483-505.
- Djelic, M. & Sahlin-Andersson, K. 2008b. Introduction: A World of Governance: the Rise of Transnational Regulation. In M. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.) *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1-30.
- Dolowitz, D. P. & Marsh, D. 2000. Learning From Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making. *Governance* 13 (1), 5-23.
- Donoghue, F. 2008. *The Last Professors: The Corporate University and the Fate of the Humanities*. NY: Fordham University Press.
- Drori, G. S. & Meyer, J. W. 2008. Scientization: Making a World Safe for Organizing. In M. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.) *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 31-52.

- Duggand, E. 2000. Reality Check for Virtual Academics.com. Available in: <http://www.bizjournals.com/southflorida/stories/2000/10/16/story2.html?page=all>.
- Dunn, M. B. & Jones, C. 2010. Institutional Logics and Institutional Pluralism: The Contestation of Care and Science Logics in Medical Education, 1967-2005. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55 (1), 114-149.
- Durand, R. & McGuire, J. 2005. Legitimizing Agencies in the Face of Selection: The Case of AACSB. *Organization Studies* 26 (2), 165-196.
- Durand, T. & Dameron, S. 2008. Management Education as a System: A Case Study on Europe. In T. Durand & S. Dameron (Eds.) *The Future of Business Schools: Scenarios and Strategies for 2020*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 21-43.
- Ebenstein, L. 2007. *Milton Friedman: A Biography*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Edinburgh Business School 2014. One of the World's Most Innovative Business Schools [Accessed on 20.06.2014]. Available in: <http://www.ebsglobal.net/>.
- Eisenhardt, K. M. & Graebner, M. E. 2007. Theory Building From Cases: Opportunities and Challenges. *Academy of Management Journal* 50 (1), 25-32.
- Elkin, G., Devjee, F. & Farnsworth, J. 2005. Visualising the "Internationalisation" of Universities. *International Journal of Educational Management* 19 (4), 318-329.
- Elsbach, K. D. 1994. Managing Organizational Legitimacy in the California Cattle Industry: The Construction and Effectiveness of Verbal Accounts. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 39 (1), 57-88.
- Elsbach, K. D. & Sutton, R. I. 1992. Acquiring Organizational Legitimacy Through Illegitimate Actions: A Marriage of Institutional and Impression Management Theories. *Academy of Management Journal* 35 (4), 699-738.
- Engwall, L. 2009. *Mercury Meets Minerva: Business Studies and Higher Education: The Swedish Case*. (2nd edition) Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd.
- Engwall, L. 1992. *Mercury Meets Minerva: Business Studies and Higher Education: The Swedish Case*. Stockholm: Economic Research Institute, Stockholm School of Economics.
- Engwall, L. 2008. The University: A Multinational Corporation? In L. Engwall & D. Weaire (Eds.) *The University in the Market*. London: Portland Press, 9-21.
- Engwall, L. 2007. The Anatomy of Management Education. *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 23 (1), 4-35.
- Engwall, L. 2004. The Americanization of Nordic Management Education. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 13 (2), 109-117.
- Etzkowitz, H. 2004. The Evolution of the Entrepreneurial University. *International Journal of Technology and Globalisation* 1 (1), 64-77.
- Etzkowitz, H., Webster, A. & Healey, P. 1998. *Capitalizing Knowledge: New Intersections of Industry and Academia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

- Farooqui, M. 2014. Online Degrees of Deceit [Accessed on 06.04.2014]. Gulf News (Online) , 06/04, 2014.
- Ferraro, F., Pfeffer, J. & Sutton, R. I. 2005. Economics Language and Assumptions: How Theories can Become Self-fulfilling. *Academy of Management Review* 30 (1), 8-24.
- Fligstein, N. 1997. Social Skill and Institutional Theory. *American Behavioral Scientist* 40 (4), 397-405.
- Friedland, R. & Alford, R. R. 1991. Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices and Institutional Contradictions. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.) *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 232-263.
- Geiger, R. L. 2011. The Ten Generations of Higher Education. In P. G. Altbach, P. J. Gumpert & R. O. Berdahl (Eds.) *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century*. Baltimore, MA: The John Hopkins University Press, 38-69.
- George, J. 2010. Banned Universities Operating From RAK [Accessed on 07.10.2013]. *Emirates* 24/7 (Online) , 07/10, 2013.
- Ginsberg, B. 2011. *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and Why It Matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giroux, H. A. 2002. Neoliberalism, Corporate Culture, and the Promise of Higher Education: The University as a Democratic Public Sphere. *Harvard Educational Review* 72 (4), 425-464.
- Greenwood, R. & Hinings, C. R. 1996. Understanding Radical Organizational Change: Bringing Together the Old and the New Institutionalism. *Academy of Management Review* 21 (4), 1022-1054.
- Greenwood, R., Oliver, C., Suddaby, R. & Sahlin-Andersson, K. 2008. *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*. London: Sage.
- Grubb, W. N. & Lazerson, M. 2005. *The Education Gospel and the Role of Vocationalism in American Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hacker, A. & Dreifus, C. 2010. *Higher Education?: How Colleges are Wasting our Money and Failing our Kids - and What We Can Do About It*. NY: Times Books.
- Harclerod, F. F. & Eaton, J. S. 2011. The Hidden Hand: External Constituencies and Their Impact. In P. G. Altbach, P. J. Gumpert & R. O. Berdahl (Eds.) *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century*. Baltimore, MA: The John Hopkins University Press, 251-285.
- Harvey, D. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hawawini, G. 2005. The Future of Business Schools. *Journal of Management Development* 24 (9), 770-782.
- Hayes, D. & Wynyard, R. 2002. *The McDonaldization of Higher Education*. NY: Praeger.

- Hazelkorn, E. 2013. How Rankings are Reshaping Higher Education. In Climent,V., Michavila,F., Ripolles,M. (Ed.) Centre for Social and Educational Research: Dublin Institute of Technology, 1-8.
- Hazelkorn, E. 2011. Rankings and the Reshaping of Higher Education: the Battle for World Wide Excellence. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hentschke, G. C., Lechuga, V. M. & Tierney, W. G. 2010. For-Profit Colleges and Universities: Their Markets, Regulation, Performance, and Place in Higher Education. Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, Llc.
- Heugens, P. M. A. R. & Lander, M. W. 2009. Structure! Agency! (And Other Quarrels): A Meta-Analysis of Institutional Theories of Organization. *Academy of Management Journal* 52 (1), 61-85.
- Hirsjärvi, S. & Hurme, H. 2001. Tutkimushaastattelu: Teemahaastattelun Teoria ja Käytäntö. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Hollander, S. C., Rassuli, K. M., Jones, D. B. & Dix, L. F. 2005. Periodization in Marketing History. *Journal of Macromarketing* 25 (1), 32-41.
- Holmes, B. 1981. Comparative Education: Some Considerations of Method. London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd.
- Homma, M. 2012. Current Challenges Facing Japanese Universities and Future Perspectives. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 197-208.
- Hood, C. 1991. A Public Management For All Seasons? *Public Administration* 69 (1), 3-19.
- Hult International Business School 2014. The World's Most International Business School [Accessed on 20.06.2014]. Available in: <http://www.hult.edu/>.
- Insead 2014. Insead The Business School for the World [Accessed on 20.06.2014]. Available in: <http://www.insead.edu/home/>.
- Jacob, W. J., Wang, Y., Pelkowski, T. L., Karsidi, R. & Priyanto, A. D. 2012. Higher Education Reform in Indonesia: University Governance and Autonomy. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 225-240.
- Johnson, B. & Christensen, L. 2010. *Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches*. (4th edition) CA: Sage Publications.
- Juusola, K. 2011. Internationalization of Executive Education Business: The Case of the United Arab Emirates. University of Oulu.
- Kaneko, M. 2012. Incorporation of National Universities in Japan: An Evaluation Six Years On. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 179-195.
- Kauppinen, I. 2012. Towards Transnational Academic Capitalism. *Higher Education* 64 (4), 543-556.

- Kettunen, K. 2013. *Management Education in a Historical Perspective: The Business School Question and its Solution in Finland*. Helsinki: Suomen Ekonomiliitto–Finlands Ekonomförbund.
- Khurana, R. & Penrice, D. 2011. *Business education: The American Trajectory*. In M. Morsing & A. S. Rovira (Eds.) *Business Schools and their Contribution to Society*. London: Sage Publications, 3-15.
- Khurana, R. 2007. *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of American Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Khurana, R. & Spender, J. C. 2012. Herbert A. Simon on What Ails Business Schools: More than 'A Problem in Organizational Design'. *Journal of Management Studies* 49 (3), 619-639.
- Kieser, A. 2004. The Americanization of Academic Management Education in Germany. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 13 (2), 90-97.
- Kindleberger, C. P. & Aliber, R. Z. 2011. *Manias, Panics and Crashes: A History of Financial Crises*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kipping, M., Üsdiken, B. & Puig, N. 2004. Imitation, Tension, and Hybridization: Multiple "Americanizations" of Management Education in Mediterranean Europe. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 13 (2), 98-108.
- Kirk, D. & Napier, D. 2009. The Transformation of Higher Education in the United Arab Emirates: Issues, Implications, and Antercultural Dimensions. In J. Zajda, H. Daun & L. J. Saha (Eds.) *Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Dordrecht: Springer, 131-142.
- Klingler-Vidra, R. & Schleifer, P. 2014. Convergence More or Less: Why Do Practices Vary as They Diffuse? *International Studies Review* 16 (2), 264-274.
- Knight, J. 2006. *Higher Education Crossing Borders*. ED-2006/WS/61: 5-23. Paris.
- Knight, J. 2003. *Higher Education and Trade Agreements: What are the Policy Implications*. In G. Breton & M. Lambert (Eds.) *Universities and Globalization: Private Linkages, Public Trust*. Paris: Unesco Publishing/Université Laval/Economica, 81-105.
- Knight, J. & Green, M. 2004. *Cross-Border Post-Secondary Education in North America*. In *Internationalisation and Trade in Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenges*. Paris: OECD, 39-86.
- Krücken, G. 2003. Learning the "New, New Thing": On the Role of Path Dependency in University Structures. *Higher Education* 46 (3), 315-339.
- Lather, P. 2006. Paradigm Proliferation as a Good Thing to Think With: Teaching Research in Education as a Wild Profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 19 (1), 35-57.
- Leca, B., Battilana, J. & Boxenbaum, E. 2008. *Agency and Institutions: A Review of Institutional Entrepreneurship*. Boston: Harvard Business School.
- Leef, G. 2013. *A Tale of Two Bubbles - Housing and College* [Accessed on 04.05.2014]. Forbes (Online), Available in:

- <http://www.forbes.com/sites/georgeleef/2013/10/23/a-tale-of-two-bubbles-housing-and-college/>;
- Liamputtong, P. 2010. *Performing Qualitative Cross-Cultural Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lim, C. 2014. *What's In It For Me? Organizational Commitment Among Faculty Members in UAE Business Schools*. Tampere: Juvenes Print.
- Locke, R. R. & Spender, J. C. 2011. *Confronting Managerialism: How the Business Elite and Their Schools Threw Our Lives Out of Balance*. London & New York: Zed Books.
- Locke, R. R. 1996. *The Collapse of the American Management Mystique*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- London Business School 2014. *London Experience, World Impact* [Accessed on 20.06.2014]. Available in: <http://www.london.edu/>.
- Lootah, M. S. 2011. *Assessing Educational Policies in the United Arab Emirates*. In *Education in the UAE: Current Status and Future Developments*. Abu Dhabi, UAE: The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 27-52.
- Lounsbury, M. 2002. *Institutional Transformation and Status Mobility: The Professionalization of the Field of Finance*. *Academy of Management Journal* 45 (1), 255-266.
- Maldonado-Maldonado, A. 2012. *International Forces Shaping Latin American Higher Education Governance*. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 109-124.
- Marginson, S. 2006. *Dynamics of National and Global Competition in Higher Education*. *Higher education* 52 (1), 1-39.
- Marginson, S. 2011. *Imagining the Global*. In R. King, S. Marginson & R. Naidoo (Eds.) *Handbook on Globalization and Higher Education*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 10-39.
- Marginson, S. 2009. *The Limits of Market Reform in Higher Education*. *Higher Education Forum, Conference Proceedings*, 1-19.
- Marginson, S. & Considine, M. 2000. *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marginson, S. & Rhoades, G. 2002. *Beyond National States, Markets, and Systems of Higher Education: A Glonacal Agency Heuristic*. *Higher Education* 43 (3), 281-309.
- Marginson, S. & Van der Wende, M. 2007. *To Rank Or To Be Ranked: The Impact of Global Rankings in Higher Education*. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 11 (3-4), 306-329.
- Marglin, S. A. 2008. *The Dismal Science: How Thinking Like an Economist Undermines Community*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Martin, F. G. 2012. *Will Massive Open Online Courses Change How We Teach?* *Communications of the ACM* 55 (8), 26-28.

- Mc Nay, I. 1995. From the Collegial Academy to Corporate Enterprise: The Changing Cultures of Universities. In T. Schuller (Ed.) *The Changing University?* Bristol, PA: SRHE and Open University Press, 116-126.
- Meyer, J. W., Boli, J., Thomas, G. M. & Ramirez, F. O. 1997. World Society and the Nation-State. *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1), 144-181.
- Meyer, J. W. & Rowan, B. 1977. Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology* 83, 340-363.
- Michelsen, S. 2010. Humboldt Meets Bologna. *Higher Education Policy* 23 (2), 151-172.
- Mohrman, K., Ma, W. & Baker, D. 2008. The Research University in Transition: The Emerging Global Model. *Higher Education Policy* 21 (1), 5-27.
- Mok, K. H. 2011. Liberalization of the Privatness in Higher Education: Funding Strategies, Changing Governance and Policy Implications in Asia. In P. N. Teixeira & D. D. Dill (Eds.) *Public Vices, Private Virtues? Assessing the Effects of Marketization in Higher Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 19-46.
- Mok, K. H. 2009. The Growing Importance of the Privatness in Education: Challenges for Higher Education Governance in China. *Compare* 39 (1), 35-49.
- Morgan, G. & Smircich, L. 1980. The Case for Qualitative Research. *Academy of Management Review* 5 (4), 491-500.
- Morrow, R. A. & Torres, C. A. 2000. The State, Globalization, and Educational Policy. In N. C. Burbules & C. A. Torres (Eds.) *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives*. NY: Routledge, 27-56.
- Naidoo, R. 2011. Rethinking Development: Higher Education and the New Imperialism. In R. King, S. Marginson & R. Naidoo (Eds.) *Handbook on Globalization and Higher Education*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 40-58.
- Naidoo, R., Gosling, J., Bolden, R., O'Brien, A. & Hawkins, B. 2014. Leadership and Branding in Business Schools: A Bourdieusian Analysis. *Higher Education Research & Development* 33 (1), 144-156.
- Naidoo, R., Shankar, A. & Veer, E. 2011. The Consumerist Turn in Higher Education: Policy Aspirations and Outcomes. *Journal of Marketing Management* 27 (11-12), 1142-1162.
- Oliver, C. 1992. The Antecedents of Deinstitutionalization. *Organization Studies* 13 (4), 563-588.
- Oliver, C. 1991. Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes. *Academy of Management Review* 16 (1), 145-179.
- Olssen, M. 2011. The Strange Death of the Liberal University: Research Assessments and the Impact of Research. In R. King, S. Marginson & R. Naidoo (Eds.) *Handbook on Globalization and Higher Education*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 360-383.
- Olssen, M. & Peters, M. A. 2005. Neoliberalism, Higher Education and the Knowledge Economy: From the Free Market to Knowledge Capitalism. *Journal of Education Policy* 20 (3), 313-345.

- Pache, A-C. & Santos, F. 2010. When Worlds Collide: The Internal Dynamics of Organizational Responses to Conflicting Institutional Demands. *Academy of Management Review* 35 (3), 455-476.
- Pache, A-C. & Santos, F. 2013a. Embedded in Hybrid Contexts: How Individuals in Organizations Respond to Competing Institutional Logics. In: M. Lounsbury & E. Boxenbaum (Eds.) *Institutional Logics in Action*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 3-35.
- Pache, A-C. & Santos, F. 2013b. Inside the Hybrid Organization: Selective Coupling as a Response to Conflicting Institutional Logics. *Academy of Management Journal* 56 (4), 972-1001
- Peck, J. & Tickell, A. 2002. Neoliberalizing Space. *Antipode* 34 (3), 380-404.
- Pedersen, J. S. & Dobbin, F. 2006. In Search of Identity and Legitimation Bridging Organizational Culture and Neoinstitutionalism. *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (7), 897-907.
- Peng, M. W. 2003. Institutional Transitions and Strategic Choices. *Academy of Management Review* 28 (2), 275-296.
- Peng, M. W., Lee, S. & Wang, D., Y.L. 2005. What Determines the Scope of the Firm Over Time? A Focus on Institutional Relatedness. *Academy of Management Review* 30 (3), 622-633.
- Peters, M. A. & May, T. 2007. Universities, Regional Policy and the Knowledge Economy. In M. A. Peters (Ed.) *Knowledge Economy, Development and the Future of Higher Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 105-116.
- Peters, M., Marshall, J. & Fitzsimons, P. 2000. Managerialism and Educational Policy in a Global Context: Foucault, Neoliberalism, and the Doctrine of Self-Management. In N. C. Burbules & C. A. Torres (Eds.) *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives*. NY: Routledge, 109-132.
- Pfeffer, J. & Fong, C. T. 2004. The Business School 'Business': Some Lessons from the US Experience. *Journal of Management Studies* 41 (8), 1501-1520.
- Phillips, D. 2006. Investigating Policy Attraction in Education. *Oxford Review of Education* 32 (5), 551-559.
- Phillips, D. & Ochs, K. 2004. Researching Policy Borrowing: Some Methodological Challenges in Comparative Education. *British Educational Research Journal* 30 (6), 773-784.
- Phillips, D. & Ochs, K. 2003. Processes of Policy Borrowing in Education: Some Explanatory and Analytical Devices. *Comparative Education* 39 (4), 451-461.
- Phillips, N., Tracey, P. & Karra, N. 2009. Rethinking Institutional Distance: Strengthening the Tie Between New Institutional Theory and International Management. *Strategic Organization* 7 (3), 339-348.
- Piereson, J. & Riley, N. S. 2014. Popping the Higher Education Bubble [Accessed on 04.05.2014]. *The Boston Globe* (Online) , Available in: <http://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2014/02/25/popping-higher-education-bubble/VrtQjf8cilYd1tvKfoN4CO/story.html>;

- Popp Berman, E. 2011. *Creating the Market University: How Academic Science Became an Economic Engine*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ramirez, F. O. 2008. The Rationalization of Universities. In M. Djelic & K. Sahlin-Andersson (Eds.) *Transnational Governance: Institutional Dynamics of Regulation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 225-276.
- Reynolds, G. H. 2012. *The Higher Education Bubble*. New York: Encounter Books.
- Roberts, K. A. & Donahue, K. A. 2000. Professing Professionalism: Bureaucratization and Deprofessionalization in the Academy. *Sociological Focus* 33 (4), 365-383.
- Robinson, J. 1972. The Second Crisis of Economic Theory. *The American Economic Review* 62 (1/2), 1-10.
- Rubin, H. J. & Rubin, I. S. 2012. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. (3rd edition) LA: Sage Publications.
- Rüegg, W. 1992. The University as an European Institution. In H. De Ridder-Symoens (Ed.) *A History of the University in Europe: Universities in the Middle Ages, Vol.1*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, xix-xxi.
- Saavedra, F. M. 2012. Higher Education Reform in Ecuador and Its Effect on University Governance. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 161-175.
- Salmi, J. 2009. *The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities*. Washington DC: World Bank Publications.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. 2009. *Research Methods for Business Students*. (4th edition) Essex: Pearson Education Ltd.
- Scheid-Cook, T. L. 1990. Ritual Conformity and Organizational Control: Loose Coupling or Professionalization? *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 26 (2), 183-199.
- Schuetze, H. G. 2012. University Governance Reform: The Drivers and the Driven. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 3-10.
- Scott, J. C. 2006. The Mission of the University: Medieval to Postmodern Transformations. *The Journal of Higher Education* 77 (1), 1-39.
- Scott, W. R. 2008. *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas and Interests*. Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage Publications.
- Scott, W. R. 2005. Institutional Theory: Contributing to a Theoretical Research Program. In K. G. Smith & M. A. Hitt (Eds.) *Great Minds in Management: The Process of Theory Development*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 460-484.
- Scott, W. R. 1995. *Institutions and Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sekaran, U. & Bougie, R. 2010. *Research Methods for Business: A Skill Building Approach*. (5th edition) London: Wiley.
- Selznick, P. 1996. Institutionalism "Old" and "New". *Administrative Science Quarterly* 41 (2), 270-277.

- Shibata, M. 2006. Assumptions And Implications of Cross-National Attraction in Education: The Case of 'Learning From Japan'. *Oxford Review of Education* 32 (5), 649-663.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. 2011. Markets in Higher Education: Trends in Academic Capitalism. In P. G. Altbach, P. J. Gumpert & R. O. Berdahl (Eds.) *American Higher Education in the Twenty-First Century*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 433-463.
- Slaughter, S. & Leslie, L. L. 2001. Expanding And Elaborating the Concept of Academic Capitalism. *Organization* 8 (2), 154-161.
- Slaughter, S. & Leslie, L. L. 1997. *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, And the Entrepreneurial University*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. 2004. *Academic Capitalism in the New Economy: Challenges And Choices*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Slaughter, S. & Rhoades, G. 2000. The Neo-Liberal University. *New Labor Forum*. *New Labor Forum*, 73.
- Smith, Y. 2010. *Econned: How Unenlightened Self Interest Undermined Democracy and Corrupted Capitalism*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Spencer, S. 2010. *Visual Research Methods in the Social Sciences: Awakening Visions*. London: Routledge.
- Spender, J. C. 2014. The Business School Model: A Flawed Organizational Design? *Journal of Management Development* 33 (5), 429-442.
- Spender, J. C. 2008. The Business School in America: A Century Goes By. In T. Durand & S. Dameron (Eds.) *The Future of Business Schools: Scenarios And Strategies For 2020*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 9-18.
- Spender, J. C. 2007. Management as a Regulated Profession: An Essay. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 16 (1), 32-42.
- Spender, J. C. 2005. Speaking About Management Education: Some History of the Search for Academic Legitimacy and the Ownership and Control of Management Knowledge. *Management Decision* 43 (10), 1282-1292.
- Spring, J. 2009. Globalization of Education. In J. Spring (Ed.) *Globalization of Education: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2-28.
- Starkey, K. & Tempest, S. 2005. The Future of the Business School: Knowledge Challenges And Opportunities. *Human Relations* 58 (1), 61-82.
- Starkey, K. & Tiratsoo, N. 2007. *The Business School and the Bottom Line*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stromquist, N. P. 2012. The Provost Office as Key Decision-Maker in the Contemporary US University: Toward a Theory of Institutional Change. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 25-45.
- Suchman, M. C. 1995. Managing Legitimacy: Strategic And Institutional Approaches. *Academy of Management Review* 20 (3), 571-610.

- Taleb, N. 2010. *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable* Fragility. NY: Random House.
- Teichler, U. 1988. *Changing Patterns of the Higher Education System: The Experience of Three Decades*. (Higher Education Policy Series, 5. edition) London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Teixeira, P. N. & Dill, D. D. 2011. *Public Vices, Private Virtues?: Assessing the Effects of Marketization in Higher Education: Assessing the Effects of Marketization in Higher Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Thelen, K. A. & Steinmo, S. 1992. Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics. In K. A. Thelen, F. Longstreth & S. Steinmo (Eds.) *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. NY: Cambridge University Press, 1-32.
- Thelen, K. 1999. Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1), 369-404.
- Thomas, H. & Wilson, A. D. 2011. 'Physics Envy', Cognitive Legitimacy or Practical Relevance: Dilemmas in the Evolution of Management Research in the UK. *British Journal of Management* 22 (3), 443-456.
- Thornton, P.H. 2002. The Rise of the Corporation in a Craft Industry: Conflict and Conformity in Institutional Logics. *Academy of Management Journal* 45 (1), 81-101.
- Thornton, P. H. & Ocasio, W. 2008. Institutional logics. *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism* 840.
- Thornton, P. H. & Ocasio, W. 1999. Institutional Logics and the Historical Contingency of Power in Organizations: Executive Succession in the Higher Education Publishing Industry, 1958-1990. *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (3), 801-843.
- Thornton, P. H., Ocasio, W. & Lounsbury, M. 2012. *The Institutional Logics Perspective: A New Approach to Culture, Structure, and Process*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tierney, W. G. 2010. Public Good in a Changing Economy. In G. C. Hentschke, V. M. Lechuga & W. G. Tierney (Eds.) *For-Profit Colleges and Universities: Their Markets, Regulation, Performance, and Place in Higher Education*. Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, Llc., 171-188.
- Tierney, W. G. & Lechuga, V. M. 2010. Differences in Academic Work at Traditional and For-Profit Postsecondary Institutions. In G. C. Hentschke, V. M. Lechuga & W. G. Tierney (Eds.) *For-Profit Colleges and Universities: Their Markets, Regulation, Performance, and Place in Higher Education*. Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, Llc., 71-90.
- Tight, M. 2012. *Researching Higher Education*. (2nd edition) Maidenhead, UK: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Tiratsoo, N. 2004. The "Americanization" of Management Education in Britain. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 13 (2), 118-126.
- Tolbert, P. S. & Zucker, L. G. 1983. Institutional Sources of Change in the Formal Structure of Organizations: The Diffusion of Civil Service Reform, 1880-1935. *Administrative Science Quarterly* , 22-39.

- Trank, C. Q. & Rynes, S. L. 2003. Who Moved Our Cheese? Reclaiming Professionalism in Business Education. *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 2 (2), 189-205.
- Tuchman, G. 2009. *Wannabe U: Inside the Corporate University*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Üsdiken, B. 2004. Americanization of European Management Education in Historical and Comparative Perspective A Symposium. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 13 (2), 87-89.
- Üsdiken, B. 2007. Commentary: Management Education Between Logics and Locations. *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 23 (1), 84-94.
- Van der Wende, M. & Middlehurst, R. 2004. Cross-Border Post-Secondary Education in Europe. In *Internationalisation and Trade in Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenges*. Paris: OECD, 87-135.
- Varoufakis, Y., Halevi, J. & Theocarakis, N. 2011. *Modern Political Economics: Making Sense of the Post-2008 World*. New York: Routledge.
- Vidovich, L. 2012. Transforming Australia's Higher Education System: New Accountability Policies for a Global Era? In H. G. Schuetze, W. Bruneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 241-255.
- Vincent-Lancrin, S. 2004. Cross-Border Education: An Overview. In *Internationalisation and Trade in Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenges*. Paris: OECD, 17-38.
- Vincent-Lancrin, S. 2007. *Cross-Border Tertiary Education: A Way Towards Capacity Development*. Paris: OECD.
- Washburn, J. 2008. *University, Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of Higher Education*. NY: Basic Books.
- Wedlin, L. 2011a. Crafting Competition: Media Rankings and the Forming of a Global Market for Business Schools. *Education Inquiry* 2 (4), 563-580.
- Wedlin, L. 2011b. Going Global: Rankings as Rhetorical Devices to Construct an International Field of Management Education. *Management Learning* 42 (2), 199-218.
- Wedlin, L. 2007. The Role of Rankings in Codifying a Business School Template: Classifications, Diffusion and Mediated Isomorphism in Organizational Fields. *European Management Review* 4 (1), 24-39.
- Whitley, R. & Gläser, J. 2007. *The Changing Governance of the Sciences*. Dordrecht: Springer: Springer.
- Whitley, R. 1986. The Transformation of Business Finance Into Financial Economics: The Roles of Academic Expansion and Changes in US Capital Markets. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 11 (2), 171-192.
- Wildavsky, B. 2010. *The Great Brain Race: How Global Universities are Reshaping the World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wilkins, S. & Huisman, J. 2012. The International Branch Campus as Transnational Strategy in Higher Education. *Higher Education* 64 (5), 627-645.

- Winston, G. C. 1999. Subsidies, Hierarchy and Peers: The Awkward Economics of Higher Education. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13 (1), 13-36.
- Wisdom Group 2014. Wisdom Education Group. Available in: <http://www.wisdom.ae>.
- Witkowski, T. H. & Jones, D. B. 2006. Qualitative Historical Research in Marketing. In R. W. Belk (Ed.) *Handbook of Qualitative Historical Research in Marketing*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 70-82.
- Yin, R. K. 2003. *Applications of Case Study Research*. (4th edition) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Zajac, E. J. & Westphal, J. D. 2004. The Social Construction of Market Value: Institutionalization and Learning Perspectives on Stock Market Reactions. *American Sociological Review* 69 (3), 433-457.
- Zeitlin, J. & Herrigel, G. 2000. *Americanization and its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-war Europe and Japan*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Zell, D. 2001. The Market-Driven Business School Has the Pendulum Swung Too Far? *Journal of Management Inquiry* 10 (4), 324-338.
- Zgaga, P. 2012. Reconsidering University Autonomy and Governance: From Academic Freedom to Institutional Autonomy. In H. G. Schuetze, W. Brueneau & G. Grosjean (Eds.) *University Governance and Reform: Policy, Fads, and Experience in International Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 11-22.